

GOVERNOR'S DAY 1970

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Description

The word “Vietnam” signifies a country, a war, and for many, a historical marker for a period of cultural revolution. There were significant protests in Reno and Las Vegas, but when the nation’s attention was pointed West, it focused mostly on California. However, in the spring of 1970, the force of the larger antiwar movement came to Reno in ways that jolted many Nevadans into taking notice. The University of Nevada, Reno faced weeks of volatile unrest and protest unlike anything it had witnessed before—and nothing else quite like it has happened in the thirty years since.

On April 20, Richard Nixon announced the withdrawal of another 150,000 troops from Vietnam, but ten days later announced the invasion of Cambodia. Opposition to the war in Indochina increased the following week, with over 500 campuses shut down across the country and with explosives or firebombs used against ROTC buildings.

The turning point came on Monday, May 4, when Ohio National Guardsmen armed with bayonets and tear gas broke up a crowd of antiwar protestors at Kent State University. Four people were killed, and eleven were wounded. The nation was stunned, yet the following day, May 5, 1970, UNR officials decided to proceed with a military ceremony to celebrate the governor and the university’s ROTC cadets. This “Governor’s Day” ceremony prompted several hundred students, staff, and faculty to march in protest of the Cambodian invasion and the campus killings. What became known simply as “Governor’s Day” prompted campus-wide debates, a surge of statewide media coverage, fiery rhetoric from local politicians, and two fire bombing incidents that re-cast the peaceful protest as a campus-wide revolt.

In the days that followed the protest, media coverage of Governor’s Day began to spread, generating public hostility toward the Nevada campus and its administration. In a monthly meeting of the board of regents, Chairman Procter Hug Jr. called for the investigation of two English Department faculty members, Paul Adamian and Fred Maher, whom he believed were prominent in the week’s disruption. In the end, the regents fired Adamian from his tenured position for his leadership role in the protest. The charges against Maher were dropped.

In 1970, over fifty individuals—students, faculty, staff, and state officials—related to the events of Governor’s Day were interviewed in the weeks immediately following the protest. The interviews collected in this volume speak not only of Governor’s Day, but also the larger politics of the war, concerns for the environment, reflections on higher education, and speculations about the future.

In the years since 1998, UNR doctoral student Brad Lucas re-interviewed several of the original chroniclers. These more recent interviews can be found in a second volume published by the UNOHP, *Governor’s Day 1970: A Retrospective View*.

The events surrounding Governor’s Day can teach us lessons about the turbulence in our country during the Vietnam years, prompting us to rethink the political and economic forces that shaped what we have considered history.

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From oral history interviews
conducted by Mary Ellen Glass,
Ruth Hilts, and Marian Rendall

Edited by Brad Lucas

University of Nevada
Oral History Program

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PREFACE

Founded in 1964, the University of Nevada Oral History Program (UNOHP) records and collects interviews that address significant topics in Nevada's remembered past. The program's chroniclers are primary sources: people who participated in or directly witnessed the events and phenomena that are the subjects of the interviews. Following precedent established by Allan Nevins at Columbia University in 1948, and perpetuated since by academic programs such as ours, these recorded interviews and their transcripts are called oral histories.

This research volume is crafted from the verbatim transcripts of interviews conducted by Mary Ellen Glass, Ruth Hilts, and Marian Rendall, but this volume is easier to read. Remaining faithful to the transcripts' contents, and adhering as closely as possible to chroniclers' spoken words, the manuscript was edited for clarity. The editor also gave it chronological and topical organization not always found in the raw transcript. Readers who desire access to the unaltered oral histories are invited to visit the offices of the UNOHP, where the tapes of the interviews may be heard by appointment.

To add context to written representations of the spoken word, the UNOHP uses certain editorial conventions. Laughter is represented with [laughter] at the end of a sentence in which it occurs; and ellipses are used, not to indicate that material has been deleted, but to indicate that a statement has been interrupted or is incomplete . . . or there is a pause for dramatic effect.

As with all of our oral histories, while we can vouch for the authenticity of *Governor's Day 1970*, we advise the reader to keep in mind that it is composed of personal opinions and accounts of the remembered past, and we do not claim that it is entirely free of error. Intelligent readers will approach it with the same anticipation of discovery, tempered with caution, that they would bring to government reports, diaries, newspaper stories, and other interpretations of historical information.

UNOHP
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INTRODUCTION

The singular word “Vietnam” evokes a range of significant, and often emotionally charged, meanings for most Americans. It signifies a country, a war, and for many, a historical marker for a period of cultural revolution. The dramatic confrontations and violent conflict generated from college campuses provide much of the imagery for our modern representations of the Vietnam War era. And physical location helps us to define the story: “Chicago,” “New Haven,” and “Kent State” elicit rich historical meanings, each with their own narratives of conflict and compromise, dissent and repression.

Throughout the late 1960s, most Nevadans felt the turbulence of the war mostly in small doses. There were significant protests in Reno and Las Vegas, but when the nation’s attention was pointed west, it focused mostly on California. However, in the spring of 1970, the force of the larger antiwar movement came to Reno in ways that jolted many Nevadans into taking notice. The University of Nevada, Reno (UNR) faced weeks of volatile unrest and protest unlike anything it had witnessed before—and nothing else quite like it has happened in the thirty years since.

On April 20, Richard Nixon announced the withdrawal of another 150,000 troops from Vietnam, but ten days later announced the

invasion of Cambodia. As protestors saw it, “Tricky Dick” had indeed kept his promise to scale back involvement in Vietnam, but escalated maneuvers in Cambodia. Opposition to the war in Indochina increased the following week, with over 500 campuses shut down across the country—with explosives or firebombs used against ROTC buildings at an average rate of four per day.

The turning point came on Monday, May 4, when roughly eight hundred Ohio National Guardsmen armed with bayonets and tear gas broke up a crowd of nearly five hundred antiwar protestors at Kent State University. Four people were killed, and eleven were wounded. The nation was stunned, yet the following day, UNR officials decided to proceed with a military ceremony to celebrate the Governor and the university’s ROTC cadets. This “Governor’s Day” ceremony prompted several hundred students, staff, and faculty to march in protest of the Cambodian invasion and the campus killings. What became known simply as “Governor’s Day” prompted campus-wide debates, a surge of statewide media coverage, fiery rhetoric from local politicians, and two fire bombing incidents that re-cast the peaceful protest as a campus-wide revolt.

Cambodia, Kent State, and Governor's Day

In the weeks before Governor's Day, student unrest at UNR was focused primarily on minority issues, particularly legal proceedings against two outspoken black students. Rumors had already been circulating that the Black Panthers were coming to campus, and the national leaders of the Brown Berets (a Mexican-American affiliate of the Panthers) had already arrived. The United Student Alliance (USA) was formed, a coalition of black and white students that was gaining increasing vocal support from faculty. Relatively small in numbers, the USA was not an immediate threat to the relative stability of campus life, but with a more inclusive approach and increased faculty support, it was a larger and more complex group for the administration to contend with. Campus meetings were organized to discuss black-white relations, although often not satisfactory to USA members and their supporters who demanded institution-wide reforms. Many campus activists saw "the proper channels" for reform as an ineffective, corrupt system designed to appease students.

In response to the Cambodia invasion, campus activists deliberated plans to disrupt the Governor's Day ceremonies on Tuesday, May 5, 1970. The annual Governor's Day ceremony had been an ROTC event since the 1930's, and it had become a focal point for voicing dissent against the war in Vietnam. For the 1969 Governor's Day, activists had dyed Manzanita Lake blood red, and they left canisters of gasoline near Hartman Hall, the ROTC administration building. For the 1970 ceremony, cadets set up a twenty-four-hour guard watch to prevent pranks or more radical action.

In discussing options, some students wanted to take over Hartman Hall, whereas others envisioned bombing it during the ceremony (when the building would be empty). Less militant students simply wanted to hold a rally at the Manzanita Bowl like they had the year before. A consensus was finally reached among student activists that this year they would try to disrupt the ceremony, but in a nonviolent way.

Activists met at the Hobbit Hole, a house near campus, to plan for the protest, while on the other end of campus, cadets began their night-long vigil to guard the ROTC building. Protestors began preparing signs and tactics for the disruption of the ceremonies, including hundreds of fake fliers that announced the cancellation of Governor's Day ceremonies at Mackay Stadium. Faculty members present at the protest meeting attempted to persuade students not to disrupt the event, but they could not convince students that the tactics were ineffective means of protest.

Activists were painting signs and discussing strategies on Monday, May 4, when stories about Kent State began to circulate in the media. What had started as a campus response to U. S. foreign policy had suddenly mushroomed into a complex demonstration against all state-sponsored power. For many, the stakes were higher than at any other point since the war began. Protest organizers soon discovered that the Kent State shootings would not prompt a UNR campus closing, an administrative decision that seemed to them callous and insensitive, if not outright appalling. After all, the week before, President Miller had approved a partial closing of campus for the Wild West parties of Mackay Day, an annual rites-of-spring celebration at UNR.

When activists learned that Governor's Day would proceed as planned, they were incensed. The decision was seen not just as bad taste, but as an affront to the peace movement and an insult to the students who had died in Ohio. Considering the gravity of Kent State, many activists thought Governor's Day should either be postponed or, at the very least, include some recognition of the tragedy. Supporters of the event asserted that the plans had been made months earlier for Governor Paul Laxalt to review the cadets and distribute medals and awards. As campus strikes were forming across the nation, word spread across the UNR campus that Governor's Day would be disrupted as part of the Tuesday strike, so extra police officers had been assigned for crowd control.

Robert Harvey, a faculty member in English, had asked Laxalt to make a speech during the stadium ceremony acknowledging the Kent State tragedy. However, the governor flatly refused, stating, “No way. My friend Governor Rhodes in Ohio is running for the senate nomination today, and I’m not going to embarrass him in any way. I don’t want any story going out on the national wire from Nevada that would embarrass him.” (Rhodes was seeking a vital senate position, one of seven needed for Republican control of the senate for the following year.) Considering that similar requests to acknowledge Kent State had been turned down by both Miller’s and Laxalt’s offices, the administrative position about Governor’s Day seemed firmly entrenched.

Peace Rally and the Governor’s Motorcade

Campus protest against the war had started in 1966 with picket lines at Mackay Stadium, but the demonstrations had grown to such an extent that a separate protest event was held in 1969 at the Manzanita Bowl at the south end of campus. This first Governor’s Day Peace Rally drew larger crowds than those attending the stadium activities.

In 1970, problems had already developed at the Manzanita Bowl before the rally began. Although a microphone system had been promised for the rally, it had not been delivered, which prompted some anger and frustration among organizers. Several observers interpreted the problem as mere disorganization and disagreement among the planners, giving rise to later claims about a “spontaneous” protest moving from the bowl to the stadium. Despite any real or perceived disagreements among the rally participants, a march to the stadium had been planned days before. Some faculty members perceived the marchers as an unorganized mob and decided to act as impromptu monitors, hoping to provide some safety and direction for their students.

Although organizers had planned to lead a march to the stadium, they had not anticipated

the presence of the governor’s motorcade, comprised of seventeen vehicles parked nearby. The protestors swarmed the motorcade, shouting and chanting antiwar slogans. Some of the vehicles tried to edge their way through the crowd. Former ROTC commander Colonel Earl Ralf was riding in the fifth car, and he recalled actually encouraging his driver, a young cadet, to drive through the throng—even if it meant running over anyone in the way. While no one was hurt in the incident, there were several near accidents as vehicles tried to inch their way through, not realizing that students were sitting or lying down across the pavement. Some faculty members tried to pull students out of the way, shouting through the noise to alert drivers that people were in danger.

Many details of Governor’s Day remain contested, particularly regarding the blockade. For example, one student stretched out on his stomach in front of a car, and English professor Paul Adamian shouted at both the driver and the student, pounding on the car hood. Demonstrators assert that Adamian was trying to get the student to move, hitting the car to alert the driver. To passengers in the motorcade, it appeared that Adamian was shouting out orders for students to place themselves between the cars, pounding car hoods to scare the drivers into stopping. In later deliberations about the event, a photograph of Adamian pointing at the student validated both interpretations: he could have been directing the student to get up or telling him to lie in front of the car.

With assistance from some of the faculty, Reno police were finally able to clear the blockade and escort the motorcade up Virginia Street. Altogether, the disturbance lasted only ten to fifteen minutes, but observers recalled that it might have been a taste of conflict that encouraged demonstrators and boosted their confidence for the protest at the stadium.

Mackay Stadium

The faculty and administrative response to the protest is vital for interpreting the day’s

events. After an unsuccessful attempt to stop the protest march to the stadium, history professor James Hulse had a brief exchange with Proctor Hug, Jr., Chairman of the Board of Regents. Hulse had been led to believe that the marchers would circle the stadium track three times, and Hug agreed that this would be a good way to avoid trouble and allow the crowd to express its views, all without disrupting the ceremony itself. However, at some point a key element was not disclosed: it was assumed that the crowd would circle the stadium and then leave, rather than moving the protest directly into the stands to disrupt the proceedings.

As four to five hundred protestors entered the stadium, they circled the track shouting, "Peace now!" "No more war!" and, "End the war!" Cadets stood at parade rest at the east side of the stadium, facing the bleacher stands to the west, where dignitaries and officials filled the first two rows. The crowd marched north along the track, circling clockwise around the stadium twice.

Some faculty served as monitors, playing a role necessary for successful nonviolent protest. In short, their purpose was to control the crowd and channel energy in useful, sensible directions. Faculty monitors made strong efforts to keep the demonstrators on the stadium track, trying to prevent them from acting on impulse but also knowing that there was a collective momentum that could not be easily stopped.

Marching and chanting was simply not enough for some demonstrators. Some found an outlet by knocking off cadets' hats, whereas others proposed replacing the American flag with a peace flag. There were several occasions when the orderly march could have become something more volatile and dangerous, but the faculty monitors knew enough about the students to engage them in productive ways.

With only two trips around the stadium, the protestors moved into the stands, but the crowd had thinned to only a few hundred demonstrators, who nonetheless outnumbered the small group gathered for the ceremony. In addition, roughly twenty members of the United Student Alliance

(USA) sat on the edge of the field, encouraging the larger crowd to disrupt the military exhibition.

When a military aide asked the small group of demonstrators to move, they refused. As one cadet claimed, the university police were under orders not to touch the (mostly African-American) students in the USA. Campus police did not disturb the group: perhaps out of fear that an immediate conflict between black students and police would be perceived as racially motivated, or possibly because this smaller group was not doing anything directly to disturb the ceremonies.

Despite protestor attempts to disrupt the ceremony, it proceeded with no official recognition of the Cambodian invasion or the deaths at Kent State. As it became increasingly clear that the ceremony was not going to include any such acknowledgment, the crowd grew more disruptive, ridiculing the military proceedings at every opportunity with singing and chanting. After President Miller asked the crowd to allow the ceremony to proceed undisturbed, demonstrators briefly settled down.

Some witnesses recalled that, at this point, Adamian tried to maintain the crowd's momentum, but most demonstrators argued that they were acting independently and Adamian did nothing extraordinary to encourage the protest. Other protestors provoked wildly different reactions from the ROTC audience, perhaps the most notorious being the playing of Taps while parents presented an award on behalf of their son killed in Vietnam. A student played Taps on a trombone borrowed from the band performing at the ceremony, and most observers thought that it was a gesture of mockery. However, some thought the music aimed to highlight the deaths resulting from the war. A few observers even thought the music was part of the planned Governor's Day program. Perhaps to quell the disturbance, officials told the demonstrators that they could have access to the microphone for the rest of the day—but not until the ceremony was over.

The demonstrators soon grew restless, discouraged that nothing would be said during the ceremony. A few students suggested that the

protestors move to the field to interrupt the Sierra Guardsmen drill team. The Guardsmen had by then affixed bayonets on their rifles and were marching about the field with various turns and advances. The USA group on the field had been calling out to people in the stands to join them, and while Laxalt was crossing the track to deliver an award, faculty monitors tried to keep students in the stands. At that moment, Adamian left the stands and headed toward the field by himself.

He would later be accused of rallying the demonstrators to leave, and then leading them to a dangerous situation, but he made no overt gestures to do so. Instead, he allegedly led by example. As Adamian has it, he just wanted to join the USA group on the field because he had been actively supporting their cause for the weeks leading up to Governor's Day. It's also possible that he was the first person to leave the stands because the restless crowd needed direction, not restraint. Although some faculty monitors encouraged demonstrators to remain in the stands, the protestors began to trickle out of the bleachers and onto the field, encouraged by the monitors to leave by ones and twos to prevent a mob-like rush.

The growing protest group on the field soon stood in the way of the marching units, blocking their path. The monitors left the stands to prevent conflict, and the entire situation became highly tense as the two groups approached one another. ROTC supporters were heard shouting from the stands for the cadets to tear into the protest crowd, encouraging the cadets to bayonet their way through the crowd. Seeing the potential for serious harm, several faculty monitors positioned themselves between the protestors and the cadets, hoping to fend off a clash between the student groups.

As the armed units approached, the monitors stood in considerable danger, but fortunately the drill leader gave an impromptu command for the cadets to perform a flank movement, marching them away from the protest group. The cadets did not break their formation despite the harassment, which included one demonstrator riding a unicycle through their ranks. Finishing

their performance, the drill team joined with other groups of cadets and passed the reviewing stand while marching out of the stadium. As the two crowds exited the stadium, demonstrators witnessed a display of force across the street: thirty police officers with four squad cars, a paddy-wagon, and several motorcycles ready to intervene at a moment's notice.

After leaving the stadium, roughly one hundred members of the protest group returned to the Manzanita Bowl to make some speeches. During this gathering, a few ROTC cadets disconnected the sound system, causing a minor fistfight to break out, but little else happened. Tensions remained high all day, and groups across campus discussed the events at the stadium. By the end of the day, plans were made to hold a memorial service on campus later that week in honor of the Kent State students.

Some saw the protest as a success, while others were disturbed by the extremism generated by the crowd. The confrontation on the field lasted only a few minutes, and the entire Governor's Day demonstration—from the motorcade to the stadium—lasted no more than ninety minutes. This short, nonviolent protest never moved beyond loud noises, and it was a demonstration that had been given permission to proceed at the stadium. However, many Nevadans agreed with journalist Ty Cobb that Governor's Day was "the most disgraceful day in the history of Nevada."

First Salvo: Response

In the days that followed the protest, Nevadans took notice and voiced their disapproval. Citizens came down hard on the campus, threatening officials with economic and political sanctions, and demanding retribution. Students, faculty, and staff tried to alleviate campus tensions through dialogue, yet two fire bombing incidents exacerbated the problems on campus.

On Wednesday, May 6, media coverage of Governor's Day began to spread, generating public hostility toward the Nevada campus and

its administration. Radio KOLO repeatedly broadcast an editorial that provoked reactionary responses across the state. Stan Weisberger, vice president and general manager of the station, assured his listeners that a militant group of students and some faculty had embarrassed the governor and insulted the country by jeering during the national anthem. Similarly, in his regular column for the *Nevada State Journal* that day, Cobb highlighted the most distasteful elements of the protest, placing the blame on faculty leadership: “It was an eye-opener to see how a crowd is stimulated, with certain faculty members—the ‘liberal professors’—infiltrating their ranks and prodding them on to further rudeness.”

Throughout the day, a few faculty members organized meetings for students to contend with issues surrounding the protest. In one afternoon meeting, students and faculty argued about the events and the growing negative response from the community. Some students called for immediate action, lamenting that the ceremonies weren’t completely disrupted. Later that night, roughly 300 students and some faculty crowded into a room for a student senate meeting later described as a “tense drama” between the “cowboys” and the “longhairs,” in which the senate discussed plans for a Kent State memorial service and possible campus-wide strike at the end of the week.

With sustained media coverage and growing tension on campus, the administration was worried about further outbreaks that could tip the scales against the university. Miller’s office aimed to calm the campus but keep matters within the university’s control—and intervene with force only if absolutely necessary. For example, Edward Olsen, director of information for the university, recalled that fire hoses in Lincoln Hall had been prepared for crowd control in the event of any physical conflict. However, such drastic measures were not needed. During the senate deliberations, participants exchanged heated words, but there were no indications of violence. The only turbulence stemmed from four off-campus activists who repeatedly voiced loud

remarks and generated some hostilities during the exchanges but were not otherwise disruptive. After the meeting, small groups met to discuss issues regarding the war and the response on campus. The conversations continued until shortly after 2:00 a.m., when word arrived that Hartman Hall had been fire bombed.

Wine bottles filled with gasoline (i.e., Molotov cocktails) had been thrown through the windows of the building, and within minutes a patrolling officer noticed smoke, called in the incident, and put out the small fires by himself. Police Chief Bob Malone immediately called in the FBI when he learned of the fire bombing, but he was not completely surprised. Throughout the day, Malone had heard rumors that something destructive would occur on campus, and he had even intensified patrols to scare off any would-be revolutionaries.

Thursday morning’s newspapers carried stories of the arson, and after Malone assessed the damage (scorched walls and burnt desktop items), he stated publicly it was the first case of radical militant action in the university’s history—although he did not know who started the blaze or why. On campus, student radicals dismissed the arson as stupidity and asserted their platform of nonviolence, and rumors soon began to spread about “outside agitators” who had been vocal during campus meetings. The arsonists, however, were locals: residents of northern Nevada working in concert with university students. They had earlier warned the police so the campus would be watched closely and the firebombing would be quickly noticed and controlled.

Unable to cover the story in time for the day’s edition, the school paper (the *Sagebrush*) appeared later that morning with a letter from Miller and a formal statement signed by over one hundred faculty and staff. Both documents acknowledged the killings at Kent State. It was the university’s first public response to the tragedy, three days after it occurred, but in no way was it a response to the fire bombing of Hartman Hall. Nonetheless, campus activists and their radical cohort were energized by the

correlation. In accordance with the arsonists' plans, the fire bombing threatened to polarize the campus.

Recognizing the possibility of a divided campus, Miller met with deans and various faculty that morning to encourage everyone to participate actively in as many group activities as possible, including a candlelight vigil and teach-in that night, as well as the memorial scheduled for the next day. That afternoon a major meeting at the JTSU involved all factions of students. Although tempers flared, again, the larger meeting broke into small discussion groups, and with the aid of faculty, staff, and administrators, tensions were eased, and students were able to let off some steam.

In the evening, nearly 150 people met at the Manzanita Bowl for a teach-in with 7 designated speakers. The names of the 4 Kent State victims were read aloud, followed by a 15-minute silence and a series of formal speeches. A candlelight vigil followed, with a crowd that had grown to roughly 300 participants. Although some students heckled the proceedings from a distance, the event was otherwise peaceful. That night, as ROTC cadets stood watch over Hartman Hall, activists planned for the campus strike Friday morning.

Second Salvo: Reassessment

While state officials and university administrators were not pleased with the rudeness on Governor's Day, they had not issued any serious condemnation of the demonstration—until the fire bombing. Activity on campus was now an issue of state, and national, concern. With irate Nevadans and calls going out to federal agents, Governor's Day was imagined as a catalyst, the source of escalating problems that, unchecked, had resulted in violence. Media portrayals and political statements conveyed the impression that UNR was under siege. Governor Laxalt now made public commentary about the Governor's Day protest as "infantile exhibitionism" and railed against the "handful

of potential revolutionaries" out to shame the state.

In local newspapers, Hug stated, "University students who are responsible for such activities should be subject to strong disciplinary action. Faculty who actively participate or incite disruption of normal university activity or violence should not be permitted to remain as faculty members of this university." He had recognized faculty members during the protest, and he had heard that one professor had openly criticized the government and administration during a class, using obscenities to do so.

On Friday morning, May 8, 1970, activists set up picket lines at various campus entrances and some 700 students didn't attend class. A memorial service at the Manzanita Bowl began at noon, with a crowd of over 500 attending, and the service consisted of readings, folks songs, and prayers. A group of "cowboys" made a dramatic entrance during the service as a show of force and a symbolic display of good behavior—as a lesson for the "longhairs." Their presence heightened tensions, but the service was finished according to plan, without any conflict. William Thornton, past president of the University Alumni Association, announced the establishment of an annual peace prize during the memorial service.

While the campus strike unfolded in Reno, the regents began their monthly meeting that afternoon in Elko. During the two-day meeting, Miller recounted campus events, fielding questions from all present. Citing passages from the university's Code of Conduct, Hug called for an investigation of two faculty members he believed were prominent in the week's disruptions. He referred to one faculty member who not only "encouraged the students to stop the cars" which "endangered the lives of students," but also "led the students in raucous and rude catcalls and had encouraged them to disrupt the ceremonies." Hug alleged that another faculty member had conducted a class discussion in very vulgar terms. He argued that both professors should be terminated from the university if they could not explain their conduct.

After some discussion, a motion was carried to investigate two instructors from the English Department, “and any other faculty who may be found to have been involved in violations of the University Code.” Adamian was implicated in the Governor’s Day protest, whereas Fred Maher (a doctoral student who was also an instructor) was identified as the teacher who allegedly used foul language and criticized officials who held positions of authority.

By the end of the weekend, voices from across the state were at a fever pitch, demanding action. Monday night, May 11, Senator James Slattery appeared on television, suggesting that the “cowboys” take matters into their own hands and “clean up” the campus by driving out the left-wing element themselves. For many Nevadans, the Senator’s statements appeared as a call for vigilante justice; for the radical activists, Slattery’s comments provided the perfect opportunity to amplify tensions on campus.

Several hours after Slattery’s comments were televised, a fire bomb was thrown at the Hobbit Hole while its residents were inside. The incident was seen as an act of violence against the war demonstrators that could have killed several students. According to most reports, the students who lived there had received threats in the days prior, but no one was hurt in the attack.

The week-long efforts to generate dialogue and foster understanding among the student population never received media coverage, and it was clear that some tangible action had to be witnessed in order for the university to survive the protests on campus. On Tuesday, just one week after Governor’s Day, Associated Student Union of Nevada (ASUN) President Frankie Sue Del Papa appeared with Miller on local television to plea for an end to the violence and request that misinformation about campus events be avoided at all costs.

The Board of Regents was facing public pressure and the threat of removal from their elected positions unless they showed a display of control. Within days, state politicians made public comments that the university could lose funds as a result of the previous week’s events,

reiterating the earlier threats made by KOLO radio. State Senator Archie Pozzi (R-Carson City) warned that by January 1971, when the legislature would be in session, “it will be appropriate to take a fine look at what is going on at the university.” According to the most vocal of state politicians, if the regents couldn’t show by the end of the year that they had controlled the university, they’d likely lose their positions to people who could.

The regents initially took action by clarifying what was acceptable campus behavior and what punishments could be expected for breaking university rules. On May 21, Hug distributed to his fellow regents a copy of “Interim Rules and Disciplinary Procedures for Members of the University Community, University of Nevada System,” a set of temporary rules—related to the recent events—to be adopted until a permanent code could be developed.

Many of the items in the interim code were already covered by the university catalog and faculty codes, often in quite different language, and this disagreement caused considerable problems for faculty who were evaluating the document. The Nevada chapter of the American Association of University Professors (AAUP) issued a letter to the regents, arguing that the many aspects of the interim rules were covered in other documents, and two sets would confuse the issues “and succeed only in conveying an impression that the Board is thinking solely in terms of punitive responses.” Despite the outcry, most of the deans approved the interim code, and the regents approved the rules as an interim policy until the December 1970 meeting, when a permanent set of rules would be established.

In effect, the interim code would be law for the rest of the year, ensuring that no other Governor’s Day protests could occur. With such a set of rules in place, it was likely that the campus would remain quiet, at least until the 1971 legislature had begun. If the campus appeared to be under control through December, Pozzi’s threat to take “a fine look” at the university might not materialize.

While the summer brought no new activity to campus, some developments went largely unnoticed. The charges against Maher, based on Hug's allegations, were dropped when the investigation was unable to produce any evidence against him. In fact, the investigative agency found that his students considered him an excellent teacher, one who explicitly argued *against* discussing the Vietnam War in his class. Although Maher was not formally charged with anything, he was quietly re-assigned to a position as a research assistant, effectively removing him from interacting with undergraduate students.

Reassigning a graduate student is a simple administrative action. Removing a faculty member from the classroom is another matter, particularly a tenured professor. Nonetheless, during a closed-door personnel session, the regents suspended Adamian from teaching.

Paul Adamian

In October 1970, Adamian's case went before an ad hoc committee appointed by the university's faculty senate. The committee found that his actions at the motorcade blockade did not violate the university code. Furthermore, it concluded that the evidence about the Governor's Day protest was so conflicting that it was impossible to determine Adamian's alleged leadership role, especially considering that he was assuredly not acting alone and that Miller and Hug had given consent for the demonstrators to march at the stadium. The committee recommended Adamian be formally censured but not terminated from his position.

Miller agreed with the committee, but in November the regents returned the committee's findings and raised numerous objections. After reviewing the case with these contested points in mind, the committee reaffirmed its initial conclusions.

In December, during another closed-door personnel session, the regents decided to override the decisions of both the faculty senate committee and the university president. The regents, wanting a more severe punishment than what was

recommended, fired Adamian from his tenured position at the university. In essence, the regents made their decision solely on their own assessment of the situation, disregarding the conclusions of a committee of scholars. With Adamian's firing, it appeared that the 1971 Nevada legislative session would have to save their "fine look" at the university for another time.

In his oral history, Chairman Hug had explained the possible consequences of not responding to community demands for some punishment to be carried out at UNR: "If no direct punitive action is taken, I think we would find that we would have very few new programs approved. The faculty raises would have a very difficult time being passed. That benefits such as pension or fringe benefits would be very hard to come by. I think that we would find that our building requests would be if not . . . they wouldn't be entirely turned down, but we would be penalized in some way by not getting the request." It is difficult to argue what could have happened if the regents had chosen to agree with the faculty committee and the university president. Perhaps the state would have levied more severe sanctions against the university. It is also possible the state legislators would have found that their state's university had handled the events in the best way conceivable.

What became known as "the Adamian affair" meandered through the court system for nearly a decade. Adamian later filed suit in the U.S. District Court for the District of Nevada, and the case was reassigned to Las Vegas. In 1973, Chief Judge Roger D. Foley ruled that the regents' decision was based on a vague university code, and he ordered Adamian reinstated with back pay. That same year, a new university code was established, depriving the Board of Regents of the power to have absolute authority over decisions to terminate faculty from the university. In all decisions to follow, the university president would have final say in such matters.

The regents appealed the 1973 decision, and in 1975 the Ninth Circuit Court of Appeals overturned Foley's ruling, sending the case back

to Federal District Court for review. In 1976, the court then ruled in favor of the university, and despite another appeal to the Ninth Circuit, its decision was upheld in 1979. In May 1980, the United States Supreme Court refused to hear the case without comment.

Historicizing Governor's Day

In the three decades that followed since Governor's Day, the protest has been written into local history as a small episode in the Vietnam War years. After all, to many observers it was just one protest out of hundreds across the country. In 1974, historian James W. Hulse discussed Governor's Day and the Adamian affair in *The University of Nevada: A Centennial History*. In 1975, anthropologist Warren L. d'Azevedo provided a more detailed account of these events in the context of his larger report, *American Indian and Black Students at the University of Nevada, 1874-1974* (reprinted in *Nevada Historical Society Quarterly* 41:4, 1998).

Newspaper accounts were often biased and sketchy. Courtroom testimony was focused mostly on Adamian's case. And aside from a few photographs, there simply was no documentation of the event other than eyewitness testimony. Human perspectives, by their very nature, are limited, but taken in aggregate form, they can together provide a rich composite lens to view history.

Thanks to the foresight of Mary Ellen Glass, Kenneth Carpenter, and others involved with the University of Nevada Oral History Program (UNOHP) in 1970, over fifty individuals related to the events were interviewed in the weeks immediately following the protest. It was clear that something important had just occurred in the history of Nevada, and the interviews collected in this volume speak not only of Governor's Day, but also the larger politics of the war, concerns for the environment, reflections on higher education, and speculations about the future. Students, faculty, staff, and state officials together offer a multifaceted lens with which to look at this crucial point in Nevada history.

The interviews were intended to document impressions, reflections, and arguments. However, due to the investigations of Maher and Adamian, there was some concern about the legal ramifications of taped testimony regarding Governor's Day. Also, at the end of this volume, Glass and her assistants provide a rare collaborative interview with one another, describing the origins of this project and reflecting on the development of questions, the selection of chroniclers, and the effectiveness of their approach.

The transcribed oral histories supply the puzzle pieces that reveal complexities we haven't been able to consider in detail. Due to the legal battles over Adamian's case, the tapes were put into storage, untranscribed, until his case had officially ended in 1980. By then, Governor's Day had little continued interest in public or academic circles, so it remained an untapped resource.

In 1998, with the support of Karen Gash (University Archivist) and R. Tom King (Director of the UNOHP), the oral history interviews were transcribed, and I began the process of assembling documents related to May 5, 1970 and everything surrounding it. In the years since, I have also re-interviewed several of the original chroniclers. Many were still at the university, while others had to be located (extending my fieldwork from the Pacific northwest to the Great Plains). Almost everyone I asked was willing to talk about the events, often with the same level of sentiment recorded thirty years earlier. Without these unique oral history recordings, the process of inquiry would have been severely limited. [These more recent interviews can be found in a second volume published by the UNOHP, *Governor's Day 1970: A Retrospective View*.]

In the end, most Nevadans were satisfied that they had kept things under control, tracing the root of this activity to two men who participated, and punishing just one of them for the actions of over 400 people. The oral histories of Governor's Day 1970 testify for the need to record events from multiple perspectives, from a wide variety of people, in the wake of dramatic social events.

The events surrounding Governor's Day can teach us lessons about the turbulence in our country during the Vietnam years, prompting us to rethink the political and economic forces that shaped what we have considered history.

BRAD LUCAS
Fort Worth, TX

PAUL ADAMIAN

June 19, 1970

Why do you think you were chosen to be interviewed for this project?

I imagine because I was involved in the events or the incidents which occurred on Governor's Day, and since that time I've become the focus of a lot of attention about the events of that day.

What was your reaction to President Nixon's decision to go into Cambodia?

Well, I was extremely disturbed by it. I suppose it was a combination of anger, despair, and frustration that he would make such a move after being elected on a platform of having some kind of secret plan to bring the war in Vietnam to a speedy close. It seemed to me that he was doing precisely the opposite. Instead of toning down the war, phasing it out, he was increasing the military activities way beyond the realm, the scope of the Vietnam War itself, and extending it out into Indochina at large.

It seemed to me as though the kind of justification or rationale that he was using for going into Cambodia was extremely weak and also ex-

tremely dangerous. It suggested that if he felt that he had the right to move in this particular way—in what was essentially a unilateral decision—then the whole constitutional safeguard against the president himself declaring or controlling a war had been essentially discarded or run over. Then the president and his military advisors had essentially taken over not only the control of the war itself, but also of foreign policy in this country, and were totally ignoring whatever constitutional restrictions there are on powers of this kind. It seemed to me as though he were going contrary to the wishes of a large number of people in this country in terms of escalating the war, but it also had, in my mind, dangerous implications for the future, as well as for the immediate problems or immediate moment.

In what way do you think the Cambodia decision was related to what happened next on our campus?

That's difficult to assess. One would have to speak with each individual, I suppose, but speaking personally, it was another frustration, along with a number of other frustrations, which had been gradually building up during the past

months. This is simply a guess on my part, but I suspect that it had something to do with people feeling powerless and helpless, and of having this kind of feeling build up to the point where they felt that they had to express themselves in some way. They felt that they had to express themselves in some dramatic way in order to impress people with the extent and the depth of their feeling about this, and with the extent of their frustration about their helplessness.

It's in some way vaguely related, I think, to a feeling of despair—that is to say, a feeling about the normal channels or the normal modes of expressing oneself in opposition to such a thing (which in the past may have consisted of something like writing a letter to one's congressman). This sort of reaction, I think, doesn't carry very much weight with many people today, particularly younger people. Therefore, I think that the frustration that was felt about the Cambodia invasion probably spilled over somewhat into the more dramatic kind of expression which occurred then on Governor's Day. So, speaking personally, I think it had something to do with my feelings and my actions, and I suspect that it probably had something to do with the feelings and actions of many others, also.

What was your reaction to events in other parts of the country, also related to this Cambodia decision?

If you are referring, for example, to the Kent State incident, I would say essentially the same thing: sadness, of course, but also anger, bitterness, frustration, and horror that this country had turned its weapons against its own children and was slaying its own children. Since that time I've seen some films on television, and what it amounted to was a kind of a confrontation between a sizable number of the students on the campus and the administration of that university. And for that kind of confrontation to end up with the National Guard firing into the student protestors is inexcusable on any grounds. Whatever was occurring at the Kent State University cam-

pus, there is absolutely no justification, no rationale for that kind of action.

There have been some suggestions that the troops themselves were fired upon by a sniper. In the first place, I don't really believe that. Second, even if that were the case, it still doesn't justify the kind of reaction that it got from the National Guard. It's difficult for me to make a separation in my mind between the way in which individuals in positions of power and authority at Kent State University responded to the demonstrations and what President Nixon is doing in Cambodia and in Vietnam. I see these as being very much alike, and it comes down to a matter of the way in which authority is responding to the kinds of problems that they're challenged with.

It seems as though the response which is the most popular now is one of suppression, which can be executed in varying degrees. In a sense a mild form of suppression might be, for example, the expulsion of a student for protesting or for disturbing the campus in some way. You can carry the line from there all the way to Vietnam and to the policies of our government in Vietnam, which is the suppression of the popular will there by sending in troops and by killing those with whom they disagree or whose views are different.

So, there really isn't any difference in my mind between what occurred on the Kent State University campus and what's going on in Vietnam. I think this is a very serious issue, a very serious problem, and it's going to continue to be one as long as individuals in positions of power insist on thinking that they can solve problems by the use of force. All that this is going to do is to create greater alienation, to foment more disturbances, and perhaps—and I don't mean to be paranoid—eventually to lead us into a serious revolutionary kind of crisis.

Turning now to the Governor's Day activities here: what did you think of the arrangements made for the observance of Governor's Day?

Well, I think that the activities of that day should have been postponed or canceled. I don't

think that the event should have been held at all. I might go back a little bit beyond that and suggest that it's disturbing to me that the Governor's Day activities on this campus consist, as far as I can tell, virtually exclusively of some kind of presentation by the ROTC, which makes it essentially a military day. I don't see it as being something which the campus as a whole was involved in. I think very few people . . . those who are in one way or another involved with ROTC (those who are in ROTC or perhaps their girlfriends or parents) are about the only ones who attend that function, other than the officials, of course, who are supposed to be there. So, essentially it's a military day.

On the part of large numbers of people in this country, the tremendous feeling of revulsion against military strategy, military tactics, and the use of force should have been enough to suggest to those who were responsible for Governor's Day that it would have been a wise move for them to have canceled the event, given the events immediately preceding (the invasion into Cambodia, the Kent State University thing). It also would have been appropriate to have canceled it in terms of a kind of a gesture of sadness for the Kent State University events, particularly. So, in my view there wasn't anything that could be done at that event which would have justified holding it. I think the only thing that should have been done or that could have been done was simply to have postponed or canceled it.

What was your reaction to the demonstration?

There are a number of angles or aspects to my reaction to the demonstration. First of all, consider it in the context of the kind of violence which is characteristic of this country. Consider our foreign policy and our ways of dealing with those groups in other parts of the world whose views are different from ours: we deal with them primarily through the use of force or subversion through the CIA or some other governmental agency. Given the way that the police in this country respond to protest and to demonstration; given the characteristically brutal treatment of individu-

als and groups in this country who disagree with agencies, with the government, and with individuals in power; and given, on the other hand, tactics which have been used by various dissident groups and individuals in order to dramatize their disaffection, it seems to me that the demonstration which occurred on Governor's Day was really a pretty innocuous thing.

Essentially all that it consisted of was a number of people (and there have been estimates varying between three to five hundred people) marching into the stadium, marching around the track in the stadium a couple of times, carrying peace signs, carrying antiwar signs, carrying signs with various slogans of this type, chanting antiwar slogans, chanting peace slogans, and then going up into the stands and continuing the chanting and the slogans. This is essentially about all that it amounted to. There were a few moments down on the field when the ROTC was marching around when there was some tension between the ROTC people and a group of demonstrators who were on the football stadium grounds. But this is all that it amounted to: some singing and some marching, some chanting, some laughing, perhaps, and then some tension. As far as I know, there was never any physical contact between any individual or any groups, and this is about all it amounted to.

So, placing it in the context of what seems to be a kind of strategy for dealing with dissidents on the part of our government at various levels (including the harassment, assassinations, and murders of various leaders of the Black Panther Party) this demonstration was really quite innocuous, quite innocent. It seems to me that the reaction which it has gotten throughout various factions and levels in the state is almost incredible. It's difficult to understand. Well, it's not difficult to understand; it is understandable, but it's still incredible. The reaction is way out of proportion to the event, to the incident the itself, and to what actually occurred.

Now, as far as the demonstration is concerned from the point of view of its being an expression of feeling, I think it was very successful. I think that people do tend to ignore what has generally

been called the normal methods or the normal channels for expressing differences of viewpoints. And this, of course, has a lot to do with the reason why the demonstrations occurred in the first place.

It's difficult to get any significant, serious response to legitimate demands when one goes about them through what is ordinarily called the proper channels. The proper channels have become ways in which things can be drowned very quietly and lost very quietly. Hence, there is little, if any, impact. There is little, if any, consequence. There is little, if any, point to trying to express oneself through these channels. It seems to me that if nothing else, the demonstration was successful in dramatizing the depth of the feeling that a large number of people had about the events that we talked about, and of dramatizing the extent of the disaffection of a large number of people from the traditional, conventional techniques and modes of expression. So, I think it was very successful in that way.

Now, I have rather mixed feelings about the extent of the demonstration itself. I was saying a moment ago that my impression is that the demonstration was really a pretty innocuous thing. I hesitate to say this, because I'm aware of the implications of this, and these are, to me, tragic implications. I wish it were not this way, and I certainly wish that events were not such that I felt this way, but I wonder if perhaps the demonstration would have been taken more seriously, in terms of the issues around which the demonstration was centered, if perhaps there actually had been violence. If the demonstration got the kind of response that it has, then perhaps in order to convince people not only that these issues really need to be looked at, but also that individuals are willing to sacrifice themselves in order to focus attention on these individuals, perhaps something even more dramatic than what occurred might have been desirable.

So, on the one hand, I'm sort of pleased and grateful that there wasn't violence, that no one



"Essentially all that it consisted of was a number of people . . . marching into the stadium, marching around the track in the stadium a couple of times . . . continuing the chanting and the slogans." Governor's Day demonstration at stadium, May 5, 1970. Paul Adamian is at the left front in glasses and a jacket.

was hurt, because I don't like to see anybody get hurt. Anyone. On the other hand, it's disturbing how the issues that the demonstration was focused upon have gotten lost in the kind of reaction that the demonstration has gotten. Perhaps if some blood had been spilled on this campus on that day, people would have looked at it more closely, thought about it more than they are doing. So, I really have kind of mixed feelings about it.

On the one hand, I think it was very successful. On the other hand, because of the kind of response that it's gotten, I wonder really how successful it was. I wonder how far individuals or groups have to go in order to convince people of the seriousness of their concern and to dramatize the issues which they are concerned with. It seems as though unless some blood gets shed, or unless somebody's head is cracked, or unless there is some serious violence of some kind, that the thing just sort of gets lost in all of the—how can I put it? [sighs]—in all of the superficialities.

Since that day, I haven't seen or heard in any of the local media any investigation into the reasons for the demonstration. I haven't read one newspaper account or investigation into the causes or the reasons for the demonstration. I haven't seen anything on television. I haven't heard any comments. I haven't heard any reports on any of the problems here at the university which might have had something to do with the demonstration. All that the media has done, and apparently all that the majority of the citizens of Nevada have done, is to demand the expulsion of students who have participated or the firing of faculty who have participated. The Board of Regents and the legislature has reacted in a repressive way, making the same stupid mistake which has been made time and time again on other campuses, and which apparently neither the legislature nor the Board of Regents has learned anything from.

They seem to have the idea that all one has to do in order to stop a kettle from boiling is to put a lid on it. And it only takes common sense to know what's going to happen when one puts a lid on a kettle of boiling water. This seems to be essentially the reaction of those who are directly

within the university system or structure, the legislature, and a large number of people in the state as a whole: simply to put a lid on things, so that what occurred on Governor's Day won't occur again. But the only way to guarantee that is to remove the causes for what occurred on Governor's Day. The only way to do that is to deal with the issues which gave rise to the demonstration on Governor's Day.

One is not going to stop that kind of demonstration, one is not going to stop that kind of protest by passing laws or coming out with some sort of a university code which is going to punish people for expressing themselves that way. Because I'm certain they're going to continue to express themselves that way. Coming down in this kind of repressive way is only going to create more tension, to create greater confrontation, and perhaps then, to end up with a situation which may not be that far different from Kent State University. If that kind of thing occurs on this campus, then I think it's people or groups like the legislature, like the Board of Regents, which have to look at themselves and ask themselves what their responsibility has been.

So, I'm very disappointed that the issues and the causes have been obscured, have gotten lost, and have been ignored. I'm disappointed that the reaction has been all to the superficial aspects of the demonstration. And I'm disappointed there has been absolutely no penetration through the surface events into the causes and the issues which lie behind them—again, not by the media, not by the legislators, not by the Board of Regents, not by the administration of this university. That's been disappointing. So, I think from that point of view, the demonstration was not successful.

How do you feel about the necessity of participating in the demonstration?

Well, I'm not sure I know what to do with the term "necessity." This is an individual thing. Some individuals are satisfied with expressing themselves through the conventional, the normal, or the traditional channels. Therefore, to them, a

demonstration may not be necessary. Others feel that these methods are no longer functional, that they're no longer meaningful, and that the only way that one can express his views is by participating in a demonstration of some kind.

I think we have to look at the question of why so many people, and an increasing number of people, find it necessary (to go back to that term) to express themselves through demonstrations. It seems to me that the answer is that they have good evidence, and good reason, for believing that the conventional and traditional modes are no longer meaningful and no longer really functional; therefore, demonstrations are a necessity. But this, too, is tragic. They shouldn't be a necessity. There should be no reason that an individual should have to feel or should feel that he has to demonstrate in some dramatic way to be heard, to have some kind of impact, to have some kind of influence on those who are in a position of making decisions. The normal channels should be open; they should work. But the fact that they're not then makes demonstrations necessary in the minds of a large number of people, and unfortunately an increasing number of people. I think this is an extremely serious, an extremely crucial problem.

What did you think was the most effective part of the demonstration and of the Governor's Day observance?

I don't think there was any effective part. I don't think that either can be broken down into parts. From my point of view, of course, the Governor's Day events themselves were obscene. The very fact that it was held was obscene: the presence of people, individuals. I noticed at least two individuals among the dignitaries wearing fezzes, or the caps, of their clubs that they belonged to. I don't know what they were, but something like the Elks Club or whatever. And here they were sitting in, I suppose, what is a reviewing stand or the reviewing area with these absurd fezzes on. Given the context of this whole event, wearing those fezzes, I think, just dramatizes just how totally stupid, how totally ignorant, how totally unknowing these individuals are. It was just

to me a visible, dramatic indication of the obscenity of the whole thing. So, I can't break that down into parts.

The demonstration, I would say the same thing: I can't break that down into parts. It began with a march from the bowl, with singing and chanting, and it continued to be that essentially until the very end.

What do you think should have been the reaction of the various people involved up there—the demonstrators, the ROTC, the university administration—to the conflicts that developed up at the stadium? Maybe some kind of a retrospective analysis of what would have made things better, if it was bad.

What would have made things better would have been that Governor's Day was not held. That would have made things a lot better. As far as what occurred on that day is concerned, I really can't think in terms of what the reaction should have been.

I think that we have a couple of slogans or a couple of aphorisms (or whatever they should be called) in this country. Oh, some things like, "business as usual." Another one that's similar to this is "the show must go on." The idea, I suppose, behind this is that events go on, that life goes on, that things—the daily routine of life—somehow must go on regardless of the kinds of disturbances which occur. And I can very well understand this kind of thinking and this kind of feeling in regard to certain situations, but I think that we're in a situation now where a large number of people feel that we're in a terrible crisis. We're in a situation where, for example, ecologists are estimating that we have from thirty to sixty years of life left on this planet and that sort of thing. I think in the face of events of that kind, or possibilities of that kind, that the idea of "business as usual" and the idea that "the show must go on" is just insanity. It's just insanity.

It's like a man standing in the middle of a road doing something with a truck coming down on him at eighty miles an hour, and saying to himself, "Well, you know—business as usual; the

show must go on,” and ignoring the truck. Well, of course, what’s going to happen is that he’s going to get run over. Well, a large number of people feel that way. They feel that that’s the kind of situation that we’re in. Therefore, to think in terms of “business as usual” is, again, a kind of insanity. It makes, then, the idea or the fact of Governor’s Day being held an insanity, because essentially what I suppose they were saying was, “Despite what President Nixon has done in Cambodia, despite what has happened on the Kent State University campus, the show must go on. Business as usual.”

But these are events of such significant seriousness that business ought not to go on as usual, and I think that, in effect, this is one of things that the demonstrators were attempting to say: “You, by insisting on having Governor’s Day, are saying to us, ‘Business as usual.’ By demonstrating, by disrupting, by interrupting, by disturbing the Governor’s Day activities, we are saying that we think things are serious enough that we ought to pause, we ought to stop and look and think about these things, and we ought to direct our energies toward these things instead of continuing on with ‘Business as usual.’”

So, in terms of what should have happened, from the point of view of those who demonstrated, I think that the demonstrations should have happened. I think that the individuals who are attempting to say, “Business as usual; the show must go on,” had to be told, “No, that’s not correct. We should not be thinking in terms of ‘business as usual,’ because these are not usual times; these are unusual times. The show must not go on because there are many more serious things to be concerned with than the show. And when we’ve arrived at that kind of condition, then we ought to stop the show, and we ought to deal with the problems.” I think this is what should have been said to those people, and I think that this was what was said to these people by the demonstrations.

So, yes, I think that this should have happened. I think that the demonstration should have happened. I think that whenever this kind of a situation arises and the attitude is “business as usual,” something should be done to dramatize

the other view: “No, we’re beyond the point where we can simply think in terms of ‘business as usual,’ and think in terms of this event or this incident as passing and of things falling back into some kind of routine of some sort. We’re beyond that. We don’t have that kind of time, that kind of energy to waste any longer.” So, no one should get away with that kind of “business as usual” sort of attitude anymore. And if it’s going to take a demonstration to impress that upon them, then that’s what should be done.

What was your reaction to the violence that followed Governor’s Day: the fire bombing?¹

Again, I feel sad that conditions are such in this country that those in the position of power, those in the positions of decision making, are so far out of contact with those whom they’re supposed to represent that even such a thing as the demonstration on Governor’s Day has to occur. But given that kind of condition, it’s not all that surprising to me that individuals may take such actions as bombing buildings or destroying buildings. My feeling about it is very mixed. Again, as I said before, I don’t like to see anybody hurt. I don’t like to see anybody killed. And in addition, I don’t like to see property destroyed. On the other hand, we have a very peculiar kind of value system in this country which seems to place a greater value on property than on human beings.

I could even relate this to the issue of civil rights, for example. We can go back into the whole problem of housing for minority groups in this country, and the problems that blacks have had and are still, of course, continuing to have in renting a house, where a landlord values his property more than he does the dignity of another individual human being. When it gets to this point, my feeling is that I would rather see property destroyed than human dignity destroyed. I would rather see a building blown up than a human being killed. When any human being is killed way before his normal time of passing from this life, I think there is an infinitely greater loss than when

any object, when any piece of property, is in some way destroyed or ruined.

It's sad, it's tragic, that we've produced a nation in which we value things more than we do people. But it seems to me that, again, in terms of a way of dramatizing concern, it is usually more effective to attempt to reach people through those things which they value the most. For example, if one wants to really reach a politician, one might do something which would possibly lose the politician votes. The politician would then be concerned about losing votes and then would perhaps act. A banker, for example, would be concerned about his bank losing money; then he might act. The owner of a huge department store might be concerned with losing customers; and he may act. A university may be concerned with losing buildings; it may act. If one analyzes the situation and concludes that the only way in which an institution can be moved into some kind of positive action, and if the only way in which an institution can be made to realize the seriousness of a problem is to in some way affect that which it values the most, and if that turns out to be a building, then perhaps that may be one way of getting an institution to concern itself with the problems.

So, a building to me is a building. It's made out of inanimate things. It's not made out of living things. It's not a thing that breathes. It's not a human being. It's not a thing that lives. It's made out of concrete and plastic and steel and wood and whatever kinds of material. It costs money, I know. But a building is something which can always be replaced. A human being can never be replaced.

Again, I'm sorry and saddened that conditions are such that individuals feel that the only way they can move things is by attempting to destroy a building or by bombing a building. But at the same time it seems to me that we need to keep our perspective about things and to realize that these are just buildings and to think in terms of what we're doing, for example, in Vietnam in terms of virtually destroying the whole country. We're practically killing off the Vietnamese. We're destroying their land with defoliants. We're

poisoning their plants. And we're destroying—we're virtually destroying a nation. We're literally destroying it. We're literally wiping it out from the face of the earth. A fire bomb on a building, in comparison to that, is peanuts.

What category of participating in various affairs of those weeks—the students, the faculty, or outsiders—do you think was most important in fomenting violence on the campus?

I really have no idea, although the word “fomenting” disturbs me a little bit. Again, from my point of view, these events would not have happened if those who were in a position of responsibility for the activities of Governor's Day had been sensitive to what had been going on and had very appropriately called off Governor's Day. If they had called Governor's Day off, then none of this would have happened. So, I suppose if one wants to talk in terms responsibility, the responsibility would have to be placed on the shoulders of those who decided to continue on with “business as usual.”

Do you think outsiders were important?

I really don't know. From my limited point of view, I would say, “No.” I think I was vaguely aware of the presence of a couple of people on campus whom I think somebody pointed out to me as being from off-campus. There were a couple of people sitting around having coffee in the student cafeteria one day, but I have no idea who they were. I have no idea what they were doing on the campus. They may not have had anything at all to do with anything that was going on during this time. I just don't know. I simply wasn't aware of the presence of off-campus people. I don't know.

Somebody has told me since that time that there were some high school students who participated in the demonstrations. Whether this is true or not, I really don't know. I simply have this one person's word, and if it were true, I don't know how many participated. So, I really don't know anything about off-campus or non-univer-

sity people participating in it. But in terms of responsibility, the responsibility is upon the shoulders of those who decided to hold Governor's Day.

What actions did you feel were most effective in cooling off the situation after the fire bombing?

I think that the various meetings that were held on the campus in the days following Governor's Day and the bombings had something to do with preventing any further and any more serious incidents from developing. I think the restraint on the part of the great majority of people on the campus had a lot to do with it, and I think this is really rather amazing because it seems to me there was a great deal of provocation, both from within and from outside of the university community.

Now, for example, from within the university community, I'm referring to a meeting that I went to over in the agricultural building. The room was filled, and a majority of the people in there were people from the College of Agriculture, whose views tend to be conservative, who tended to be in opposition to the views and the thinking of the demonstrators, who tended to support President Nixon's policies, who tended to be in favor of ROTC, and so on. I was asked to attend that meeting, and I did. It was very disturbing to me when I went there, because it was my understanding that this was to be a meeting in which we were to discuss issues, to talk about the problems which gave rise to these incidents. We were to have an exchange of ideas about these things and try to get together. In effect, what it ended up being was an attempt by these people to tell me and to tell others who had participated in the demonstrations to either knock this stuff off, or they were going to kick the shit out of us. And that didn't seem to me to be a very fruitful kind of discussion. It was a very hostile kind of discussion. There were a great many threats made. One student publicly threatened to eliminate me. He used that word—"eliminate"—and this was very characteristic of the tone of that meeting. It

seems to me that their whole attitude was a very provocative one. And it's amazing to me that those who participated in the demonstrations, whose views tended to be sympathetic with those who participated in the demonstration, didn't react in perhaps a violent way to this kind of attempt to intimidate, attempt to suppress, attempt to frighten.

So, it seems to me there was a great deal of provocation for further incidents within the university community. There were provocations from outside the university community. I'm thinking, in particular, of Senator [James] Slattery, who made what I think is a very stupid statement on television. I can't remember his exact words, but in essence he encouraged the so-called cowboys and the so-called Sundowners on this campus to wipe the radicals off the campus. It seems to me that if anybody is going to get arrested for inciting a riot, then Senator Slattery should have been. It's amazing to me, again, that violence didn't erupt after such a provocative kind of statement.

It's a little bit difficult to say why things didn't go further than they did, because there are a lot of reasons why they might have. I think it may have had something to do with the atmosphere on this campus. This is the biggest thing of this sort that's ever happened on this campus, as far as I know. I think, in a sense, that it caught everybody by surprise, and in a way it sort of frightened everyone, despite the fact (as I've said earlier) that the whole thing from my point of view was really a pretty innocuous thing. Because Nevada has been untouched by this, it was a kind of a big thing for a lot of people here, and I think it kind of shocked them. I think the shock had a tendency to kind of paralyze everyone. I think that everyone felt that, you know, a really terrible, terrible, terrible sort of thing had happened, and that no more should happen.

But I don't really think that there was anything done in any kind of coherent way to attempt to control, to attempt to tone down the mood after these things happened. I think that people who are in a position to do something about this ought to think about this problem, because it wouldn't

surprise me if things were to continue as they are, with further incidents of this kind occurring. And if it's going to be kept at a kind of minimum, then some sort of organized, concerted kind of plan or action ought to be thought about.

For example, there was some attempt to get as many faculty members as possible around to as many of these meetings on the campuses as possible, with the hope that the presence of the faculty would have a tendency to perhaps tone down some of the rhetoric, perhaps tone down some of the feelings. This may have had some slight effect. For example, something like this done in a more organized, coherent way might not be a bad idea. But as far as I could tell, there really wasn't anyone who was doing anything in any thought-out way to attempt to tone things down. As far as I'm concerned, it's just a kind of accident, in a sense, that nothing more than what did occur didn't occur. I think it was just sheer luck. As far as I could see, there was no organized or coherent way devised to deal with this. As far as I know, not one single college-wide, for example, Arts and Sciences-wide or university-wide, faculty meeting was called during this whole period. As far as I know, no attempt was made for the administration and the faculty and the students to get together in any way, to discuss what happened and to talk about things. As far as I know, attempts were, you know, "Business as usual."

Classes sort of . . . went on. I know that many faculty took time out in their classes to talk about things, and perhaps this might have had some effect. This might have had some value. I suspect that it did. But it's amazing to me that the administration of this university did not act in any way, as far as I know, or as far as I can see or was able to see. I know that President Miller went on television, along with, I think, Frankie Sue Del Papa (president of the ASUN) and made some sort of statement calling for the toning down of feelings. But the president did not call a faculty meeting. There was no meeting of faculty and students, no meeting of students and administra-

tors, and no general meeting of any kind. And this is standard. On any other campus where anything like this has ever happened before, people have tried to get together. Classes have been called off, or they've taken at least a day off and called a general meeting or whatever. Nothing like that was done on this campus.

My impression is that nobody knew how to react to this, nobody knew how to handle this, and nobody was prepared for this. It's amazing to me—we've had our history of what, five, ten years now, of disturbances of this kind and worse than this on college and university campuses across the country. Apparently there was absolutely no preparation for anything like this on this campus. To me, again, it's an indication of how much Nevadans are out of what's going on, or at least think they're out of what's going on in the world, by how much surprise they were caught by this. I suppose it has something to do with the extent of their reaction, but it shouldn't be a surprise.

Nevada happens to be one of the states in the United States, which happens to be in the world. It is foolish for Nevada to expect that things are going to go on in the world without it affecting Nevada, or for things to go on in other states or other parts of the country and not go on or not occur in Nevada. But apparently this is the way that they were thinking, because I saw no evidence of any preparation or any understanding of this.

So, I don't see that there was really anything done to help tone down things, to help control things after the initial incidents or explosions. So, again, I would go back to saying that it was sheer luck that things didn't go any further than they did. Nevadans, in a way, ought to be downright pleased with the students and the faculty on this campus for that reason. But I'm sure they won't be, because they're too blind to see it.

How do you think the events on campus affect the university's image outside—in the dealing with this conflict on campus?

Well, apparently a great number of people in the state, both public officials and individual citizens, were very much aware of the disturbance and had very strong reactions to it. There was, apparently, quite a strong reaction against those who participated in the demonstrations.

I myself have been in a situation, a very odd one, and this is perhaps wandering a bit, but I was going on a picnic with some other people, and we stopped at a restaurant in Reno and had lunch. Two couples in the table right behind us discussing the incident were referring to me by name. We left there and drove down to Carson City, and I stopped in Carson City to get gasoline, and the gasoline attendant recognized me, and we discussed events on the campus. We went from there down to Grover Hot Springs, which is, I think, just into California, south of Carson City, and the lifeguard at the swimming pool there recognized me, and again we discussed it. So, this all occurred within a period of about two or three hours. It's amazing. Apparently, there was a considerable awareness, at least, of some sort of disturbance.

I think there was total ignorance as to what it was all about, but there was some sort of awareness of some sort of disturbance occurring on the campus and an extremely paranoid kind of reaction to it: editorials on television, on the radio, and in newspapers. Individuals were screaming for the expulsion of students and the firing of faculty, were insisting if the Board of Regents didn't take such actions, the board itself be dissolved, or if President Miller didn't act in some significant way in these directions, that he be fired, and so on.

So, the reaction on the part of a great number of people was apparently a very reactionary one and a very suppressive one—a very hostile one. I suppose that they were upset, of course, that what they had been reading about in the newspaper occurring on other campuses had occurred here, or some vestiges or some signs of similar kinds of things occurred here. They were apparently very happy with a campus that's asleep if not dead, and very disturbed with a campus that has

any signs of life on it. And they would like to see it go back to sleep as quickly as possible and as soon as possible. Of course, their idea of the best way to do this is to get rid of all the people who show any signs of being awake. So, I'm sure that in a sense, in a public relations sense, the image of the university, you know, has been sort of damaged.

I have gotten any number of phone calls from irate citizens who have been extremely hostile, abrasive, and obscene in their language, in their talking to me on the telephone. It's very interesting to me that they keep on referring to themselves as taxpayers of the state. It seems to me that that's almost getting to be kind of a right-wing sort of slogan. It doesn't occur to them that I'm also a taxpayer, that I pay taxes as well as they do, or I pay the same taxes that they do. But the reaction was a very angry one, very angry one. And this is disappointing, too: again, total inability to get through the surface.

Even when I attempted to get into some of these things with these individuals over the telephone, they would cut me off or just shout a string of obscenities at me, threaten to kill me, threaten to burn my home, threaten to shoot me with a rifle some night, or something like that. This was the kind of reaction that I got from these individuals. I suppose this is typical of what might be called a kind of a lunatic fringe. But I think it's only the extreme example of what was sort of the general reaction to the university on the part of many people in the state.

I think that this is where a university is tested, as far as I'm concerned. Regardless of whether it's a state-supported institution or not, the university has to determine for itself the validity of what it's doing, the humanity of what it stands for, and to stick by this. From my point of view it's been rather disappointing to me to see how the university, at various levels from the administration on up, has tended to capitulate to the lunatic reaction.

I think this is going to cost the university a great deal, not only in the very near future, but in the long run. For the legislature to threaten to cut

off funds to the university is an absurdity. It would be comical. In a way I almost wish that the legislature would: it would be really very interesting to see what would happen if suddenly they cut off funds to the University of Nevada. For anyone at the university on any level, including the administrative level, to be frightened by this kind of insanity is incredible to me, just incredible.

What should the university be doing to focus on those things?

The university should be doing much more than it is in making the community aware of what's going on here on this campus. Public relations tends to be pretty phony. I have to say something which is hearsay, and I realize that, and this certainly should be taken into consideration. But an individual recently wrote an article for *Nevada Magazine*,² I believe, on the University of Nevada or on the university system. I was talking to another individual who knows the author quite well or who knew the author quite well at this time. And I had happened to see the article and was interested, of course, in it and quickly looked at it, and it struck me as being just a lot of bullshit. It was just a lot of out-front stuff about things which were just entirely superficial, and it painted a very rosy sort of picture about the University of Nevada at Reno and also at Las Vegas. I made some remark about this to the friend of the author, and I expressed my disappointment about the article. The friend said that the author had told her that he had gotten into some of the problems that the university system was having and had gotten into some of these issues, but these sections had been edited out of his article.

Now, this is the kind of thing that the public gets. So, they read their magazine like this, and they say, "Oh, this is a beautiful campus, and it has nice green grass, and it has interesting red brick buildings. It has trees on it, and it looks very nice. There's a pond out there, and there are ducks in the pond, and that's nice. And everything is very sweet and very beautiful." They have absolutely no idea what's going on. I think more

could be done in letting them know what's going on and having the courage to let the community know that the university has problems. I don't think that anybody has to be ashamed about that or embarrassed or feel badly that problems exist. They exist all over. Let the public know that there are problems to get the kind of help, perhaps, that might be valuable from the community in helping to solve some of these problems.

In addition, I'm disturbed at the fact that, for example, the Board of Regents—which has virtually god-like powers over the university—probably really doesn't have any idea what's going on in the classrooms. I wonder, for example, when the last time was that any member of the Board of Regents spent some time sitting in a class. I wonder when the last time was that any of them took a course at the university. I wonder when the last time was that any of them really sat down in a really loose, informal, really relaxed way (and not a phony set-up kind of way) and talked to students on this campus about what's going on in their classrooms, what they're concerned about, what they would like to see changed, the kind of improvements that they would like to see occur, or perhaps the complaints that they have about me as a teacher. How much do they know about what's going on? I suspect really very little.

They hold a meeting at this place this month, and another place next month. The president of the university goes, and a few individuals like that. I suspect that their contact with the students and the faculty on this campus is virtually nil, yet they're sitting up there and making decisions which affect what goes on in classrooms. So, things of this sort, I think are their responsibility: the courage to be more honest about problems on the campus, and the greater effort on the part of individuals. It's really their responsibility, since in one way or another they volunteered or asked to take on this responsibility, for example, on a Board of Regents, or on the education committee in the legislature, or on committees which have anything to do with allocating funds to the university or whatever. I think a part of that responsibility is knowing what the hell is going on on

this campus, and I think that they're failing that badly—very, very badly.

I think that the university could do more in terms of communicating to Nevadans the issues which are serious concerns to Nevadans, but also go out beyond Nevadans. I'm talking about, for example, the whole ecology thing that people are into now. Certainly, there's stuff on television about it by the national media and so on. But I think that the university ought to communicate to Nevadans the concern that students have about this sort of thing, or the concern that students have about President Nixon's policies in Cambodia. In other words, let the community know that we have a group of people here who—despite the fact that they are your sons and daughters—do not necessarily feel and think about things the way that you do as their parents. The university should not try to hide the fact that these differences exist, and not try to fool the public and fool the parents.

I think the university does this not by anything that it says, but by what it does not say. I think the university does this by fooling them into thinking that the university is bringing the children of these parents here in order to train them to think the way that their parents do. I think this is what a lot of parents expect at the university: that they're going to send their children there, and that their children are going to come out of the university, and that the university, in this four-year period, will have worked with these students in such a way that they come out thinking the way that their fathers and their mothers do. What happens is that the students come out not thinking and feeling the way that their parents do, and the parents are shocked, and they say, "What's going on up there?" Well, there's a lot going on—not only here, but in the state, in the country, in the world as a whole. And I think it's a university's obligation not to hide these things, but to bring these things out into the open, and not to talk in just sort of generalities or nice terms or whatever, but to make it clear to Nevadans that things are changing, and they're changing in many ways that are very unpleasant.

The ways of thinking about things are changing; the attitudes toward things are changing. They're going to be extremely disappointed if they think that their kids are going to come here and come out of the university thinking and feeling about these things the same way that their mothers and fathers do. Of course, this is precisely what happened, because in one way or another they sort of find out: some kids come home on vacation, or they get letters from their kids, or something like this demonstration occurs, and they realize that, wow, it isn't, you know, what they thought. Well, that should never have occurred. They should have had a pretty good idea of what's going on, or what might occur, or whatever. I think the university could do an awful lot more in this way than they have.

I frequently read in the local newspaper about some speaker appearing at a dinner of the Elks Club, or whatever, and talking about this and talking about that. It's always somebody like the commanding general of the National Guard, the director of the draft system in the state, or somebody like [Bill] Raggio—somebody like that. I wonder if any of these groups have ever asked faculty members to come and talk to them about what's going on up at the university, what they're doing in their classes, what their students are interested in, and what they're concerned about. Why don't they ask them? You know, why is it always somebody outside like that who frequently tries to tell them about what's going on at the university, or what the university is supposed to be about? Why don't they ask somebody who's here? Why don't they ask somebody who's in contact with students every day in classes and in the cafeteria or in meetings and whatever? Why don't they invite people like that to come to their meetings and talk to them?

So, I think it's a two-way thing. There's a great deal more that the university could be doing. I think there's a great deal more that the community could be doing. I mean, I think they could be reaching out, too. I don't really see any signs that they have been. Whatever happens, it seems to happen as a kind of temporary thing as a result

of some kind of explosion. Then there's a kind of a flurry of meetings and a flurry of get-togethers and a flurry of discussions, and then the tendency is for these to peter out and to die. They ought to continue.

In addition, the news media in this area . . . I know, for example, that at various times the local newspapers here run series which will continue for a week or two on what's going on at Lake Tahoe or on the problems with Pyramid Lake. But as far as I know, in the four years that I've been here there hasn't been any continuing or extensive series of an investigation into what's going on at the university—you know, interviews with people, students, faculty, administrators, and so on. I think the media could do a lot more than they have.

I also think it would be helpful to see a greater representation on the various levels of decision-making which affect the university. For example, I would like to see the presidents of the faculty senates of both campuses as regular members of the Board of Regents. I think it would also be wise to include the presidents of the student bodies of both campuses as regular members of the Board of Regents. What we have now on the Board of Regents are a bunch of businessmen. There's no one there who speaks for the university who can talk from the university point of view, who can talk from the point of view of a faculty member, or who can talk from the point of view of a student—and to have the power to vote from that point of view.

I think that members of the university ought to be included on committees in the legislature which are concerned with the university in various ways. If they were to ask members of the university whether, for example, they would like to see as much money being spent on keeping the grass green at the cost of perhaps books for the library, they might get an interesting response. I would rather see a lot more books in the library and a lot less grass out on the lawn. But who says that to them, you know? So, how much do they really understand about how people feel? I think this is all a part of the relations and the kind of

relations which have to exist if we're going to have a really good school.

So, everybody's failed. I suppose I failed, too, you know. I should have been making more of an effort than I have. But it's difficult. I suppose everybody gets sort of involved—you get involved in your teaching, you get involved in all the other things; and you get to the point where you have the feeling that the American Legion really isn't going to listen to you anyway, so why even ask if you can come and speak?

Do you think that issues of academic freedom were involved in participating in the demonstration?

Oh, yes, very much so. Well, I'm not even sure. I don't know what term I would give it. I don't even know whether I would give it the term "academic freedom." As far as I'm concerned, first and foremost, I'm a human being. After that, I'm a man. After that, I'm an American citizen. After that, I'm a teacher. After that, I'm a citizen of the state of Nevada. And we could just go on.

First of all, I'm a human being, and that gives me the right to be concerned with any issue that affects me as a human being, including my life. I don't think that there's any time when my concern from this point of view may have some conflict with my concerns as a professional individual, that I would not choose to go in the direction of my human concerns. Nor do I think (and this is perhaps where the issue of academic freedom may enter) that any individual ought to be punished for pursuing his interest and concerns as a human being by being deprived of a livelihood. This is, in effect, what happens when a person is fired from his job. Of course, that's a pretty serious penalty or price to pay. So, I certainly think that when it comes to the kinds of issues that we've been talking about, all the way from the national to a local level, the individual ought not to give up. When ways of attempting to do something about these issues are restricted or repressed or lost or blocked, the individual ought not to give up, but to continue to try to find

some kind of action that will express his concern or feelings about issues that concern us as human beings, that concern our fellow man, that concern our children. I don't think he should be punished for it.

It's kind of a very strange situation, it seems to me. It has a number of angles. It's like ringing a bell and having a dog come because he associates the ringing of the bell with eating, with food. Then, continuing to ring the bell, but not giving the dog any food, and then eventually, of course, the dog would probably stop coming, would stop answering the bell. Any individual who continues ringing a bell says, "Well, see? You know, I'm continuing to ring the bell, but you know, the dog isn't coming, so it's not my fault." That's the kind of situation we're in. In terms of the conventional ways of expressing oneself, they're meaningless. I think that both the Constitution and the Declaration of Independence give us a great deal of support for taking unconventional actions when the conventional have been shut down.

So, I think it's an issue that goes really beyond academic freedom. One might almost call it human freedom. I don't know what. But I'm concerned with the quality of my life. I'm concerned with the quality of the lives of other people. I'm concerned about the quality of the life that my children will be growing up into. And if I can do something which can help that, I'm not going to be prevented from doing it because some member of the Board of Regents may be upset by it.

I may not be really very polite in what I do. I may be impolite. I will be impolite. And when an individual behaves in such a way that perhaps isn't very polite, or perhaps which isn't very pleasant, or perhaps which isn't in what might be called good taste, his livelihood can be taken away from him. This means that a person's job can be used as a way of controlling him, as a way of controlling his thinking, and as a way of controlling his actions. If he's constantly under the fear of the threat of losing his job because he might say something which is going to disturb somebody,

or he might do something which is going to disturb somebody, we've gone into the era of thought control. And I'm afraid that that's the direction in which we're going.

Speaking personally for myself, I would never permit that to happen to myself. If I were to be fired from the University of Nevada, either I will find a job in another university, or if not that, I will sell used cars, or I'll beg on the streets, or whatever. I'll survive somehow. The freedom of my mind is much more important to me than the quality of the material things that I have around me or the amount of my monthly income. There isn't anything that you could offer me which would be worth the price of my freedom. I would hope that all individuals would feel that way.

How can students and faculty be effective politically? Should they try to influence?

Oh, yes, definitely I think they should be. I think every individual should be as active as he can, whatever his point of view may be. I think students and faculty have a certain advantage, perhaps, over many other individuals in that they tend to be in a situation where they are aware, are made aware, or become aware of issues and problems and of what's going on because of what's occurring in classrooms, the books they're reading, and the things that they're discussing. So, they have that advantage over, perhaps, many other people. They also have a certain advantage in that they're a fairly sort of organized group, however loosely, and they do have means of communicating with one another fairly easily and quickly. So, I think that not only should they be concerned and active politically, but I think that if they want to, they can be very effective this way.

We've already seen some evidence of this in the kind of support in the recent past that individuals such as Senator McCarthy and Bobby Kennedy got from students and the effectiveness of that kind of support. I'm all in favor of that; I would like to see that continue to increase. I would

even like to see colleges and universities take some time off from their routines, perhaps even a period of a week or two just prior to elections, and allow individuals to go out into the community and to participate in the whole political or electoral process in whatever way they feel best and for whatever candidate they wish. I think this would be an excellent educational opportunity, and it would be really getting into something that ought to be a very valuable part of us as Americans, but which so many people have become disappointed in and disaffected from.

If you're going to get younger people and perhaps even the intellectuals, in a sense, back into the system as it was or was supposed to have been, one of the best ways would be to encourage as much participation in it as possible. If political figures are going to tell us constantly that this is the way to do things, then I think efforts ought to be made to give us the opportunity to get into this way as much as possible. So, I would go so far as to suggest canceling classes for a couple of weeks and doing whatever to encourage both students and faculty—everyone—to get involved. I would like to see companies (markets, supermarkets, drug stores, department stores) do this. I would like to see them give their employees time off and rotate their employees in such a way as possible so they can get involved.

Because of the nature of their involvement in their daily activities, I think students and faculty are in a rather unique position in that they are very sensitive and very much aware of what's going on. Speakers come to the campus, for example. Students discuss these things in a political science class, a sociology class, or perhaps even English classes (who knows?), and so on. So, they have these things on their minds all the time. They have some idea of what's going on. They have some idea of the issues. Hopefully, they're learning how to understand issues, how to distinguish between real and false ones, how to really understand what politicians are saying, how to really understand the implications of the things that they are suggesting, and so on. So, I think that they would be excellent people to get involved in the political process. If that would

have happened, and if it were to work, then nobody would have to worry about the kind of thing that occurred on Governor's Day.

Where do you think the peace movement in this area is going now?

I don't think it's going anywhere. There is really no organized peace movement. There isn't anything in this area that I would even call a movement. I don't think there is a peace movement. I think some signs or some indication of this is in the way things occur on a kind of incidental sort of basis. So, something happens: President Nixon announces sending troops into Cambodia. There is concern, and people get together. And there's a demonstration, or maybe flyers are put out, or speeches are made, or something like that. And this lasts for a period of time, then it disappears. Now, talking about a peace movement, I'm thinking of something more permanent than that. A peace movement would perhaps have a building with offices in it, with a telephone, with files, with a printing press, and so on, and would be doing something every day. There's nothing, as far as I'm aware of, that comes even close to that in this area. So, as far as I'm concerned, there is no peace movement.

I think there are some possibilities of one being organized next fall, assuming that conditions in Vietnam, Cambodia, or whatever, are such that they demand this kind of movement. Then I see the possibilities of one forming and organizing in this area. But I don't think there is one now. There is a kind of core of people who are interested in this, but they haven't been organized. Again, I think it has something to do with the kind of isolationist sort of feeling that Nevadans, including many students, faculty, have. I suspect that that's disappearing somewhat. So, it wouldn't surprise me to see something more organized get going in the fall. I think it has that potential, but I don't think there is any such thing at the moment at this time. There is a possibility of making some contacts with groups which have been working at this for some time now in other parts of the country and getting help from them—perhaps

getting material from them and so on. And if such contacts are made, then something of a more permanent kind of activity or group might develop in the fall.

Do you have any other comments you'd like to make about this whole situation?

I think I've perhaps touched on most of the feelings I have, at least at the moment, about a lot of the questions that you've asked. I might say again it's very disappointing to me that this state has, in effect, responded to what occurred on Governor's Day with a kind of a witch hunt. There are two people who are in the process of being judged as to their fitness or whatever to continue working here at the university. I am one of them. It's disappointing to me that the state thinks that by possibly firing me or the other individual or both of us, it can solve the problems here. It's a kind of a response which has not worked elsewhere. It's not going to work here, whatever happens to me as an individual.

I think this is essentially the function of a very bad, very poor understanding of events in the world today, the feelings on the part of young people about these events, and the role that a university plays and must play if we're going to survive. We can't get by with a kind of institution that was valuable and helpful and useful and functional in the nineteenth century. This is what we have around today for the most part. We've got to make some rapid changes, and we've got to have people who are willing to make these changes and perhaps to take a certain amount of risk in the changes that they make—perhaps even to make a certain amount of sacrifice in the changes that they make. But we're finished, we're through, if people are going to insist on having outmoded institutions to deal with the problems that we have. We're finished if we have individuals who insist that the function of the educational system is to get the individuals to adjust to society. And we're finished if individuals as parents insist that their children think, feel, behave, and act the way that they did when they were their children's age.

Along with many other people, I know I really feel tremendously aware of time—that time is running out. In fact, we've been told that time has already run out. I refuse to accept that, because if that were true, then there wouldn't be any reason for any of us doing anything other than what each of us would like to selfishly do. If we've only got thirty more years to go, why even fool around with retirement policies and life insurance policies? Why even fool around with education? Why make plans about anything? Why have children? Accepting that as a kind of death, it may be unrealistic in a sense to refuse to accept the idea that we're finished, but I refuse to accept that idea, because as soon as we do accept that idea, we just stop. And then we really are finished. I'd like to think that we can still do something to turn away from the direction in which we're going, but I feel as though we don't have the kind of time that we may have had at one time before the problems we've become aware of. We don't have a hundred years to sit around, and this makes for a feeling of pressure: that things must be done, must be done quickly, must be done soon. This has a lot to do with the kinds of disturbances which occur, and it seems as though people never really seem to do anything unless they have a sense of an emergency existing.

I remember that I was told a story that there were some people in London, England, who wanted to get the children from the poorer sections of London out into the country on a weekend day for a picnic or whatever. They went to the authorities in the city of London and asked them for their help in doing this, and they were told that it couldn't be done. So, it never was done. Then during World War II, when there was the threat of a bombing of the city of London by the Germans, all the children from the city were evacuated from the city in one day. So, when people get a sense of emergency, they can do things. They can do things which seem to be impossible. A lot of these demonstrations and disturbances are trying to give precisely this sense to people: that we are in a crisis situation, that it is an emergency, and that they need to act quickly.

It's the failure on the part of a majority of people to see this, to understand this, which is so sad, and this failure is also responsible for the continuing sort of escalation of violence which occurs. You do something; you write a letter; it doesn't do any good. So then, maybe you try a telephone call, and that doesn't do any good. So then, you get five people together to write a letter, and that doesn't do any good. And you get this constant kind of escalation. The next thing you know, you're participating in a demonstration on Governor's Day. And if that doesn't work, then what?

So, again, who's responsible? I think the responsibility lies on the people who fail to respond, who keep saying, "That isn't enough to move me. You've got to come up with something more." All right. Then you come up with something more, and then you get slapped down for it. So, you do a little bit, and that's not enough. You try more; that's not enough. You try something unusual, and all that gets is repression. In the meantime, the time passes: another day passes, another week passes, another month, and another year. And we've lost that much more valuable time.

So, all this has to do with a sense of frustration, a sense of an emergency, a sense of a crisis, a sense of a need for immediate action. People aren't willing to accept the idea that nothing can be done, that it costs too much, that there isn't enough money, or whatever. I still feel, and I still believe—and many others whom I know feel as I do—that if people would get together and direct their resources, their abilities, their thinking, and their minds, they could deal with any kind of problem. This is all we're asking for, and I think in a sense this is all that the people who participated in that demonstration were asking for: let's stop killing one another; let's stop fighting one another; let's stop losing a sense of what life is all about by becoming involved in matters which are really ultimately not that important; and let's get together and work on those things that are. The response to this has been, "Expel them. Fire them." And the sad thing is that this is suicidal: the people who respond this way are committing suicide, and they don't even know it. But the only

thing that an individual can do is to keep on trying as best as he knows how, and however badly that might be, to awaken people to this fact.

Notes

1. Following the Governor's Day demonstrations there were two firebombings on or near the University of Nevada campus. In the first incident, three Molotov cocktails were directed at Hartman Hall, where the ROTC was housed. Not long after, a similar incident occurred at the Hobbit Hole, a house frequented by students involved with the peace movement.

2. David W. Toll "The Universities: Tuning with the Times." *Nevada Parks and Highways* Summer 1970.

ELIZABETH ANDERSON

May 29, 1970

Why do you think you were chosen to be interviewed?

I don't know, except that I was there firsthand and saw things firsthand as far as the demonstration was concerned. And I was pretty mad about it. [laughter]

What was your reaction to President Nixon's decision to go into Cambodia?

Well, after serious thought, I think he's right. I think it's stupid to have a war and send the boys over there, and you don't put the whole strength of the United States behind them. Either get out or finish it, as far as I'm concerned. In Cambodia, they were running back and forth over the line. I think he's right. I think he'll shorten the war.

In what way do you think the Cambodia decision was related to what happened next on our campus?

I don't think it had much to do with it. I think they'll find an excuse anyway to do something. I

think it was there; it was a convenient vehicle for them to scream about. I'm firmly convinced these kids are the ones that aren't making it in school. I think the majority of them aren't from professional schools. They don't have enough to do, and they just want to rabble-rouse.

What was your reaction to events in other parts of the country related to the Cambodia decision?

You mean as far as politicians are concerned, or the students on campus?

Well, the other parts of the country where this kind of disturbance began to take place. What was your reaction to that?

Well, my reaction's the same as it was here. I think it's a planned organization. I don't know who they are, but disruptive elements through the country are being supported by a foreign power—maybe they don't think so—of misguided wealthy people in this country. They're sending these people out a few to each campus to start the riots and stir up the kids. I don't think the kids know what they're doing. I really don't. I think they just, "Hop on, wow, whoopee, whoopee!" You know, it's more of a party to them, and the other

half—they don't have enough maturity to know what they're doing.

Going now to the Governor's Day: what did you think of the arrangements for the observances?

Of course, it's always easier to look back now, but knowing what I know now, I think it should have been restricted to invitations only or faculty people that could show their cards. There were quite a number of kids here that were not associated with the campus. One of the colonel's co-eds at lunch that day told me that she saw several kids that were dropouts when she went to high school in Reno. They were here as nineteen- and twenty-year-old bums (I don't know what you'd call them) from downtown, saying, "There's a rumble out at the university. Come on, let's go." That sort of thing.

There were I don't know how many people from out of state, but there were a couple I know from Berkeley, because I'd spoken to one of the participants at those Tuesday night meetings. He wanted to know who the people were that were speaking. He asked, "Who's this guy?" And it was Jim [Anderson] speaking.

I said, "Good heavens! Don't you know the deans on campus?"

He says, "Hell, no! I'm not from this university. I'm from Berkeley." So, I noticed he was there marching and rabble-rousing at Governor's Day. Now, how many more, I don't know.

Well, then, what was your reaction to the demonstration as opposed to the observance?

I was mad. As far as I'm concerned, I don't believe that they had any business doing what they did at all, even marching around. If I had been president, they wouldn't have marched around the grounds as they did. Now, Edd Miller is a kind gentleman, [laughter] and he let them go around twice. But I think there should have been strict instructions that after they'd gone around twice, they were to march out of the stadium. It certainly got out of hand there.

I went up into the stands to talk to some of them, and I don't know whether I should mention names, but there's one that's quite a ringleader whose parents were on campus. And I asked him, "What the heck do you think you're doing?" I said, "Stop this stuff! You're one of the ringleaders."

He said, "I can't. It's out of hand. What do I do?"

I said, "Well, just remember this next time you try and start something. And after all, we were good enough to stand and watch you people go around two or three times around the track and come into the stands. Now, at least you can give the governor and the president the courtesy of being quiet. After all, we're not here to see you. I wouldn't walk across the street to see those filthy, unwashed bodies. I'm not interested."

"Well," he says, "we have our rights."

I said, "Yes, and I have mine. And you're treading on my rights, and I object to it." But you see, they have no answer for this. They turn off. They talk about communication. Well, this is fine as long as you are listening, but as soon as you start to talk to them and point out various things, if they can't answer your questions, they say, "Hide behind the Vietnam War. Oh man, you don't know where it's at in the Vietnam War, see?"

You did feel that it was necessary, though, to participate in the activities for Governor's Day.

Oh, certainly, yes. I think we should have honored the boys. It was the honoring the boys of the ROTC. It's almost more or less a voluntary thing on this campus now, and I think they have just as many rights as these radicals. In fact, more so, and I would fully support them, anyway.

What did you feel was the most effective part of either the demonstration or the Governor's Day observance—or both?

Oh, my. Well, we were all so disturbed. I think the giving of the Governor's Medal was effec-

tive, and as far as I'm concerned, the singing of the "Star Spangled Banner"—and the clean-cut boys of the drill team that didn't use their bayonets. [laughter]

They were beautifully controlled. You saw them: they were marching up and down the field. And here were these hippie types, filthy things, crowding in on them, and they got almost within a foot of these kids. It's a wonder something didn't happen. Then the command was given to turn, and they did their marching in a smaller square than apparently had been designated. Of the people in the stands that had come to see Governor's Day, I heard one woman say, "Just keep on marching." They had fixed bayonets, and I think they had tremendous control. I was proud of them; all the more credit to them.

What do you think should have been the reaction of the various factions here to the conflict that developed: the ROTC, the demonstrators, the university administration? What should have been their reaction?

Well, I definitely think the radicals were out of line. I don't know what their reaction should be. Of course, it's difficult to say. There are pros and cons to the administration. I would have not been as cool as the administration was, certainly. I would have gathered them all up and railroaded them out of town or something. [laughter] But, of course, you can't do that. You have to go through due processes as my husband tells me. I said, "I just hope they put me on the jury."

He said, "Never in a million years they'd put you on the jury. [laughter] You've already formed your opinion about what to do with them."

I'm inclined to agree with the president of Notre Dame. Apparently he hands out this list of rules to everyone every year: "You shall be expelled, get a failing grade in this term, no money refunded, if this kind of thing happens on campus, and you're found guilty." This is what he's done, and there hasn't been too much trouble at Notre Dame since then. I think this is the way we've got to go.

If they're not here to go to school, I think they should be expelled. They remind me of a bunch of four-year-olds just screaming to get their own way, and I think they need a turning over and given a darn good hiding and sent home. I don't think the university should have to babysit these kids; I think it's their parents. They're the ones that are sending them to school. I know if my child did this, I'd want to know what the heck he was doing, and he'd either shape up or ship out in my house! I think people are far too easy, and a lot of parents just don't care: as long as they're out of their hair, keep them away at school. I think this is wrong.

What was your reaction to the violence that followed Governor's Day—the firing of Hartman Hall and the Hobbit Hole?

I think it's absolutely stupid. But I think they're sick people that do this kind of thing. But you get your radicals whipping people up until these kids are so emotional. It's a very emotional thing—you could feel it as you sat there. There were a heck of a lot more of them than us. They came up in the stands either side of us and at the back of us and started to stamp their feet and the whole place, you know, shook. You get a bunch of kids in a situation like this that are immature, and they're liable to do anything when they're whipped up. I don't think they think—if it was students. (I'm not saying that it was students.) It's either that, or a sick mind.

What category of participant in the various demonstrations and so forth—students, faculty, or outsiders—do you feel was most effective in starting the violence?

Oh, the faculty! I definitely think it was the faculty. There were two or three of the faculty professors who got up there, and the kids would quiet down when President Miller asked them to give courtesy to the governor. A couple of faculty members whom I'll never forget got down in front and started to wave their arms and whip

up the crowd. This happened at least twice or three times, and every time the kids started to quiet down and get interested, then these two would get back down there and start yelling and doing this again, you know, and waving their arms around and getting these kids whipped up. Other faculty members couldn't stop them; they were talking to them. Some of the faculty members that had participated in the march for peace were trying to stop them, the couple that I'm thinking of. I'm sure you know who I'm thinking of. [laughter]

Do you think outsiders were important?

Yes, I do. This one boy from Berkeley at the meetings we went to on Tuesday evenings was quite instrumental. I was watching him. Of course, I didn't participate as much as my husband. Well, my husband did, you know. He was on the kind of board that they have there, but I was asked to participate a little, but then the rest of the time I could circulate. I was watching this boy. Well, he was older; he was most probably between twenty-five and thirty; he was an older kid. He was going from one group to the other and just interrupting and kind of stirring the pot and then going to the other [group]. It was very definitely a pattern when I watched this. And he, I'm sure, is a professional agitator, and he said he was from Berkeley.

What actions do you think were most effective in preventing more violence?

I don't know. Certainly, Frankie Sue Del Papa's statement and President Miller's statement helped quiet things down. I think some of the kids realized that the legislators were threatening to cut off money and carrying on like this (I think this helped). I'm sure this had a slightly sobering effect on these kids. The townspeople threatening to come out and clean them out, I think maybe made them stop to think a little bit. But I certainly don't think it'll stop it. I think we've got to have firmer measures than this. I think that we've

got to show that we're going to do what we say as far as if they're found guilty. Just expel them, terminate contracts, or whatever we have to do, but clean them out somehow. I think when they know that we won't stand it, then let them go some place else and rabble-rouse if they can get away with it.

How do you think events on campus affect the university's image with outsiders?

Well, we've had a pretty rough time the last three weeks. We've been going to various functions outside the university, and at every single one of the functions, have been jumped upon by townspeople demanding that we just throw them off campus, which is easily said, but you can't do this without due process. Sometimes the process is slow, but I don't think the townspeople are going to stand that. If the university and the Board of Regents don't put their foot down and do something right now, we're going to be in a mess, because I think Nevada's a very conservative state to begin with. And my husband was talking to a senator from Vegas the other day, and he was talking about cutting off monies to faculty members. Immediately the senate down in Carson City is taking the guidance of the university away when they step out of line. So, I think something has to be done.

Well, what can the university do to focus public opinion?

I think some very firm statements have to come out of the administration office: "I'll give them a fair trial, but by golly, then we act." I think this is the only way we're going to restore the confidence of the townspeople and the university.

Do you feel that issues of academic freedom are involved in participation in demonstrations?

No. I think it's academic license. I think they're using this for a vehicle, and any excuse is

better than none. It's like hiding behind the Fifth Amendment. Any responsible professor, sure, has the academic freedom, but this is going too far. This is just plain license, as far as I'm concerned. They're just hiding behind this freedom.

How can students and faculty be effective politically? Or do you think they should try to influence government decisions?

I don't think they should influence government decisions as representatives of the University of Nevada. I think the only thing they can do is register and vote and go through normal channels like any other citizen of the state. But I don't think they should try and influence the legislators politically. I don't think it's their business. This is the university. I don't think you can mix the university and politics, but I do think as individuals they should go to the polls.

Where do you think the peace movement is headed here now?

For more violence, unless we do something. I really do. And I don't think it's a peace movement. I mean, that's a misnomer, as far as I'm concerned. It's an excuse. I think if the Vietnam War were over tomorrow, they'd start on either the Negroes or something else to rabble-rouse, because I think it's the students that aren't making it to the university that are doing this. They're the only ones that have time for it.

What other comments do you want to make now about the whole situation?

Well, it's certainly not as bad here as it is in many, many other places throughout the states. I think we're wrong in, for instance, the Kent State thing. It was a dreadful thing, but the radicals (or the peace movement or whatever you want to call it) are screaming that the guards should not have had bullets. Now, this is crazy. These kids are the same age—nineteen and twenty—as the ones that are rabble-rousing, and what are they supposed

to do? Stand there and let these other kids throw rocks at them and stones at them? No. I don't agree with that. But I do feel that if the radicals don't want to be injured, then they just got to quit. That's all. I mean, they're breaking the laws of the land, and the only way that they can influence anyone or should be able to influence anyone is to go to the polls.

I was very upset when they marched on the census bureau. ¹ They won. They won because they had that poor man fired, even though he was not found guilty of racial discrimination. Yet they still won. This is wrong. I don't agree with this at all. I think they should be punished. I think if they don't like the country, then they just might as well pack up and get out. I happen to like this country, and I happen to like it the way it is. And the majority of people feel the way I do.

It was the same with the Negroes. They tried to pull the flag down at Governor's Day. I went up to them afterwards. [laughter] I was the only incident: I batted one with my umbrella. [laughter] I was so mad! I told him, I said, "Don't you dare pull the United States flag down in front of me."

So he says, "Listen to the white lady calling the nigger, telling the nigger boy to go home."

I said, "I'm not telling you to go home. I'm just telling you to respect our country's flag."

He said, "Well, lady, you brought us over here."

I said, "Don't pull that kind of stuff around me." I said, "This was 200 years ago," and I said, "You should thank your lucky stars that your parents were slaves, your grandparents were slaves. After all, if you were still back in Africa, where would you be? You'd be in the jungle with bones through your noses." And this is the truth. They forget this. This is another vehicle for them to rabble-rouse—slaves. I think it's a guilt-complex that the American people have in this instance. And, well, it is in all instances. They're guilty about the war, and this is why they're letting the radicals get away with it. They're guilty about bringing slaves over, so therefore, the Negroes get away with it. And I don't think this is right.

And as far as I'm concerned, I don't feel guilt about anything. My husband works hard. There are other people at the university that work hard.

We were sitting there on the Tuesday night, and this one boy said, "Well, ma'am," he says, "you don't know where it's at." He says, "All you do in engineering is you have a narrow, little field. You don't know anything about life." This is a nineteen, twenty-year-old telling me I don't know anything about life, or the university professors don't know anything about life?

There were eight of them around the table. I said, "Oh, now, come on, now! Stop to think!" I said, "How many of you kids didn't have a pair of shoes to call your own until you were twelve?" Well, they looked at me as if I was crazy, you know. I said, "Well, there's a professor over in engineering with a Ph.D. that never saw a new pair of shoes until he was twelve years of age, and then he'd worked for them himself."

"Oh, ma'am, we didn't know."

I said, "There's a heck of a lot of things you kids don't know."

Immediately, one of them said, "Well, ma'am," he says, "you don't know where it's at." He said, "You wait till you've been bombed. I just come back from Vietnam," and he was doing this kind of bit, you know.

I said, "What do you mean?"

"Well," he said, "I spent a whole year in Vietnam, and I was bombed and shot at, and you don't know where it's at."

I said, "Listen. You wait till you've done that for six years like I did, and then you'll know where it's at."

"Oh, lady, I didn't know."

I said, "There's a heck of a lot . . ." You see? They don't know. They don't know. They just have everything handed on a silver platter. They're just plain stupid. They don't think, they're immature.

One of them said, "Well," he says, "we've got all the answers. We've got the world by the tail."

I said, "Yes, I thought so at nineteen years of age," I said, "and the older you get, the more you realize how immature you are and how little you

know in this life." I said, "That's a sure sign of immaturity." They are immature. It's just the way I feel about them: kids that can't make it in college and immature ones, and quite a lot of them are supported by their families. As long as they're out of the family hair, that's why they're here, and it's sad. But I don't think a few people should wreck a university, and I think some of the other hard-working kids have to get into this and let them know that they're not going to stand for it. I think the faculty have to get into it to let the faculty rabble-rousers know that they're not going to stand for it. I think it's got to come right up the line, and then maybe we'll get somewhere. But, of course, I don't have answers, too. [laughter]

Note

1. A demonstration at the US Census Bureau in Reno on April 3, 1970, escalated to violence after 60 individuals protested the absence of black census takers for the 1970 census.

GLEN ATKINSON

June 4, 1970

Why do you think you were chosen to be interviewed?

I was going to ask you. [laughter] I really don't know.

Tell me what your reaction was to President Nixon's decision to go into Cambodia.

It was so depressing I didn't even listen to the TV speech. I was not in town. I was in Colorado Springs at the time at the social science convention, and I knew what he was going to say. I just really couldn't bring myself to listen or even read anything about it for several days.

In what way do you think the Cambodia decision was related to what happened next on our campus?

I think there was a direct relationship. I don't think that you can document that. I think there was a direct relationship not only here but around the United States. As I say, I was in Colorado at the time at a meeting with social science people

from around the Rocky Mountain region. So, it was very obvious something was going to happen—very obvious.

What was your reaction to events in the rest of the country related to the Cambodia decision?

I don't understand. What do you mean? You mean, was there a direct relationship?

No, what was your reaction to Kent State and the other demonstrations related to the Cambodia decision away from here?

Oh, my reaction to, say, specifically Kent State, was that I couldn't believe that they sent them in there to control the crowd with, [laughter] you know, rifles. That just doesn't seem sane to me. I don't know what happened at Kent State. I suppose that the crowd was unruly and that sort of thing, and that there would have been crowd-controlling devices and rifles.

It seems interesting to me that the conservative campuses—Nevada, Kent State, South Carolina—are the ones that felt the brunt of this. I think that the Cambodia move really did polarize people. I think that the evidence I would cite there

would be the type of campuses that felt the reaction. I have some friends in Texas, and they felt things there that they hadn't felt before. Again, specifically with Kent State, I don't know exactly what took place there. I don't know who was provoked by, you know, what forces and so forth. But I think that's evidence that it was really a very serious polarization brought on by Cambodia, I would say.

Turning now to the Governor's Day here on this campus: what did you think of the arrangements made for the observance of Governor's Day?

Well, to tell you, I was so sure something was going to happen that I didn't go, either as a protestor or observer or anything else. I knew that the mood of the campus was such that they should have postponed that. I stayed away. I feel now I should have gone more as a stand-between, you know, as some of the faculty here did. I didn't know what was happening, or I would have. But I think that was a very poorly thought-out program. I think they should have postponed it, obviously.

What was your reaction to the demonstrations—the Governor's Day demonstrations?

As I say, I wasn't there. I don't really know what happened yet at Governor's Day, although I've talked to some people. I talked with Adamian and Maher, and I talked to people on both sides who were there. And I really don't know what happened. [laughter] So, my reaction is still that I can't find out anything. I really can't find out why everybody's so upset about what supposedly happened. But it doesn't seem that, really, very much happened as what should have been expected to happen. I think they should feel very lucky it was that mild. As I say, I stayed away. [laughter]

Well, from what you've heard, what do you think should have been the reaction of the ROTC and the administration and even the demonstrators

to the conflict that developed over Governor's Day?

Well, first, they should have postponed it. Now, since they didn't postpone it, to some extent it's out of the hands of the ROTC on campus. It's out of the hands of the administration on campus. I don't think there's much the president could do other than say, "We're trying to do something." I think, though, from some comments that he was pleased with the reaction of most of the students. As I understand, Governor Laxalt said he was pleased. I think a statement like that would have helped. I think, also, that some positive statement would have helped: that we're going to do something about ROTC on campus and make it completely voluntary, that we're going to really review this. But even that is out of the hands of the president and the hands of the regents. I'm mostly disappointed with the chancellor, that he's done nothing to help the situation on either side, as far as I can see. President Miller, I think, has done what he can do, as well.

What was your reaction to the violence that followed Governor's Day—the fire bombing?

Well, both the ROTC building and Hobbit Hole: it's disappointing to see that. I think that it shouldn't have been unexpected. Again, my reaction is just one of disappointment, but I think it's just a matter of frustration, knowing that the president can't do anything, that the chancellor hasn't done anything, and the regents haven't done anything to improve the situation. It's just a sheer guess, but I think that one or both of those bombings were carried out by people off campus, because we know they were here. I've seen and talked to the people who are off campus here who were more radical than the students. One thing I think ought to be noted is that most of the students did not want the off-campus people here and peacefully asked those people to leave. They were apparently invited by somebody on campus, but they were not welcome by most students. So, I think my reaction is just a matter of frustra-

tion, and I think it's poor judgment on the part of the regents and the chancellor, primarily.

What category of participant (this kind of leads into what you were saying before)—the students, the faculty, or outsiders—do you think was most important in stirring up the violence?

I think the faculty played a tremendous role in quieting it down. I'm talking now about people like Jim Hulse from history, George Herman from English, and Bob Harvey from English. These are liberal professors on campus, and I think these kind of people played a vital role in keeping it as quiet as it was. As I say, I'm disappointed now that I didn't go up there to assist in this. I think, by and large, the faculty played a quieting role. I think, by and large, that most students were quiet, unbelievably quiet, you know, given everything that happened. And they began to talk to each

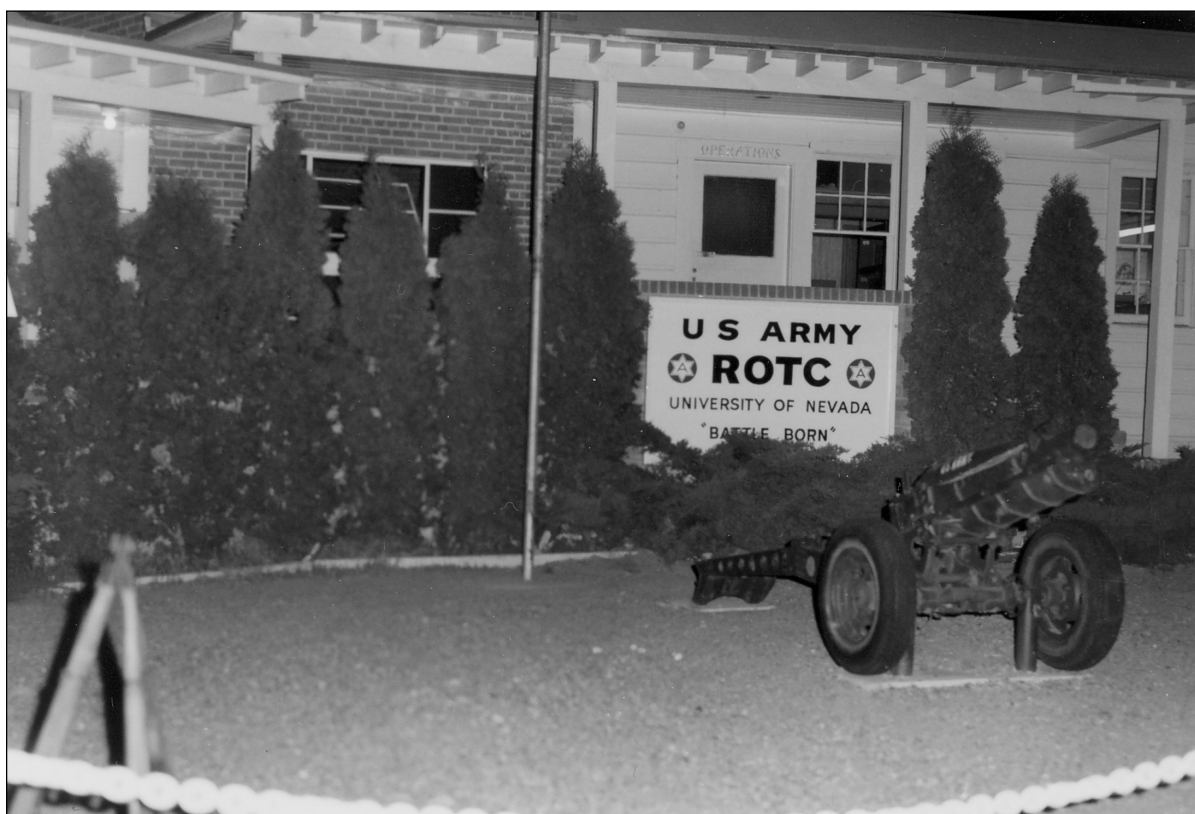
other. I think that there was a small minority of students and almost infinitesimally small, you know, faculty, if any, that led to the violence. I still suspect some outside influence here. I'm not talking about conspiracy or anything like that, but I know of, say, about eight people who were on campus obviously to incite the situation.

Do you think that the outsiders were important then?

Important, yes.

You have mentioned some people that tried to keep things quiet. What actions do you feel were most effective in preventing more violence?

Well, the appearance of some of these people I mentioned at the Governor's Day ceremonies for getting between some people (who wanted to



The ROTC building, Hartman Hall, following the fire bombing.

go further) and the ROTC people, I understand. But probably as important, if not more important, was following that, there would be three meetings going on everywhere on this campus at one time. At almost every one of these meetings, somebody was asking for something to be done, and they always had some kind of plan that they wanted, you know, to carry forward. Invariably, the same people—the people who kind of mollified the situation—would show up to quiet them down and say, “Well, what would be the effect of your action?” and this sort of thing. So, a number of things that were planned were, in effect, killed by these people and the faculty here.

I might add that I think probably one of the contributors to the tense situation was such editorials as on KOLO radio. I think that they contributed probably more to the situation than people on campus by kind of inciting the community to bring about some aggressive action, that sort of thing, and then people here heard this and became very angry.

I went to a meeting where one man wanted to have some radio time to answer their editorial, and he was talked out of it because of this segment that I've been talking about. They said, “No, all you would do is incite the thing worse.” And I think the faculty did a tremendous part in really just biting their tongue. It was very difficult for them to do because of these sorts of editorials. I know KOLO television had a very good editorial, but I understand that a few of the stations downtown, especially KOLO radio, contributed to inciting the situation, inflaming the situation further.

How do you think events on campus affect the university's image or reputation with outsiders?

Oh, it immediately hurt the image of the university with the people off campus, obviously, in the short run. I am not too sure about the long run. I think, for the first time, that some people downtown are beginning to say, “There is a problem.” They're beginning to say that these students are serious about needing change. So, in the long run, I don't really know. I think this is the reason

a lot of people bit their tongue, hoping that when it's all over, the university will be better off, or at least not hurt in the situation.

An editorial in the paper yesterday—in the *Nevada State Journal*—really bothered me. It was about Stanford university trying to get alumni funds, saying they hoped that Stanford will have a good football game next year to offset this. Well, I think now that people are beginning to realize that the football teams are maybe nice, but not what people are really looking for. It's not what they're looking for on campus any longer.

In terms of background, I think that the community is trying to understand that. I believe that World War II and the G.I. Bill of Rights really transformed the university from one of sixteen-, seventeen-, eighteen-year-old people coming to campus living in their father's fraternity house and going to school, to one where adults come to school. And although fraternities and football are still a part of the university, they are not as important as they were twenty years ago. People downtown have a 1930s image of the university, and I think they're beginning to understand that this university has changed since they were here, and is changing now, which I think may be a beneficial effect.

What can the university do to focus public opinion?

I've given a lot of thought to this. [laughter] Somehow, we have to get out off campus, but also, somehow, get people on campus. I think getting on campus may be more important than us going off campus. I suppose cultural events, which have been going on for a long time—lecture, tours, this sort of thing—are getting people in here to see what other people are saying around the United States. Probably even some seminar-type things for business leaders and community leaders where you get the faculty who are not afraid to speak out, talking with community leaders. Get them on campus.

Also, get faculty off campus. I was really disappointed when I came to University of Nevada. I was at University of Oklahoma, which is some-

thing of a backward state, normally. The university didn't work with the state there, and the University of Nevada doesn't with the state here. I think in some sense, the state is getting cheated. [laughter]

We have a bureau of business and economic research in our College of Business, which has done almost nothing to justify itself in terms of serving the legislature, serving the department of highways, this sort of thing. I don't know whose fault that is, whether it's the university or the state or what. I really don't know. But use the facilities we have here now to promote unity, growth. I mean, when I talk about growth, I'm not talking economical growth; I'm talking about the new ideas, going into social programs, and that sort of thing. Beyond that, I don't really know what can be done. I really don't.

That's good. Do you think that issues of academic freedom were involved in participating in a demonstration?

Oh, issues like academic freedom, I guess, are almost always involved [laughter] when you try to limit anybody's activity. Obviously, there is some professional conduct that has to be recognized by the faculty. But obviously, if you're going to investigate one or two or three people, or if you're going to say that as a class we can't do certain things, as a group we can't do certain things, you're going to run up the academic freedom issue.

Out of all of this, I really don't know how serious all this is yet. I think the most serious thing that happened here specifically with this case is that the Board of Regents acted very hastily. They obviously didn't perform their function of standing between the community and the academic community. They discussed the case in public, which I think is illegal. They've acted awfully hasty in their proposed code reforms. That is, I think the American tradition they use, which I think is important, is to bring people into the decision-making process.

Now, if they want to affect faculty behavior, they'll be a lot smarter by consulting us. They

may do what they please, I suppose, after that. But if you take those kind of rash actions in a public meeting (saying that we're going to investigate these two people, and if they can't prove themselves innocent we're going to fire them), I think that's un-American. I really do. I think that that's very repressive, and I think that the regents ought to be aware of that.

I think the faculty's been hesitant to really say something strong to the regents in order to protect the two people involved. At least one of the two people involved says, "Go ahead and make the change. Don't protect me." But I think that their statement that they have to prove themselves innocent is really about academic freedom. I think so, yes.

How do you think that students and faculty can be effective politically, or should they try to influence governmental policy?

Yes, I am an eternal optimist. I don't look back to some classical age of democracy where this is a period we've torn up, and we're going downhill. I think we're going uphill. What's really happened here, I think, is that the academic community is becoming involved with politics, and this is an extension of democracy, especially for the students: they are becoming really involved in politics. The people who are now in power don't know how to handle it. They don't know how to let these people into the political process, and they're very worried. And it's happening.

I went to the Democratic county convention and the state convention, and students and faculty both showed up there. They wrote a platform, which the Democratic leaders, in particular, condemned. So you ask the people to become involved in politics and the normal processes, and then they become involved, and then you say, "Well, you know, what they did was somehow not what they ought to have done." I think that's awfully depressing for the people who did get involved.

I suspect that the students particularly will be involved now. I know as a student or teacher,

I've been in a college community for quite a while, and it's quite a difference. Professors are speaking out now about issues around their community. They used to talk about hunger in India or discrimination in Alabama. Now, they're talking about hunger in Berkeley or Reno and discrimination in those same places. And that's disturbing to the people. I don't think that we can, as faculty and students and so forth, expect anybody to love us for coming in. [laughter] I think we can expect disruption for a while until we somehow win our position. I think violence is to be expected.

This group of students now are really fundamentally different than they were ten years ago. I find my students don't care for home ownership. Now, you tell their parents that home ownership's not worth while, and that's a challenge to their values. Their parents tell them what they need is a good depression to straighten them out. What they're really saying is that, "If you were hungry enough, you'd straighten up and accept my value system." [laughter] And that doesn't seem to be very important, so there's really a revolution going on, and by revolution, I mean just there's a shift of power. I don't mean it has to be armed. I think the political leaders can be widened to prevent it, but I don't think they are. So it just doesn't happen.

Where do you think the peace movement is headed now in this area?

Considerably more reasonable, I think. They are saying we're going to cut our hair, shave our beards; and we're going to quit using dirty language. I think they were awfully disgusted—and they ought to have been—when they got rid of Johnson and got either Nixon or Humphrey. That's awfully discouraging, but they rebounded. I mean, that's where some of the real pessimism came from. So, they're understanding that the local process is considerably more complex than they had imagined. And I think they're ready for it now. I think they're ready to work for some people in Congress and some people in the Senate and in the state houses and this sort of thing.

I suspect there will be students running for boards of regents around the country, for senate around the country, this sort of thing. They're going to try some economic boycotts, which I don't know how effective they are. I notice now that they are using their economic power by not buying from certain kinds of companies, but I'm kind of skeptical of that except in a few cases. So I do see it more reasonable now. I see that they understand that by using certain tactics they have alienated many people that they could have had on their side. So, I see it in terms of one more try at a political move. After that, I don't know. It depends on how the politics come out.

CARL BACKMAN

June 16, 1970

All right, just for the record, can you mention your name, what you consider to be your hometown, and your position on the faculty?

Well, I'm Carl Backman, professor of sociology. And my hometown is Reno, of course.

And why do you think you were chosen to be interviewed?

Well, I guess because I was there at the Governor's Day ceremony. And I played a role in trying to keep things quiet, calmed down.

What was your reaction to President Nixon's decision to move troops into Cambodia?

Oh, I was opposed.

You were opposed to that?

Yes.

And in what way do you think that this decision was related to what happened next on the University of Nevada, Reno, campus?

Well, certain students were upset over it, and so they planned a protest. Well, I think it was the Cambodian thing, the Kent State thing, too.

Yes, well, I was going to ask you about that. What was your reaction to other related things like Kent State?

Well, quite shocked. I was in shock.

Regarding the Governor's Day activities on this campus, what did you think of the arrangements made for the observances, for the ceremony itself?

Oh, I hadn't paid much attention to it, at all. I didn't think particularly one way or another, except that the day before, I realized that there might be some problems emerging in connection with the simultaneous peace protest and Governor's Day observances. I recall we got this fake flyer canceling the Governor's Day. I thought this was a wise move.

Yes. You thought it was wise to have canceled it. And then you discovered that it was a fake?

Yes. Well, I didn't discover it until the next day, Wednesday. I should have, because one of the things I noticed was that it was almost word-for-word Stanford President [Kenneth] Pitzer's declaration calling for a day of consideration. It must have just popped into the state.

Oh, I see. Yes. What was your reaction to the demonstration—the peace demonstration during the ceremonies for Governor's Day?

Oh, well, my main concern all through the whole business was to prevent any kind of violence as far as the peace demonstrators and the ROTC getting mixed up.

Did you feel that it was necessary to participate in any way in the demonstration or the activities?

Well, I anticipated that there might be some problems, particularly when I heard that they were going to the stadium. So I not only planned to go with them myself and see what I could do to keep things quiet, but I invited some other members of the department to come along. We had a staff meeting that morning and a number of times we were going to go back, but things were tense enough so that we thought we'd better stay and see what we could do, if any trouble broke out.

What do you think was the most effective part of either the demonstration or the observances—with respect to your own emotional response to it, perhaps?

Well, as I say, I wasn't really involved. Feeling the way I did about the war, I was pleased the students were concerned, and quite a number of students did turn out. Probably more students turned out for the peace demonstration than for Governor's Day. But I was so much involved in trying to keep the peace that I didn't pay much attention to what was going on except from mo-

ment to moment in terms of attempting to keep the peace kids from getting in the ROTC rank and things like that. We thought that as long as we could minimize any kind of physical contact between the two groups, things would stay on a verbal level rather than kind of a hostility that could have left somebody hurt.

Well, there was fear, then, that they might actually come in physical contact with each other?

Yes, yes. This was the problem when the students started moving out on the field.

Do you have any feeling about what the reaction should have been—either from the point of view of the ROTC or the administration or the demonstrators—to the conflict that developed?

Well, it's one of those things: we wouldn't have had anything happen at all if they had been able to keep the two ceremonies or groupings separate physically. This didn't occur, so there was a verbal confrontation, so to speak. And I think it's a matter of from whose standpoint. The students who were involved felt that they were making their point in such a demonstration. As it turned out, it probably got a rather severe community backlash as a result. So, whether it was any progress in terms of the goals that they had is difficult to say.

Well, what was your reaction, then, to the violence that erupted after the Governor's Day? Say, the bombing first of the ROTC building and then the bombing of the Hobbit Hole?

Well, I was concerned about both. I certainly hate to see that kind of thing happen. I think that a good part of the community reaction against the students and against the university could be attributed to those two events, although the events at the Governor's Day ceremony itself played a role, too.

What category of participant—student, faculty or outsider—do you feel had the most to do with

fomenting the violence that did erupt on this campus?

Well, there were relatively few faculty involved, at all. And most of the faculty that were there stepped in to keep the peace, so to speak. And it was primarily a student demonstration, as I see it, and primarily our own students.

The whole reason I asked that is that some people had mentioned outsiders are important, you know.

Yes. But as I say, I talked with the leaders in trying to keep them calm. As far as I could see, they were our own students. [laughter]

What actions do you feel were most effective in preventing more violence or cooling off the other people?

Well, I think that the activities of all the faculty members that showed up were crucial, because the students did not organize their group very well. They didn't have recognized monitors, which you have in non-violent kinds of demonstrations. Our students are not terribly experienced in this area, so they just didn't realize that they needed these kinds of people.

Things could have gotten out of hand if the faculty members, in a sense, hadn't taken over and assumed that role of keeping them from any physical contact between the students and ROTC and also keeping them from actual physical disruption of the ceremony. It was the verbal kind of disruption, which was impossible to control, but I think we were able to control the actual physical interference with the activities of the students.

I see. How do you think events on campus affect the university's image with outsiders? You spoke to that somewhat. Do you want to expand?

Well, I think that it certainly created a considerable community reaction, and I think that this was partly due to the role of the mass media.

This was news. They hadn't had any of this kind of news as they've had in many other communities, and they made the most of it, I'm afraid.

Yes, it was exaggerated?

I think it was exaggerated; I think so.

What function should the university have in focusing public opinion?

Well, particularly because of the students I'm inclined to feel that the university, more and more, is assuming a kind of moral position as the church did at one time.

And this is a welcome sign?

Well, I don't know if it's a welcome sign or not. It makes the university lack a lot more structure and things of that sort. It'd be nice to stay in the ivory tower and go about your business, but I don't think the students are going to allow us to do that.

Do you feel that the issues of academic freedom are involved in participating in a demonstration?

Oh, they certainly are.

Want to expand on that in any way?

Well, I'm not sure that I can defend the idea that students and faculty should have more rights than anyone else, but certainly they should have as many rights as the citizens in participating in peaceful demonstrations.

How can students or faculty—whichever you want to speak to—be effective politically? Should they attempt to influence political or governmental policies?

Well, I don't know. I think if you change it to "Should any citizen feel obligated?" certainly, there's obligation in democracy for any student.

Well, not only should they, but in which way can they be most effective?

Well, they have a positive obligation. How can they be effective? Well, I'm inclined to feel that the most effective way is through the ballot box, but it involves more than just voting. Political participation involves working within the party to select a candidate. Our students now are at the point where they are going to work for votes. I don't think they have moved to the point where they want to enter through a selection of candidates.

Where is the peace movement in this area headed? Can you see?

I don't know. I hadn't detected a real strong resurgence of the peace movement, organization-wise. It sort of died like most of the chapters of the peace organizations. After the Cambodian invasion, I think there was some attempt to revive it, but I don't know. I'm not that much involved.

EDMUND BARMETTLER

May 29, 1970

Now, just for the record if you'll say your name and your residence and your position.

My name is Edmund Robert Barmettler. I'm a professor of agricultural economics. I live in Reno, Nevada.

Why do you think you were chosen to be interviewed for this project?

Oh, I suppose because I've been more or less involved in some of these activities and have been pronounced an innocent bystander.

What was your reaction to the president's decision to go into Cambodia?

I abhor war, despite the fact that I was in the military for twenty-seven years, first as an active soldier and then later on for about twenty-two or twenty-three years as a reservist. I know the military mind in some degree; I understand, also, the problems that the military faces. But I have, for a number of years, perhaps changed in my attitude, and in recent years, perhaps I've developed into

a more pacifist type of individual. And since I don't believe that wars have ever really solved human problems, I think from this basic issue, it is wrong. Secondly, I think since also I have taken on over the last few years a different attitude in terms of my relationship with God and with the environment in which I live, I think it's just morally wrong, scripturally wrong. And it's literally an effort on our part to save something that really is questionable, whether we are able to accomplish what we'd set out to do as a society.

In what way do you think the Cambodia decision was related to what happened next on our campus?

On the Reno campus, I don't think the Cambodia thing really had very much of an effect. I think the situation was quite ripe for our students to experiment in a larger expression. I'm not really persuaded that, except for a very small majority, this issue really played an important part. I think a much more significant part is played in the general question: what can students do in order to be able to be heard in a lot of issues? I think as far as Nevada students are concerned, by far the more important question has to do with



Edmund Barmettler, 1970s.

ecology and questions of the quality of life than it has to do with the war. I think there is a small segment of students in here that did become quite stirred up, and they use this as a vehicle for other expression. This is my personal viewpoint.

What was your reaction to events in other parts of the country that were apparently related to the Cambodia incident?

Well, of course, it's distressing to hear of the destruction of property and of the abrogation of values that we've held rather dear for so many, many years—and particularly as one that's probably of an age that's suffered through a depression. And you perhaps have at least an ambivalent feeling about these things. On the one hand, you say to yourself, "Well, perhaps these students or young people, or even maybe some of the older ones, and maybe even faculty members, really

haven't suffered enough to really know when they're well-off." On the other hand, there's no question about the fact that young people are asked to offer their lives in Cambodia and other places as sacrificial goats in this thing called national pride, and they ought to be able, and certainly ought to find means for expressing this feeling—or this disagreement—with the national leadership to go to war. (I'm not sure whether I answered that question very well.)

I thought you answered it very well. Speaking now of the Governor's Day activities: what did you think of the arrangements made for the Governor's Day observances?

Well, frankly, the Governor's Day arrangement has been a traditional activity on the campus. I know before I went out to Hawaii it was a common occurrence, and it was a common activity when I returned. These things are developed well in advance, and there should have been no problem, except that a couple of circumstances may have produced a kind of a collision effect: that is, Earth Day, the moratoriums, and of course, the entry into Cambodia and so forth. All of them seemed to converge at that time, and I think these, perhaps non-purposefully, were designed that way to collide on that day. On the other hand, I think there was no reason, really, to say to cut out Governor's Day on that day simply because these things occurred. From a purely administrative view in terms of an invitation, I think the activities could have continued independently.

What was your reaction to the demonstrations?

It depends upon which ones you're talking about: if you're talking about the general overall demonstration of the faculty and of the student body throughout the campus, or if you're talking about the things that happened at the stadium.

Well, we're talking about Governor's Day generally, so whatever you would like to say about all of them.

OK. Again, I would say that I personally hold with the idea that nothing is solved by becoming physical. I think nothing is solved by being obscene; nothing is solved by being vulgar. In fact, it strikes me that people that view these sorts of approaches lack, first of all, just plain, ordinary humanity, or lack articulateness—a lack of vocabulary, actually.

Because there are many more words that are incisive and precise than vulgarities. In fact, it destroys almost all communication, if you're trying to communicate with the sort of audience that they were trying to communicate with. I don't think the governor understood these things, and they no longer communicated to him, nor were the people communicating that were there to listen. And I think it's unfortunate.

It's particularly unfortunate that included in this group were some people that have the ability to express themselves well and have the ability to speak to individuals such as the governor and

to make their desires known. Surely, one thing that was accomplished was that there was a growing resistance or polarization developed from the demonstration that probably would not have developed if simply petitions had been presented to the governor objecting to this activity on the basis of the situation and upon the circumstances and upon the occasion of what occurred on those several days. You know, it's much like firing on Fort Sumter. [laughter]

Did you feel it was necessary to participate in any of the demonstrations or other activities?

No, because I personally find no difficulty in expressing myself, either in private or in public, because I do have a fairly good vocabulary, and I don't have to jump up and down on somebody's car hood in order to express myself. [laughter] In fact, it strikes me as being a kind of a tantrum sort of thing. It's against rational debate and discussion.



"I think nothing is solved by being obscene; nothing is solved by being vulgar." Antiwar graffiti on the campus from around the time of the Governor's Day event.

What did you think was the most effective part of the demonstrations or the Governor's Day observance?

In terms of its creativity or destructiveness?

Either way.

[laughter] Well, I think the most destructive part, of course, was the obstruction itself. I think it was a real credit to the young men that were exposed to the catcalls and to the general rudeness of the hecklers or the protagonists in that area to contain themselves. I was there just a short time; I had other things to do. But I did see these sorts of activities, and this made me see young men and women take on this sort of a degrading way of expressing themselves. I was for twelve years a master sergeant in the army reserve, and I know the vulgarities that men can exhibit. But it hadn't really struck me until then that young women, perhaps coming from very fine Nevada families or from Western families, could express themselves in such vulgar terms. And it abhorred me.

I don't expect that of a young woman out of a university. In fact, I don't expect it out of a young man. I might expect it some place in the army, because maybe there is some justification for these sorts of things. I doubt it, but maybe there is. But I surely know that this isn't true in Nevada. I'm sure that parents that raise their sons and daughters to come to the University of Nevada don't expect the university to condone this sort of thing and to advance this sort of cultural decay.

What do you think should have been the reaction of the ROTC, the demonstrators, and the university administration to what developed?

Well, as far as the ROTC is concerned, I have nothing but commendation for them. I think they contained themselves very well. You know, I may have a different viewpoint of what ought to happen relative of the ROTC-type program, and this

is another question. As far as the demonstrators are concerned, I think peaceful demonstration could have accomplished as much, and perhaps much more. It certainly wouldn't have brought about the very difficult situation that we're in now in trying to make judgments along with the continuing seismic effect that it had in the general community.

As a member of the faculty senate, I know that we're going to be faced with this thing in its repercussionary instances for some time. I don't think that the charges that have been made are going to be easily settled, and likely, they shouldn't be. As far as the students are concerned, I think the students lost ground. I think there's new resistance of the general community, especially the community of Nevada in a sense that it is a rural community. Despite the fact that we are a kind of a developing cosmopolitan university, we are still more rural and are basing values in the state of Nevada. Although we get most of our university population from the Reno area and from Las Vegas, it's still rural. The values there are quite traditional, and this is one of the things that I love about Nevada, because you can still depend upon how Nevadans will react to some things, which you can't in many environments today.

You can expect Nevadans to get mad when they're wronged. [laughter] And I think this is rather charming about Nevada people. As a college professor, a concern with the usual things that we call academic freedom—the right to participate, in terms of making judgments upon my own professional life—I think the reaction from the community at large was to be expected then, you see? I expect this, and I'm surprised that a lot of other people didn't expect this to happen, that this sort of resistance would occur. And yet, I'm frank to say that, really, not much occurred, you see. Really not very much occurred. The incident that we're talking about at the stadium and so forth, in light of what has been happening all across the country, is relatively insignificant.

It certainly was contrary to good taste, certainly upon the part of the faculty members. I

would certainly admonish them for this sort of thing, you know, and say, “Well, you showed this sort of rudeness that I don’t expect to have in a faculty member,” and so on. “There were many recourses open for expression, and you must obviously have recognized the risks that are involved in this sort of thing.”

You see, I have another thought. I don’t subscribe very much to this modern philosophy or the anti-guilt philosophy that so many hold. You know, the modern psychiatrists are telling people, “Well, you must get rid of your guilt feelings.” I think you ought to feel guilty if you are guilty for many things, I mean, obviously not for stupid, foolish things, but if you are going to be disruptive, and you’re going to destroy and assail the values that people hold. For people who hold the traditional mores or standards of conduct within a society, you ought not to get off, you know, without accepting the idea that if you do things that are contrary to this or under-perform or under-conform, that you ought to expect punishment, and you ought to feel guilty as hell until you are punished. [laughter] That’s kind of my attitude, you see. And you take those sorts of risks in a society such as this.

So, I would judge that students and faculty members and administrators and community members all have a role to play in terms of this whole agglomeration that we call our society, and their roles are kind of defined. They say if you’re a student, you have a certain kind of a conduct that beyond which it’s questionable whether it is, first of all, appropriate to transgress, and perhaps even a legal question whether you ought to be beyond those areas. And this involves such things as making judgments in areas that are really not in your province or in your peer group area.

What was your reaction to the violence that followed Governor’s Day then—the bombing?

The bombing? Oh, first of all, I think it’s stupid. I think generally that people that revert or resort to taking the bludgeon into their own hands and deciding, “Well, you know, we’re going to

go burn down a joint,” are the sort that I met in the army, and they’re very low echelons. They’re the ones that don’t have a vocabulary, that have an obscenity for every other word. That falls into this sort of category. Now, I think there are people that are, I suppose, sufficiently non-worldly who take this sort of expression that aren’t of the type that I describe, but I think there are very few.

You see, the problem in my own case is I’m not sure who would do this. I’m not sure that I could point to students and say that students did this, nor could I point to anything that this might not be an import from somewhere as having accomplished this. Or it might even be some individuals or groups that might get some kind of an enjoyment out of the militancy and out of the excitement of seeing a social conflagration develop such as was expressed there—I mean, just simply to keep things in foment or turmoil.

So, my general feeling about the violence? I just simply think that it’s wrong, that it doesn’t accomplish anything. It’s like, again, drawing from the hip in a Western town, you know. It’s a reaction type of response rather than rational, thoughtful reaction to real problems. We are facing real problems in our society, and it will not solve them by getting a kind of a mini civil war going in these various communities.

What category of participant—student, faculty, or outsider—do you feel was most effective in fomenting the violence that erupted?

I think, essentially, the local student faction, probably the ones that are the minority faction that has probably the most to gain by keeping things stirred up. And I’m not talking about a specific group as much as I’m talking about people that are probably not very effectively heard, whether this might be black or any other segment within our student group—and perhaps even faculty members—that are really not very effective in being heard. Because this is a problem in our society. Even in educated communities, the question of being adequately represented and having one’s views and one’s values advance can be frustrating.

From my own point of view, I'm quite sure our own efforts to try to be everything to everybody in this university may be, in fact, a philosophy quite inadequate in the sense that we can accomplish it. We can't be everything to everybody. I think probably we ultimately are faced with making some choices of what we can do well, and do those things well, and stop trying to be a miniature University of California by having, say, an ethnic study segment. In some minor way, for instance, the University of Nevada may be quite an appropriate place to have an ethnic study dealing with Basques. [laughter] It might be quite appropriate. On the other hand, I'm not sure that we have to have an ethnic study in terms of Oriental culture, in black culture. For that matter, maybe we ought to include Swiss and Portuguese and a few others. If we're going to be everything, we ought to have also a poor culture as well as a rich culture, you know.

Maybe there's a whole range of things that ought to be done in order to hear everyone. But then, perhaps, if we hold ourselves out and say, "Look, we don't specialize in black studies, we don't specialize in Basque culture," people won't come here expecting it. Or if people come here we say, "Well, you're really only going to learn something about math; you're going to learn some literature; you're going to learn to properly communicate; you're going to learn something about agriculture and about mining. These are the things that we offer."

We do some great things in mining. We may do some wonderful things, say, in English literature, but we're lamentably short when it comes to black studies. You have to go to the University of California to have these things, because first of all, the state of Nevada hasn't really the resources to do all of these things and do them well. To do some things well makes it possible for our society, really, to benefit more.

It's a little bit like in trade: the justification for trade between nations is that in some places people can do things better than others and do them more cheaply, and therefore, the total society has made a gain, because everyone tends to specialize in the thing that they do well or can

produce more or so on. I think it's somewhat true for an educational institution, because as surely as we try to do everything, so surely will we also deteriorate programs that are good now, unless, of course, we all of a sudden fall heir to some angel that's willing to support this program, which apparently the state legislature hasn't been willing to do.

Do you think outsiders were important in causing violence here?

Yes, but a kind of a different effect. If you remember, the faculty was asked to stay with the students to try to cool things the days after the disturbance, and at several of the meetings that I had an opportunity to attend, I noticed at a number of these rap sessions, there were people there that weren't even students. They weren't residents of Nevada. This was on several occasions. And the problem here was probably one more of procedure than anything else, because it tended to stimulate an irritation between the so-called hippie group and the cowboy group (you remember, they were polarized in that fashion). Whereas, before, the two groups were quite agreeable to talking together and giving their vindictives to each other in a more gentle fashion, it became progressively more difficult to maintain an order, say, at the large conferences, simply because there were antagonists there.

There were antagonists, perhaps, not in so much as what they said, but in the way they presented themselves. Remember, if you saw the occasion, they were in the center of the group sitting on top of the table behind the chairman of the student senate. And this was a thorn of contention. I think, very effectively, it created, perhaps, a much stronger resentment than needed to have occurred. Because I feel, too, that if it hadn't been for the really level-headedness of the young people that were representative of the student senate, this thing could have become quite a mess, kind of a riotous situation. But I think it was beautifully handled, and people held their tempers that I know normally don't hold their tempers. [laughter]

And it was a pleasure to see the constraint, or restraint, that these people maintained. I frankly think that, really, one of the finest things that happened then was this cooler-head type of prevalence that occurred after the disturbance.

Well, this really leads us to the next question. What actions do you feel were most effective in preventing more violence or cooling the situation?

Well, several. I think one important consideration, perhaps not the most important one, was the president's request that faculty members fully participate with the students on campus—the young people—in their rap discussion: to listen, to be seen, and be part of it. I think the most important thing that held the things together, to keep it from falling apart at the seams, was the student group themselves. I think they recognized what this could develop into, and they were interested in trying to solve their own problems on campus without having an interference from outside forces and having a will imposed from outside the campus.

You see, even with as little as did happen, we still have the outside pressure because the threat was there. The threat continues to be there: this bonded, long-term idea that students will have the opportunity to govern themselves, that faculty members will continue to have an opportunity to express themselves in terms of the things that are part of their professional code, of their self-government, so to speak. These things are really very thin relationships that withstood apparently very little pressure. The threats, really, of dissolving parliament, so to speak, are quite real by outside forces, whether they might be the Board of Regents, or whether they might be some other agency.

How do you think that events on the campus are affecting the university's image with outsiders? "Image" is a bad word.

Well, but it expresses what you mean to say, I'm sure—in other words, the attitude towards the university. I think we have two broad con-

cerns. By far, the largest concern is in the general community that says, "Well, let's go out and spank the rascals and shape them up." This is the rural attitude, and it's the downtown merchant attitude. The idea is, as well, "After all, you don't run a business operation this way. You make them toe the mark, or else you ship them out." This is the type of attitude that prevails, but this is not a very clear-cut thing.

You see, the people are involved, and it's, after all, people that are concerned. And in this day and age society has abdicated the family responsibility of training for things like, you know, sex education and general moral dress, and how boys and girls will deport themselves in a community environment such as a university. It's questionable whether the general community ought to feel as badly about this as they do. It's really quite a question whether they have any right to feel badly, because they've really abdicated over time their basic responsibilities for this sort of deportment.

So, I'm really kind of struck with a dilemma. On the one hand, I see the rural or general community saying, "Well, this is bad. This is wrong. I mean, our young people cannot be doing this. Tell me it's wrong." Where on the other hand, this is exactly how they've trained them. They've said, "OK, let's break down the barriers or the constraints or the inhibitions that are said about sex, about morals, about dress, about attitudes, about language, about speech, and the whole business." And now, all of a sudden when kids start practicing their new freedom, they say, "Well, hold on here. You can't go printing in the *Sagebrush* some of these vulgarities. It's contrary to our more tender ideals."

It's a little bit frustrating in a sense that here come the people who know best in our society, and say to them that you will allow new freedoms to occur with our young people; and then you turn around and ask them—the people who are to administer these new freedoms—then you've also got to maintain an order or the ideals of strong moral fiber within the community.

It's just kind of an absurdity. With new freedoms and with the abridgement of these more

perhaps Victorian ideals, you have some things occurring that you don't like, because you have a consequence of actions that you've taken. Unfortunately, the consequence of these things that we see today appear to me to be consequences of actions that were taken five, ten, twenty years ago: the new liberalism that followed the Second World War. Because if you go down the student lists today, you're struck by the fact that these youngsters (where it says, you know, the year of birth, 1951) are the ones that you see more often occurring on this list, and you're struck by how recently this occurred. This happened during the Korean affair, and we haven't solved that yet.

So you start wondering: what are people asking for? Are they honestly saying that they want their young people to deport themselves as they are, or are they really saying that here we want to establish an institution in which things are run on a traditional pattern as against the two extremes: where in one of them you have kind of a military academy, and in the other one you have an absolute laissez-faire type of an institution where everything goes. And I suppose that they'd like to have something a little bit to the right of center, but they haven't been acting like they are on the right of center in their own training of their youngsters. They're a little bit too left of center, you see, and so consequently, you have this dilemma.

What can the university do to focus public opinion?

Well, I think what it is doing: trying to stay within the confines of its pre-developed code system. In other words, it has a university code and has laws that govern it through the Board of Regents. It has an absolute requirement to maintain order in the sense that it follows its constitutional constraints. For example, if there are to be repercussions out of this demonstration, and the individuals that are charged are availed of every recourse that's available through the existing law system, nothing can be done to somehow mitigate their rights under what was the law at the time of the occurrence. In other words, nothing

can be done in retrospect, for one thing. Secondly, the university, the faculty, the student body, the Board of Regents, and perhaps even the community should continue to examine itself in how these things can be avoided—the faculty, particularly, because I am part of the faculty, and I have a part in playing in the leadership in the faculty.

I think it's incumbent upon the faculty to propose measures by which we will judge our ethics and the way we act and judge the exercise of our conduct within this community. I'm not sure whether I'm saying this very well. I'm simply saying that we've got to have the means by which we make these sorts of judgments, so that people are quite aware of when they do things contrary to these sets of values, called ethics, that they expect to take the consequence in these things. You see?

Yes. Do you think issues of academic freedom are involved here in participating in demonstrations?

Oh, yes. Oh, absolutely. There is no question that academic freedoms are involved. The question about it is this: to what limits? In other words, what are the limits on an individual to exercise this thing called "freedom to say whatever he chooses to say"?

I think it's true what President Miller, for example, had stated: what's contained in almost every code of ethics printed for university people (i.e., the AAUP, American Association of University Professors, and various college codes of ethics) is that utterances of people that are in professional positions—not only in terms of college, but in other professional positions—are somehow accepted as superior to those of the general public. Consequently, you're faced with being charged with a responsibility for those utterances. I mean, why shouldn't your utterances be accepted as being worthy, if in fact you are a worthy person to make these utterances? Then, therefore, if you step beyond these bounds of worthiness or of professional skill or knowledge and so forth, and you do think irresponsibly, you ought to be charged. I think it's that simple.

How can students and faculty be effective politically, or should they try to influence governmental policies?

You're asking a very difficult question, probably asking the wrong person. I think four or five years ago, I would have told you I had a much different attitude. I'm afraid I would have been much more militant in my attitude. Currently, and perhaps because I'm getting older and because I've taken on a kind of a changed philosophy on life, I think there's an expectation within a university that there are some things that the university can attain and that university people ought to be doing. I am not persuaded that the university ought to be a place for hatching, you know, conspiracies and things of this sort. And this is what, in a sense, part of your question evolves to: the hatching of conspiracies. If, on the other hand, you're asking me, "How can young people become more politically-minded and become more politically effective?" I think they have political science that can be studied and can be used, and they can as individual citizens become involved in both local and national or state politics.

I don't think that it's a part of the university to provide a place for heretics to mix together and then cause foment, whether political or whether insurrectionist or anarchist or whatever it is. I don't think this is the purpose of a university. If you look at the University of Nevada, for example, the purpose of the university is really quite simple and direct. It's a place for us to explore and find answers to questions or to search for new knowledge. It's a place for us to express and to provide an environment for debate and discussion. It's a place where we store knowledge and keep it together for posterity. It's a place where we perhaps inquest into new problems, new universes, and so forth. And this takes a deliberate, a more or less calm environment, not that of the heretic or that of the fomenter of disturbance and trouble.

I think it's time that the university, the faculty, generally would divest itself of these sorts of individuals. That doesn't mean that I object to

dissent or to disagreement, because I think disagreement properly handled can be immeasurably useful in seeking after new understandings and new problems, whole new directions. I'm quite sure that there are so many things that we don't understand that if we didn't provide the environment by which individuals could literally seek after these things, that we would not progress very fast. And it's true that our society probably can tolerate individuals questing after things in which we see no material return for many years to come. But again, this takes a certain type of community, a certain type of academic, and a certain type of social responsibility that causes these sorts of things to ultimately be nurtured into a productive environment where individuals can be creative and bring forth new ideas. The interesting thing about it: it doesn't take vulgarity, it doesn't take slugging people around. It can be done. It's been done for five hundred years or longer.

Where do you think the peace movement is headed here?

[sighs] Down the drain, I think. You can disregard that comment. [laughter] Here, I suppose, I'm more of a pessimist than anything else, but I think in terms of future world peace, I think we're faced with some very, very difficult times. I think the next five or ten years will see us with world hunger of a scope that we have never seen before. I think this will generate difficulties that will make the political issue minor. I think it will create a need for a change in attitude on the part of people in order to try to solve these very important dilemmas around the world. We may not feel it here very soon in the United States, but I think the examples of the 1966 famine in India is a preamble to this sort of thing. And you see, in 1966 and the following year, 1967, they pointed to the increase in wheat production and rice production, to the increase in rice yield, the "green revolution" and so forth around the world. I think this is not going to withstand the pressure of population.

Far more pressing in the future will not be the peace movement; it will be the ecology ques-

tion, the population issue, starvation, and just simply the sort of degradation in society that will take the greatest amount of humanistic effort that the world has ever seen. And I'm not sure we'll solve it. You see, I suppose what I'm saying is that there is a sort of ecological Armageddon approaching. You might think I'm an ecological nut, but I'm really not. I just don't see at this point that this Malthusian barrier has been broken, you see, and that we're faced with these sorts of issues.

I don't know just how much President Nixon has in terms of this Cambodian invasion to destroy the enclaves and so forth, the military base areas. Perhaps this will hasten the end of the war. I doubt that we will end the war in terms of American involvement. If it's not in there, I think it'll probably be some place else. I don't think that the world's population will allow America to divest itself, nor will Americans. I think we retreat fully into the isolationist concept that we had before 1930. I don't think this will ever happen again.

SAM M. BASTA

June 12, 1970

Now, for the record, if you'll say your name and your residence and your position.

My name is Sam M. Basta. I live in Reno. I'm the dean of students at the University of Nevada.

Why do you think you were chosen to be interviewed?

I think the title designates probably the main reason. As the dean of students, many of these things are his responsibility, but in this case, it wasn't.

OK, good. What was your own reaction to President Nixon's decision to go into Cambodia with United States troops?

Well, I can only react to what the president said on television, and I presume that he had all the facts, that he had consulted with all the people that were directly involved. As he explained it on television, and on that basis as well as being a former member of the armed forces, I think his actions were justified and needed and necessary.

In what way do you think the Cambodia decision was related to what happened next here on our campus?

I think it was directly related. I think there are far too many people—faculty, other students, administrators, and community persons—that are not aware of the sensitivity of many of our students in relationship to the draft, to the war, to the international situation, the political situation. The sensitivity that these students have regarding peace and humanity, I think, is not truly known by many, many people. So for those students who reflected this outward expression, I have a great deal of sympathy for and respect their feeling. I may not agree with the type of activities that they indulged in.

In what way do you think the Cambodia decision was related to events away from here, and what was your reaction to the events away from here: the Kent State affair and some of the others?

Well, I was fortunate—perhaps maybe not fortunate—in attending the National Association of Student Personnel Administrators (NASPA) conference of the executive board, and I am a vice-president of that organization. This repre-



Sam Basta, 1970s.

sented about eighteen deans of students or vice-presidents for student affairs. We came there with an established agenda. One of the members of that association who was called to present the views of Kent State happened to be the vice-president at Kent State. Rather than continuing on our original agenda, we discussed Kent State, Jackson State, and all of the issues and the problems and the demonstrations throughout the United States faced by these deans.

It was our general consensus that on most campuses and perhaps in the nation that there is a polarization (undue rhetoric that is causing a repressive reaction by the right to the left); there is tension; there is hostility; there are many, many issues that have surfaced. And I believe that with some exceptions, students have reacted to this Cambodia incidence compounded by Kent State and many other grievances associated with the

university in what is culminating in what I believe a serious outlook for the coming school year.

That's very interesting. Turning now to the Governor's Day activities here: what did you think of the arrangements made for the observance of Governor's Day?

If you're talking about arrangements such as bringing the governor on, which he's been doing for many, many years (and we've had ROTC on this campus since 1888), it's been an established program, it's been a successful program, and it is a means by which the governor is being honored, and also the brigade of ROTC is being honored, rather. It is an annual event that has both positive and perhaps negative reactions from various people.

I believe the arrangements were adequate; they were appropriate. And I believe that students in ROTC should enjoy the same rights and privileges as any other group of students. They have a right to be presented with awards, the same as in Phi Kappa Phi or others. However, the tensions of the country—Kent State, that whole thing—compounded the problem. I don't believe, though, as some students said, that with the unfortunate incidents that occurred we should have canceled it. I'm not quite sure that would have been appropriate. I believe that the rights of all people must be protected. If one person loses his rights, we all lose our rights. It was an unfortunate time; the timing was unfortunate; the situations, as such, were unfortunate. So it's very difficult for anyone to really project what we should have done.

What was your reaction to the demonstration?

[sighs] Well, as a native of this state, a graduate of this institution, and as a dean of students for many, many years, I am on that basis, I suppose, called a dedicated person to the university, the student body, and the state. And based on a belief in this country, a belief in the good Lord, and a belief that man should be a rational human being (though at times all of us are irrational), I

was very disappointed, disillusioned, downright disgusted with the actions of the group of students and, unfortunately, some professors and teaching assistants. I thought the incidence was completely uncalled for. It had no bearing whatsoever on the activities. However, as I've said previously, with these students and the professors, I admire their deep sense of feeling about the war and about Cambodia, about Kent State, and about the issues of peace. I don't believe that peace can be acquired in this way.

I believe peace is something we must all in some way fight for. Some of us do it one way; many of us do it in another way. I do not believe in peace at any price, and yet my heart goes out to many of those people who felt as strongly as they did. Perhaps they, in their own way, felt that this was the appropriate thing to do. I tend to disagree with them. I felt that they were infringing upon the rights of the president, the governor, and all the dignitaries, plus the students out in the field. I felt that that they had a right to be there, and I felt further that their rights were being infringed upon. It seems to me that there ought to be other ways of expressing and reflecting these deep feelings without offending or creating situations that have developed a backlash and a polarization on campus as well as off.

Did you feel it was necessary to participate in the activities on Governor's Day or the demonstration?

Well, as the dean of students, as a member of the administrative staff, and as the coordinator of ROTC, I felt it was my duty and my obligation when I was invited to attend. I tend to support the ROTC program. I may have some questions or doubts about its mandatory or its voluntary provision. I happen to believe in a nation that is well-armed and in a position to defend its way of life by many ways through our ROTC program. These young people do not like war; they want peace. They feel that their going through an ROTC program as officers and as leaders is a

much better way of utilizing their potential than as a private.

I don't believe in war; I hate war. Anyone who's served in the service feels the same way, but I have seen war in its ugliest way. I've participated in many, many campaigns and battles. I would not like to see my sons, who are eligible for the draft, go through the same thing. On the other hand, I think this country must be prepared, and I'd rather see a civilian army rather than a professional army. I think we need a cross-fertilization from our young people in colleges to become included within the professional army category. I have ambivalences about this, but coming from a family of ten children whose parents came from the old country, from Yugoslavia, and who have been allowed the opportunity to go through public schools and on to college, et cetera, perhaps those of us who are first generation may have a more sensitive feeling about why this country is so great.

OK. What did you think was the most effective part of the demonstration that took place up in the stadium?

[laughter] "Effective" is a word kind of hard to analyze. I think the effectiveness was negative in this concept. That is, the people that are protesting or dissenting could have achieved their objectives and goal in a more peaceful, more dignified, and in my judgment, more honorable way. I think if they would have marched around the stadium as they did—peacefully, calmly, and with their pickets, signs, and outward concerns—and sat in the stadium, as all the rest of us did, I would have been more receptive to their feelings. By showing their signs and perhaps by other ways of expression—showing their disregard for war and military establishment, their concern for peace and for humanity—maybe if they would have done that and shown this in a concerned way, I would have been more receptive to their feelings. I was extremely offended. I was extremely irritated and at one time thought I should get up

to the mike and try to calm them down. The president did on two occasions, and I felt it was not my position to do so after he had spoken.

What did you think was the most effective part of the Governor's Day observance?

Well, there were so many things that happened, so many people were upset, and so many incidents that occurred. I believe the most effective thing that occurred was the poise, the dignity, the coolness and calmness of those young men out in uniform being harassed and being subjected to a lot of vilifications that were unjust and uncalled for. And I think they won the ball game. It shows—to me, at least—that their training and their coolness under fire is a mark of leadership and self-discipline seldom displayed.

What do you think should have been the reaction of the various factions involved here—the ROTC, the demonstrators, the university administration—when the conflict developed?

That reminds me. As a former coach, it's much easier to call the signals Monday morning than it is during the time. What signals we could have called during that time is open to conjecture and question and doubt. I really don't have a quick answer. I don't think anybody had a quick answer. I think the situation evolved in such a way—and with the crowd that was creating the incident—that I don't know what we could have done to calm them.

I believe that what we didn't do is important: the fact that we didn't call the police, and we didn't bring in some tactics of repression. I do believe something should have been done, said. I really don't know. I think I would have done something different. I'm looking at it from overall. I believe that I should have gotten on the mike and attempted in as calm a way as possible to talk to the group, to individual students and leaders within their group, to express my concern as the dean of students, and perhaps should have said something to the effect that "I am holding you leaders responsible, both students and fac-

ulty, to maintain a calmness about the situation and failure on your part to not keep it calm." I would say that I would be forced, as far as the student leaders were concerned, to bring disciplinary action. And as far as the faculty was concerned, I would say that I would report them to the president for whatever action they and the faculty wanted to do. Perhaps that may not have been effective; I don't know. But looking back on it, I could have been very easily shouted down, just like they did with the president. I really don't know. I would not have called the police.

It's really a tough situation, isn't it? [laughter]

Very tense.

What was your reaction to the violence that followed Governor's Day—the fire bombing?

Well, I didn't think, again, that this would ever happen on this campus. Though I have no basis of fact or frame of reference, I honestly do not believe that it was students from the University of Nevada. I believe—though I could never prove it—that they were non-students, either from California or even within this community. And I believe that the fire bombing that occurred at Hartman Hall was caused by the same people that threw the one in Hobbit Hole. And I believe that it was intended to create a polarization, tension, backlash, diffusion, and perhaps hatred and hostility.

What kinds of or what category of participant—the students, faculty, or outsiders—do you think was most effective in stirring up violence on the campus? You just touched on this, but I think you might expand it a little.

Well, the word "violence" bothers me. I think the fire bombing was violence, but I don't think the stadium was violent. I think there were some very active student leaders who were directly involved in initiating the march through the campus and up to the stadium. I'm sorry to say that I believe that certain faculty members were also

directly involved in creating the incident, tending to get the students involved—and once they got involved, I think the problem got bigger than themselves. I think it got out of hand, and I think the leaders, both students and members of the faculty, should be held accountable.

Do you think outsiders were important?

I don't think in the initial stages, no. I think the student leaders that were actively participants who organized it should be held accountable. Outsiders may have come in later, and they might have been infiltrated within the group, but I also believe that for the student leaders and the faculty members (who were also part of the leadership), maybe what they wanted to do was not the thing that happened, and I tend to agree. But I think it got out of hand, and I think they ought to be held accountable.

Once a person assumes a leadership role, which they did in leading that group—and I observed them personally—I think they ought to be held accountable for what happened. I don't believe, really, that they attempted to create this thing. It just grew out of the mob psychology; it's that way. So, I don't think they intended to create the thing that occurred.

What actions do you feel were most important in cooling off the situation here after the fire bombing?

Well, since I was very directly involved in this, along with other administrators and faculty members and students, I think it was the rap sessions that occurred, and the fact that I, as the dean of students, became visible to all groups by going around the campus, attending the rap sessions, being involved, listening to all the groups, both long-hairs and cowboys (if we can use those words). I went to every picket line, every picket; I talked with all of the young people that were holding signs and who represented the long-hair; I talked with the cowboys. I kept up a steady dialogue with these youngsters and told them that I didn't want anybody hurt, and I didn't want any-

body mistreating them, that if this happened, they should come to my office and get a hold of me, that I didn't want the police involved. And it worked.

I was just one person. There were many others, many other faculty members (not too many, unfortunately), and some students. And in the bowl during the memorial services, we knew what was going to happen. The cowboys were going to organize on the quad and march down. The campus police were alerted; I alerted them. They also alerted the city police. We didn't know what was going to happen. A police officer was there; I had my staff there; I was visible in the bowl. I wandered around, talked with all kinds of people, including the five non-students that we had focused our attention upon.

When the cowboys came down in the bowl, I confronted them and told them that I expected them to conduct themselves in a manner that was not to be the same as at the stadium, even though they felt strongly about it. They told me they were not coming there to create any disruption; they came there to show how they could behave and to prove to the "long-hairs" that they could sit quietly during the memorial services and act in a way that they should have acted in the stadium.

So, between sixty and seventy marched down behind the mike, sat. I followed them slowly without any form of a panic, conversed with the campus policemen, sat and talked, and stood behind them. There were no noises. They made no cat-calls. They were quiet, were peaceful, and were ladies and gentleman.

When the services were over, one of their group—the most articulate one—started towards the mike. I followed him. I was quite a distance, but I got there just after he began to request that he have the privilege of speaking his opinion on how they felt. I grabbed his arm very calmly and quietly, and told him that I felt that these were memorial services, not a public forum, and I felt that if he wanted to present his side of the case, that we ought to set up another place for this to be done. Since I knew him personally, and he knew me, and hopefully respected me, he came with me to where the group was.

I talked with him; I talked with the other student leaders of that group. Reverend Dodson was there and a few others, and I was trying to convince them to express their opinions in other ways, preferably away from the bowl. Fortunately, there was a meeting already set up for this in the agriculture building, and I encouraged them to go. Only three or four real strong-willed, heavy-set persons were looking for a fight, and after some persuasion I convinced them that this was the way to do it, and they did. And fortunately, nothing happened.

How do you think events on campus affect the university's image with outsiders?

Unfortunately, the polarization that exists on this campus, the factionalization that's on this campus between students, faculty, and administration, I believe has further polarized off campus. I think the backlash is most hostile, most severe, and unfortunate. I think the university—all of us from the university—have failed to relate to the outside community what a university is, what a university stands for, and what the real issues are on campus, amongst the students particularly.

I think the image has been distorted, because the vast, vast majority of students are fine, upstanding young people. They are not violence-oriented; they are concerned young people. Much of their education they question. They question the academic process. It's a process they're concerned about: grading, teacher evaluation, curriculum revision, relevancy, freedom of choice in classes, boring classes, the meaning of their grades, the meaning of their degrees, the purpose of an education, the purpose of the university and many other issues that are of concern to them—the process of education, period, and all of its ramifications.

Plus, they're concerned about the world and the country, about racial injustices, of social injustices, about war, the bomb, the hypocrisy that exists in a society, the materialism, the interna-

tional situation, the world so small, pollution. These are things that are of concern to these young people. Though they don't say so by numbers, many of them feel quite strongly about this. And the outside community looks upon college students, and they're categorized by the outside people as long-hairs, guilt-ridden, dope-ridden, and violence-oriented—which they're not.

What can the university do to focus public opinion?

If I knew that answer, I would be the salvation of something. But I can only say that there are many, many factors that are involved here. I think the university, per se, as we know it today, is not the same university it will be in a few years. Universities must change; processes must be changed. The lawful purpose of a university must be fairly well established and known by all. Whether a university is to become a microcosm and become involved in the outside community, whether it should return to the ivory tower, whether it should be politicized—these are the issues. And until those are resolved and the university community truly becomes a university community, we cannot project outward unanimously to the people.

If universities do not change to meet the obvious needs of students, if universities do not become more concerned in a humanitarian way about students, if universities do not change the curriculum and the teaching process, we're going to be in real serious trouble. So, when we talk about the town-gown relationship as it is, I'm wondering what this university is going to do, because we are not a community college at the present time, if at any time. And universities are, more or less, based upon assumptions and traditions.

The unfortunate thing is that many of the outside community members, particularly alumni, do not really see and understand the changes that are taking place in our student bodies and in the university. They look back ten, twenty, and thirty

years. And this is a new generation, and I honestly believe there is a new emerging student culture, which we've got to identify and guide—not manipulate it, but guide it. And we must exert all efforts to do this. Until then, we've got to tell the people what we at the university community want to do and need to do.

That's good—do you think issues of academic freedom are involved in participating in demonstrations?

Academic freedom connotations can be interpreted in so many ways by so many people, and perhaps my definition of academic freedom may not be parallel to others. It's my understanding that academic freedom means that a professor or a student has the right and the freedom to seek the truth, wherever it may lead, and that they should relate or teach the truth as they've found it, without retribution, without loss of prestige of job. Because as a scholar, he must seek the truth and publish the truth and have security in this feeling that he would not be chastised or terminated because of it. It also means, as I see it, the right to speak out on issues of concern as an individual citizen of those things that he feels he should, not as a member of the academic community necessarily, but as a citizen, a concerned citizen.

There are some who hide behind academic freedom and use it as a cloak to insulate themselves within the academy, which I think is wrong. I believe all of us need to express ourselves on those things of concern to us. I feel that far too many of us fail to express ourselves in an appropriate way, which is by way of saying that freedom ends at the other guy's nose. And when my rights are infringed upon, I will fight for these rights. By that I don't mean by fisticuffs, but I certainly would have stood up if provoked, because if my rights or a student's rights or a faculty member's rights are infringed upon, and nobody does anything about it, then we have no rights. It's a very delicate line between freedom and rights and responsibility, which unfortunately

much is not said about it. We talk about academic freedom. We should also say academic responsibility and student responsibility and dean's responsibility, I think (if that's an answer).

That's very good. How can students and faculty be effective politically, or should they be trying to influence governmental policy?

I think all of us should be active politically. We should be concerned and committed on those issues of concern to us. There are ways of influencing government decisions in a democratic society which could be done if we act individually as students, as citizens, not representing the university in any way. Yes, I don't believe the university can commit itself in totality on political issues. By doing so, ultimately you will get reactions from the outside community and become politicized. I don't believe this is what we want, because once you get in the political arena, we're all going to be subjected to criticisms and harassment, because many people will disagree with it.

In a university community, I believe you cannot get total agreement, and perhaps that's the way it should be. A university is a place where ideas are presented; it's a marketplace of ideas. They should be uncovered. These ideas ought to be focused and merged and surfaced, and all of us should expose all of us to ideas. That's what a university is all about. You'll never have total agreement. Even some of us may never have any reasonable agreement, but what's important is the ideas are surfaced: discussion, debate, critical analysis is taking place. The important thing is that understanding develops as to why people have their opinions and beliefs and ideas. That's what a university is all about. To say "not be involved politically" is wrong.

Where do you think the peace movement is headed now in this area?

Well, as a father of two sons who are eligible for the draft and listening to my sons and getting involved with many other students who have simi-

lar feeling, "peace" is a clouded word. I'm not one of those people who believe in peace at any price. I believe that peace must be fought for, and it takes two to dance. And until we arrive at a reasonable understanding of what peace is all about and establish what peace means, then I can more accurately and intelligently say where it's going.

Because I don't know what peace is. We have not had peace, in my definition, since 1776: until man truly becomes a man who has no fears; where there are no racial injustices, no social injustices; where government is completely sensitive to man; where we don't have to lock our doors at night before we go to bed; where we don't have police officers or armies or navies. If this is what peace is, I don't think we'll achieve it. Man is not infallible, and man, by nature, tends to be selfish, and this infringes upon others. And so if we talk about Jefferson and Hamilton, and we talk about peace that has been discussed and written about for centuries, I have no answer.

Would you like to make some other comments about this whole situation?

Yes. I would like to close by saying that the National Association of Student Personnel Administrators (which represents twenty-one hundred deans of students, vice-presidents for student affairs, and student personnel officers throughout this country and Canada) is seriously concerned about the situation on campuses throughout this country. We believe, as a group, that something needs to be done in regards to the situation both at the national, the state, and local level.

The rhetoric and polarization resulting from rhetoric and the incidents that have occurred on many campuses has reached a proportion that we consider serious enough that we may establish action programs throughout this country on our campuses wherein we must get people together to talk, to dialogue, to meet, to discuss—all factions involved, both at the national, state, regional, and local level. We are doing this. We're going

to have a crisis control center hopefully in Washington that'll be directed by a dean on leave of absence. We are going to try to get government leaders, people in higher education, labor leaders, others that are in concern, to try to work out a better understanding of issues today. Hopefully, we can go to regional, then to local areas. We feel that the problems projected for the next coming year are serious enough that we've got to get together. I believe that reasonable men sitting down discussing can come up with a reasonable solution.

That's very good. Do you want a restriction on your interview?

By restriction, I don't know. I don't think I've said anything I didn't say was honest and true, and I think it can be used if they want to use it. I didn't mention names. These are all my own feelings, my own honest opinions, and they're not intended to harm anyone or to infringe upon character or assassinate any person or whatever. It's a real deep concern I have.

JAMES BLINK

May 27, 1970

So, just for the record, if you will say your name and your hometown, what class you're in, and what your major is and so forth.

OK. My name's Jim Blink. I'm from Henderson, Nevada; my major is engineering science, and I'm a graduating senior.

Why do you think you were chosen to be interviewed?

I think it's very possibly because I was the drill team commander out there at Governor's Day, so I was pretty well involved in the proceedings.

What was your reaction to President Nixon's Cambodia decision?

Militarily, I thought it was a very wise thing to do. I think it saved a lot of lives in the long run, because Cambodia has been a sanctuary and a supply base for Vietnam for a long time. Just in the first few days that they went in, they did so much to hurt the enemy logistically that I think

that it will turn out to save a lot of lives in the end, especially if he pulls back out of there and doesn't try to make it a major front, but reserves the right to go in at periods of time and clean out the supply bases.

Very good. In what way do you think the Cambodia decision was related to what happened next on our campus?

Well, I think this campus is not in the forefront of the nation's campuses as far as protesting or demonstrating. Other campuses, such as Kent State of course, did react very violently to this, and there were people killed. I think this is what kind of triggered off the situation at Nevada.

What was your own reaction to what happened in other parts of the country as a result of the Cambodia decision? You mentioned Kent State as one.

I think it's very sad, and Kent State was only a part of it. When people get a cause, they let their emotions take over and override their reason. These students at Kent State, for instance,

ran wild through the streets destroying property and breaking store windows and so forth, even before the national guard was called out (which is why it was called out). I think it's sad that this can happen.

However, I recognize that's just a human characteristic, and it isn't just limited to students; it's also very present in the national guardsmen. These people are called out, and they're standing there face to face with the demonstrators, taking the worst possible kind of abuse, and some of it possibly even physical with the rocks and so forth. I think their emotions can take over for them, too. So I think that because of this, both sides should be protected from an escalation by the national guardsmen firing. The national guardsmen I don't think should have any ammunition. I think gas and bayonets is sufficient to keep off anybody in the front lines.

I think there is a definite danger when the students just pull some of the tactics like they do in Japan and some other countries and just try to overrun them. I think at the very most, they should maybe have snipers on the roof where they're removed from the emotional climate of the demonstration. But I definitely think people right there in front lines should have as little as possible: they should just be able to protect themselves and stand their ground. I don't think they should be killing, because it's just so sad when somebody gets killed in something like this.

Regarding the Governor's Day activities here, what did you think of the arrangements made for the observances?

I thought the arrangements were fine in all but one respect. I think it's fine that the demonstrators were allowed to march around the track; however, I thought that they should have acted their ages and gone in the stands and been quiet after they had been heard and not try to disrupt other people. I think that was an extreme lack of manners, just extremely rude, not only to other university students who were respecting them and standing quietly, but also to the president and to

the governor, and especially to parents of people that were killed. I think there's just no excuse for ridiculing somebody that's been killed.

I thought that the only thing that was wrong was that the university police were ordered to keep hands off the Negroes. (I don't know if it was President Miller or Chief Malone who had ordered it.) I think the whole thing was kind of pushed on by the Negroes going out and sitting on the field. When the demonstrators were not allowed to have the microphone during the middle of the ceremonies to finalize their plans for what would happen afterwards, they seemed to get very angry, and they went out and joined the Negroes out on the field.

The Negroes weren't causing any trouble; they were just sitting there trying to make their presence felt, but I think it was the wrong place. I think the field was reserved for the people using it. I think they could have sat in the stands. Because they were out there and they were getting away with it, and the police obviously were told to keep their hands off and not do anything, the demonstrators also went down there.

I think it was very, very tense when the drill team performed. There could very possibly have been a riot of major proportions where somebody could have got hurt pretty badly. And I think that was the one mistake they made. I think they should have asked the Negroes to leave the field immediately when they got out there and escorted them up to the stands. And I think the Negroes, once they'd made themselves heard, would have gone up there. I don't think they're unreasonable.

Well, you kind of said what your reaction to the demonstration was, but would you like to expand on what you said about your reactions to the demonstration?

Well, I was standing there during the march around the field, and I didn't see anything wrong with the march until they got behind the people that were standing, waiting patiently. They got abusive personally, and I think there's no need for this. They were protesting the Vietnam War

or the Cambodian invasion or the killings at Kent State—that had nothing to do with the people on the field and ROTC. And I think that it, again, shows their immaturity, if they're going to be personal about it. I think that's the wrong tactics to take. It's kind of fear tactics. It's a tactic of ridiculing somebody that's doing something they don't like, and I just don't think it has any place on the campus.

Did you participate in any of the demonstrations?

No, I didn't participate. I've gone to some of the peace rallies, both last year and this year, just to see what was going on. It's my personal opinion that the peace rallies don't really do much. I think the way to change this is if the majority of the country really feel that the war should be stopped, they're the ones that elect our congressmen. (And these demonstrators would like people to believe they are the majority.) I think it's kind of strange to note that the major opposition in Congress to the war comes from the Senate and not from the House, and the House is supposedly more responsive to the people.

So I think that if they are going to be successful, the proper tactics for them to use are not fear and demonstrations, or trying to influence public opinion. I think they should try to get their people elected to Congress. There are certainly enough people running on the peace ticket to make it a true showing. I think that when you demonstrate this way, it does good in a sense and has a positive effect in the country: if it's well done, if it doesn't cause any material damage, and if it doesn't abuse other people's rights. But when it is done lousy and they damage property, break store windows, and infringe on other people's rights (like blocking traffic or stopping classes), I think then it has a negative effect on public opinion.

What should have been the reaction of the various factions to the conflict that developed, the various factions as we've laid them out here: the ROTC, the university administration, and the

demonstrators themselves? What should have been their reaction to the conflict that erupted?

You mean at Governor's Day?

At Governor's Day or afterwards.

Well, as far as I can see, there was no conflict at Governor's Day, because it was one-sided. The demonstrators did their best to raise people's tempers and to start something, and it wasn't done. The closest it came to conflict was when the drill team did march, and as I understand it, a few people did get in the way of bayonets. There weren't any major injuries, but the bayonets are sharp.

I think it's sad, and I think if anybody had jumped at anybody in the drill team, there would have been some people very badly hurt on both sides. And I think that the ROTC people did a fantastic job, because, like I say, I was in ranks. I was not with the drill team during the majority of the proceedings, because I was getting an award, so I was kind of in the middle of the ranks, and I heard what was going on, and people were talking and discussing things and trying to keep their cool, and I think they did. They were very disgusted about it. Everybody wanted to get off the field and leave, but nobody would do it just because of the fact that they would then be giving the demonstrators their way.

I think the administration did an excellent job of handling it; they definitely didn't inflame things. I thought President Miller picked the appropriate time to try to calm things down, although I don't think there's any way he could have, you know, stopped it. I think that of the demonstrators during the proceedings after the march, there was only a very small minority that were causing a disruption.

I don't think the whole demonstration should be condemned just because of them, although I think that they did hurt the whole thing for everybody. The rest of them should have tried to stop them if they felt that way instead of just sitting there and kind of being disgusted at it. The

only thing I can see the administration did wrong is that they let the Negroes go on the field, and that kind of precipitated everybody going down there, and it could have got bad.

I noticed after they marched around the field, the majority of the demonstrators went up in the stands, and they very quickly shut up and sat there and tried to make themselves small. I don't think they enjoyed it at all. The small minority, of course, they were just kind of caught up in their emotions, and there was no stopping them outside of taking them away, and I don't think that should be done.

I think they kind of ruined their own thing. I think maybe next year, when the university plans Governor's Day, they shouldn't dismiss classes. They should make arrangements for people to be excused if they have to participate, and I think maybe they should hold it indoors some place off campus—say, the fairgrounds or the coliseum. It is a military ceremony, it honors people in ROTC, and it gives the governor a chance to see the campus. If the campus isn't going to accept him, if they're going to instead just use his presence as an excuse to raise trouble, I think maybe that the opportunity shouldn't be given—and maybe it should be isolated. It can be open to the public, but if it was held indoors or something like that, it would be much easier to control.

Very good. What was your reaction to the violence then that followed Governor's Day—the burning of Hartman Hall and the fire bombing at the Hobbit Hole?

Well, I don't really have any information on that as to who did it, but it would seem to me that it's excellent psychology for somebody that would be trying to promote violence on campus: first hit one side and then hit the other side and get them mad. It's kind of like these chicken fights they have in Mexico where you go to one and then the other until they get mad enough where they fight each other. The reaction to the bombing of Hartman Hall by the people in ROTC was,

I thought, pretty good. They were mad about it, but they wouldn't assign the blame to anyone, and this starts right with Colonel Hill and goes down to the lowest freshman.

There were some people that were hot-headed about it, but everybody agreed that they didn't know who did it, and it wouldn't do any good to, you know, try to retaliate. Of course, there were jokes about the Hobbit Hole and everything, but I think nothing was serious. This is something that went around the campus—people joking about it—and I think it was taken very well. The ROTC students did go up there, and they sat at Hartman Hall all weekend until a fire alarm system was put in so that now it's automatic, of course. It's very strange to me that the thing at the Hobbit Hole would happen right after somebody comes home like that. I know if I was planning to bomb a place, and I saw somebody just walk in the door, I certainly wouldn't do it then, because there's a chance of being seen. So, I really don't know. If it was caused by somebody on the outside, they had excellent motives, but motive doesn't prove a crime.

So, it could have been caused by either side, but I don't think so. I don't think anybody on this campus is really militant enough or violent enough to get enough support to do such a thing. Anybody that did it was, you know, obviously mentally deranged. I think they had no basis for doing that. It was emotionally caused, again, but there wasn't anything really to bring our emotions up to such a pitch, unless their avowed cause was to just destroy. I think it's very deplorable, but then I think it shows that the people of this campus, the majority of them do have cool enough heads to think something out and not get all excited about it and go off and destroy the rest of the campus. So I think it definitely showed the maturity of most of the students on the campus on both sides.

That's very good. What category of participant in these demonstrations—the students or the faculty or outsiders—do you feel was most effective in fomenting the violence?



Damage to Hartman Hall caused by a Molotov cocktail.

Again, I wasn't that close to that side of it. I am the staff assistant in the dorm, so I know some people. I know one student in particular who I would have expected to be a leader of this, who attended all the meetings, but he has told me that he wasn't a leader.

Maybe it was outside people. I didn't know Professor Adamian by sight until the demonstration, but I saw this man, and I recognized him as a member of the faculty, who seemed to be leading the thing and goading people on (he obviously wasn't a student). I just kind of looked at him, and I thought, "What's this guy doing out there?" Later, when I found out it was Adamian, then it kind of all clicked with the reports. But I kept my eye on him through the whole thing.

I was disgusted that a member of the faculty would lead such a thing. I think that a member of the faculty has a perfect right to protest, but when he gets out there and leads the student movement, it's something that's obviously immature and against both the faculty code of ethics and any

ethics the students have. (Supposedly the ASUN has been pushing for the bill of rights, and they finally got it.) Students are supposedly being treated as mature adults, and when an older faculty member gets out there and lets himself get out of control and goads other people on, I think that's just terrible. I don't think he should be allowed to do such a thing. If he just marched around quietly and made his protest, that'd be fine, but he was a leader.

If students can be immature, I can understand that partly. They're young, and they can be easily influenced. When they have a cause like this, it's very easy for them to get out of hand. But I don't think a man that old with that much experience should be able to be carried away by that—and even if he is carried away, he shouldn't be leading the whole thing.

What actions do you think were most effective in preventing more violence or in cooling the situation?

I think, for one, President Miller's announcement at Governor's Day, and secondly—and probably most important—was Doug Sherman [a university policeman]. I also tried to watch him, and he freely walked into the people that were demonstrating and talked to them. I think just his presence alone was effective. Later, I found out that it had been publicized nationally. I've seen it in papers from South Carolina and also New York. Doug Sherman got a write-up as being one of the leaders of the demonstration as far as planning it. If he helped plan it and then could go out there and help keep it cool, even while he was wearing his uniform, I think this is possibly one of the best things that could happen on this campus. I think Doug Sherman and President Miller kept it down, and also the people in ROTC not reacting outwardly.

How do you think that these events on our campus affect the university's image outside?

Well, I don't know. Evidently, there was an alumnus who started a movement against the university, but I don't think it's going to go anywhere. There's people like Senator Slattery, who did everything in his power to inflame more violence. From reading his statements, I think he's just totally irresponsible. However, I know Senator Slattery has never had a very good opinion of students in the university unless they're very quiet and attend all their classes. You know, all he thinks the school is for, I believe, is just academics. I think you learn a lot more.

I think there is so much to be learned by the majority of the people on this campus from the events of Governor's Day on. I think it's really helped the campus as far as the students are in mind, and I think it's really awakened a lot of them. I think it's affected some of the legislators in a very bad way, but I don't think they're going to cut off the funds to the university. They'd be foolish to. It's a state university, and if they cut off the funds, I think it'd have a huge effect in lowering the enrollment, but I don't think it would accomplish any purpose.

The older people, the more conservative people, of course, are going to be affected by this, but I think people that sit and think about it and read all the reports will realize that the students on this campus and everybody concerned—and maybe especially the police—handled it very well. I think maybe the university will come off in a better light because of it in the end. But right at the beginning, people just get uptight about it, and I think it's already cooling down.

I know it was played up very much in Las Vegas from calls they got from relatives back there. The papers and the radio stations were playing it up like this campus was burning or something. And, I don't know; I think it's pretty sad that newspapers have to use sensationalism just to sell their newspapers, but I guess that's the way they do it.

Well, what can the university do to focus public opinion?

I think maybe some in-depth stories released to the news media. I think the quick reactions by Frankie Sue Del Papa and President Miller to irresponsible journalism, such as the editorial that was on the one television station, helped a lot. I think the leaders on the campus are trying to keep their opinions out, and it seemed like everybody, no matter what their opinion, came out after the fire bombings and said, "This has got to stop." I think that, really, the university is kind of focusing public attention. I know that for people on the outside, their interest has almost gone away. It's almost been a passing thing. They think it's all completely gone.

Do you feel that the issue of academic freedom enters in there?

Yes, I do. I think that the faculty should have the academic freedom to go out and protest if they want. I don't think that has anything to do with his position (outside of the fact that he might be leading the students). I don't think he should have a position of leadership in the student affairs, but

if he wants to go out and as a citizen protest, that's fine. I don't really know if that's academic freedom. I think that's just part of his freedom as a citizen.

It's a non-academic restriction, maybe, but I think the students also have the freedom. I think that this bit about canceling classes for every little thing—whether it be Mackay Day or Governor's Day or the Honors Convocation or whatever—is kind of leading up to something, because now the students want some say in when classes can be canceled. I think it's unreasonable to cancel classes for something like this. When the baseball team or the football team or anybody—the debate team, the drill team—goes out, everybody makes arrangements with their teachers, and I don't think there's hardly anybody that gets penalized for not attending class. I think attending class is a right of the student. I don't think it's something he should be forced to do. I think it's part of his academic freedom that if he can do the work in the class without attending it, then that's his privilege. And the instructors should grade on the results, not on whether the person attends or not. If a lot of students don't attend the class, then I think the professor should maybe look at that a little bit and say, "Well, maybe they're not getting much from me if they can do it without me," and maybe change himself a little bit. I know there's a lot of professors on this campus that never have to say a word about attendance, and they have very good attendance compared to the rest, because they're good.

It seems that the instructors that are saying, "You have three cuts for the semester" (or whatever, something like this), have to say it, or they would lose some of their students. But I think it's up to the student. It's his responsibility to pass the class. If he can do it without attending—fine. But I think that the idea of canceling classes for these things is kind of bad, except for maybe something that is an all-school holiday that's planned for a whole semester ahead so that whoever is teaching the class can make the arrangements.

But when you go ahead and cancel something a couple of days before it happens, I think you kind of upset faculty members. I think that in any case, unless it's canceled for the whole school, the faculty members should be there. Because this was argued out at the senate, and it just seems so unreasonable to me. They finally decided that if the student didn't want to go, he didn't have to; if the faculty member didn't want to go, he didn't have to. But if the teacher's not there, what good does it do for the student to go to class?

So, I think the faculty should be there. I think that they're being paid by contract to teach, and whether there's one person there or the whole class, they should have to teach. And they shouldn't be canceling classes unless it's something that's a necessity, like going to a convention or something that has to do with the university. For a protest as a citizen, they have their own time to do that, and they shouldn't try to do it on the students' time, because the students have paid for that time. So, I guess that's what is meant by academic freedom.

As far as discussing things in class, this was brought up, of course, by one person, and I wasn't in his classes. We discussed current affairs in a lot of my classes. I spent a lot of time in one of my upper division engineering graduate classes this semester discussing current events, and it's fine under one condition: that the professor gets off the podium and comes down and joins the class and makes it a true discussion group, and that grade book is as far away from his mind as possible.

But in a beginning English class or a beginning history class or anything—I saw this happen quite a few times when I was a freshman—the teacher will use the podium to his advantage. He would get up there and preach on current events and put his opinions over, instead of starting discussion of current events. If anybody dared to argue, he was immediately squelched. (I did try to argue in one political science course.) When you're out in the class and the guy's on the podium, there's not much you can do unless you start getting into a yelling contest.

Some teachers will use the grade book as also a kind of a lever, and I think this violates tremendously the academic freedom of the students. And it's just an advantage the faculty would be taking unfairly. But if they make it a fair, open discussion that has nothing to do with the class, and it's completely voluntary, this is perhaps one of the best things that can be done in a class. If anybody doesn't like it, they can leave. If anybody wants to participate, they can and they won't be penalized—everybody will be listened to, and nobody will shout them down from a position of authority.

Like I say, I've done this in engineering classes, and I think I get more out of those classes than I do sometimes out of, you know, working on equations and engineering problems, because with a minimum of help in most classes, you can get it on your own. I think a lot of education is not just out of the book.

Do you think that students and faculty (or, I should say "and/or faculty") can be effective politically? Or should they attempt to be politically effective?

I think that students and faculty are a segment of the population, probably one of the most intelligent segments of the population, and certainly one of the most interested because they're not in a rut. So, I think definitely they should be kind of a watch-word by the politicians. How the people in the academic community react kind of foretells sometimes what the rest of the country will do—there's a time delay there. I think definitely they should be active politically, both in supporting candidates and also things like petitions and letters to congressmen, things that show them our opinions.

In selective cases—not all the time, or it loses its effect—a demonstration or a rally is fine. The peace rallies last year held in the Manzanita Bowl I thought were extremely well done. They didn't disturb anybody. Anybody that wanted to go went. There were a lot of people from ROTC that went. There were, I think, a lot of people from off campus that came by to see what was going on and

listen. It seemed that almost anybody that wanted to talk could go down there and talk, and I thought they were very effective. I thought rap sessions outside the student union and in the student union were very effective this year. It showed that the campus is thinking, and if a consensus comes out of it, it kind of gives politicians something to look at as far as an opinion. So I definitely think people on campus should be active politically, but they shouldn't step on other people's rights.

Where do you think the peace movement here is going?

That, I don't know. With the raise in the California tuition, I think we're going to have a much bigger percentage of the student population on campus being involved with the peace movement. I think the peace movement will get bigger here on campus; I think it's going to get bigger everywhere. Students are directly affected by the war in that they're so darn scared they're going to have to go that, of course, they polarize to the other side. They do anything they can to stay away, so I think the peace movement's going to grow.

I think they've had, for the most part, responsible leadership this year. I hope they manage to keep things under control and don't run wild like they have in other places and go down there and start breaking windows down on Virginia Street and closing the campus. I think this would be a tragedy. I certainly hope they learn something from this year's events: if they are going to try to disrupt somebody else's ceremony, and they're given permission to make their point, then once they make their point, they either leave or they act like gentlemen. I think a lot of them—or the leaders—realize this, and some of the leaders were the ones that were goading it on. But I think afterwards when they saw the public opinion so massively against them, that maybe they realize now that that's not the right tactic to use. I think it'll grow, and I just hope that it'll grow peacefully.

Do you have any other comments you want to make about the affairs of the past two or three weeks here?

Well, the only comment is this: in summary, I think that it was well-handled by all sides, and I think that lessons were learned. And not just the people directly involved, but almost the entire student population has learned something from it. And I hope we profit by it. I'd hate to see the University of Nevada become a burning institution like some of them are.

KENNETH J. CARPENTER

May 27, 1970

So, just for the record, if you'll say your name, your residence, and what your position is.

Kenneth J. Carpenter; Reno; associate director of the library at the university.

Why do you think you were chosen to be interviewed for the project?

[laughter] Well, I suppose because I helped start it, and it's obvious that I have been involved in doings of the last few weeks on the campus, including a couple of letters to the *Sagebrush*. Maybe that's where my name was picked up.

What was your reaction to President Nixon's decision to send troops into Cambodia?

Horror and despair, I suppose—fright, anger, frustration. And it brought me out of the woodwork.

In what way do you think the Cambodia decision was related to what happened next on the University of Nevada, Reno campus?

Well, I think what happened to a number of people is somewhat what happened to me, perhaps not personally as great a change. Well, I had withdrawn from activities out of a sort of tiredness, I guess, and resigned from committees and quit writing letters to editors and spent my time home, in my office with my camera. Somehow or other, this sort of made me angry and unhappy again with the world, to the extent that it made me want to do something.

I think that for many of the students and other people, maybe the same sort of thing had happened. I know I had talked to several of my friends earlier, and many of them felt somewhat the same way I had: we've been sort of alone in our activity. Some of us, I suppose, hoped that something was going to happen. After all, Nixon's act of withdrawal program had quieted things somewhat. But this dramatic-seeming change in policy in southeast Asia and the happenings at Kent State University kind of brought people not only together—but they wanted to do something, and they all got together and did something! [laughter] Actually, I haven't seen such an immediate change in people's attitude. It happened so quickly, as it did in that week.



Ken Carpenter, 1979.

What was your reaction to the events in the other parts of the country that were related to the Cambodian decision?

Well, I think my attitude is one that many, many people have. There seems to be a difference in the students' reaction, although violence obviously has occurred. Many of the demonstrations have ended in violence and burning of buildings. Nevertheless, there seems to be a difference in attitude that's almost become a cliché now: that the students work within the system. It brought them together. I was impressed by the passion, but also the responsible attitude of most of the students on campus—in fact, all the students that I talked to. They didn't want any violent confrontations. They weren't going out to burn buildings, but they wanted to make their voice heard, and they did.

I am also, however, somewhat frightened by the reaction to protests of the last few weeks, the kind of reaction of the right. I forget now the nights, but I think on the television, one of the things that really frightened me the most was the construction workers' demonstration attack on students in New York. This is obviously an organized counter-reaction. That really frightened me. Also, of course, there were actions here locally: the so-called "cowboy" element was obviously organized; the ACAC committee is being organized downtown; and the obvious people who are not only condoning this kind of organized counter-reaction but are stimulating it; Slattery's really terribly irresponsible TV appearance during this; Mr. Raggio and others. The statements put out by the ACAC committee say, "There are only a small group of people up on the campus who are causing trouble, and if the university

can't handle them, there's a small group of people downtown who can." This kind of an attitude seems stronger now than it has been in the past, and frankly, it frightens me somewhat.

I remember some of these activities in the past, and during the 1930s in San Joaquin Valley and, of course, the McCarthy period. But even now, it might be worse. I mean, potential for serious trouble exists. It might not nationally, but it certainly can exist and hurt locally, especially in a smaller community like this; I think the only thing that's saving us is this kind of thing. Well, like Slaterry remarked, it's because we're still not a large urban area. I think if this had been a town of 250,000 and a university community of ten to fifteen thousand students, there could have been serious trouble, partly caused by this sort of an attitude. (I've forgotten the question.)

It had to do with the events in the other parts of the country that were in response to the Cambodia decision. But I think that you answered it very well. Regarding the Governor's Day activities here on the university campus, what did you think of the arrangements made for the observances?

For the observances? You mean the Governor's Day itself, not the counter-Governor's Day observances.

No, no. The Governor's Day observances.

Well, I've thought of this quite a bit and of the events of that week, and one of the things that one does is always try to go back and lay blame for what happened. You remember the false cancellation of Governor's Day. I wish that that had been a valid one. I think that considering the mood of the country and the campus in that week, to hold a military observance on a campus was foolish. I can't think of anything that could have been more provocative than that. I think we got off damn lucky. Again, if we had been in a larger university and in a more urban area and had such an observance on campus that week, there would have been a lot more trouble than we had. Can you think if there had been such a thing in the

middle of the Berkeley campus that week, what would have happened?

I think it was just bad judgment on whoever's part it was—probably the president. I think it should have been canceled. Now, that there would have been some other kind of demonstration on campus seemed to be obvious: everybody just wanting to do something. But this was just asking for it, it seemed to me. And again, I think we got off lucky. I think that the people who started the counter-demonstration against Governor's Day were just badly organized. You know, if it had been well-organized, even a little bit better organized with plans for what they were going to do and had marshals, I think it would have gone on very well.

I myself marched in the parade, but my understanding was that we were going to go up and march around the oval once and then go away. And I think this would have been perfectly proper. It would have made our demonstration. There were three or four times as many people in the parade as there were in the stands, and there would have been TV cameras, and they would have made their statement. But at the meeting down in the bowl beforehand, it was obvious that there was no organization. People were asking each other, even at the mike, as I remember, what they were going to do. And they didn't determine what they were going to do; someone said, "Let's go," and everybody went. I have objected publicly against the catcalls, the booing, the interference afterward. I think that what happened there destroyed 95 percent of the efficacy of the original protest, and I regret the waste of time and the effort. And it was just badly done, but again, I think we got off lucky. It was bad, but, oh, it could have been so much worse. [laughter]

What do you think should have been the reaction of the various people involved here—the ROTC, the demonstrators, the university administration—to the conflict that developed here in the demonstration?

You mean at the time of the demonstration itself?

Yes.

Well, one thing, I've already expressed my regret and some anger at what happened—the cat-calling and the interference with the cadets and whatever happened. I wasn't there; I had left, by the way, before that happened, so I had no personal knowledge of what happened. I think that the ROTC people, the students and the police reacted magnificently well with restraint and patience. And I have several times complimented personally Bob Malone and Colonel Hill. I think they did just exactly what they should have done.

Well, given that the event happened, I think everybody acted quite rationally and reasonably following that. I can't even find it in my heart to really severely criticize the action of the Board of Regents in Elko. I think they handled it rather badly in some respects, but given the pressures that were placed upon them, and given the kind of people they are, living in the exceedingly conservative community which they do, I think they were forced to make some kind of response—and I think properly so. I have some doubts about picking out two people and doing it publicly, but except for that, why, I think people have acted quite reasonably. Again, I mentioned several times to a number of people, we got off very, very lucky.

I consider what happened—in terms of the bombing of Hartman Hall and the Hobbit Hole—the action of individuals and not a group. Of course, no one knows what happened, but those are the two other incidents, but just those falling between a different state itself. I certainly have no complaints about what the people in the university have done, but this is again, apart from the two bombings, if those indeed were university people. I've already expressed criticism of some of the town reaction.

Well, the next question is about your reaction to the violence that ensued—the bombing. Well, it would seem to be obvious what one's reaction to this is. [laughter]

I don't think I even have to express it. I talked to some of the student leaders—Dan Teglia and so forth—after it, and I'm convinced that the bombing of Hartman Hall didn't come from at least the group of students that I have been talking to. I haven't the slightest idea who did it, and no one else has. I'm really much more concerned about the bombing of the Hobbit Hole that came six or seven hours after.

If you'll remember Mr. Slattery's appearance on television saying that those Sundowners ought to get together and run those left-wing radicals off the campus—when you analyze that statement, what does “run off” mean? It certainly doesn't mean to go up and ask them politely to leave or to institute judicial proceedings against them. It means run them off; it means going up there and beating them in the head and throwing them in the river.

I don't know whether there's any direct cause and effect here, and I'm no attorney, but I would say, just as an example: if the person or persons who did throw that fire bomb at the Hobbit Hole were found, and they happened to be, say, Sundowners, and were found guilty, I would think they'd actually file criminal charges against Mr. Slattery for an accessory of attempted murder. I'm serious about that; I think it was terrible. Again, I'm more worried about that one than I was the first one. I'm appalled by both of them, but more appalled about the second one, especially when everybody who knows anything about the Hobbit Hole knew that there were people in that building. Again, we got off lucky. Awfully lucky.

What category of participant—the students, faculty, or outsiders—do you feel was most effective in fomenting the violence?

I haven't the slightest idea, because I wasn't there in the stands. I had made the circle and fallen out and watched the circle go around again. And as the people started to go in the stands, I returned to the library.

Do you think that outsiders were important in fomenting the violence here?

I haven't the slightest idea, from my own knowledge, I don't.

What actions do you feel were most effective in preventing more violence or cooling off the situation that developed from the bombing?

I think it was probably the concerted effort of a number of students and some faculty people and the people at the Center—John Dodson and John Marschall. I know that some of us had several meetings a day, most of them informal. And I know I went around campus, dropped in, talked to people, just to be around and to find out what was happening.

As an example, following the Governor's Day fiasco, a number of us met over in the Center. This was actually called by Jim Hulse, who wanted to reactivate the old Northern Nevada Peace Group. There were a large number of people there, both students and faculty. Well, his effort was aborted, because people started talking about what they could do now. There were a number of suggestions, and as out of large and vociferous meeting—why, no one knows really who suggested it—but the idea of some observance on Friday for the Kent State students was mentioned. Then it was sort of decided that that's what was going to be done, and so several of us were appointed as a committee to arrange this.

I don't remember who all was involved—Bob Harvey and myself. Again, this was very informal. When we met to do this, I think it was at my suggestion that this should be strictly a memorial service, because I was rather scared of a large group brought together and lots of wild rhetoric thrown around. If there are lots of people together and they've been shouting and yelling at each other for a while and then things are ended, one of the difficulties in an atmosphere like that is that all the passions that are aroused need some kind of an outlet. Where are people going to go and what are they going to do?

So, we decided to have a very simple, short, strictly memorial service with no political harangues allowed. Now, I must admit that the very fact of having a memorial service on Friday for the Kent State students in itself was political activity; this I will grant. [laughter] And we did it that way. Everybody went along with me on this, and as you know, we had a very simple, short, strictly memorial service.

I asked Dan to have Marschall to protect the microphone, because I wanted to make sure that after the service someone didn't come up and start haranguing the crowd with wild rhetoric on the microphone. And this is the way it happened. As a result, it was a little ticklish at the end of the service. The organized group that came over, I suppose, from the School of Agriculture, wanted to use the microphone to tell their side of it. They pointed out there was no "their" side (of course, this isn't quite true, because, again, it was a political act). Then people stood around for a while, not quite knowing what to do, but the mood had been set, and they quietly dispersed. I think that that, as an example, helped maintain control. And there were other things. Ben Hazard was around in groups, and I heard him at a couple of them. Just this sort of cooling it by a number of students and faculty, I think, helped a great deal.

Also, I must say that President Miller's statement that was printed in the *Sagebrush* helped a great deal. If that hadn't come out that morning, I think there could have been some trouble, because the students and a lot of the faculty said they hadn't heard anything out of the president's office, and presidents and chancellors from all over the country have been making statements. I know that I had called Bob Harvey the night before, and I was worried about it, so we decided to go to the president that morning. Now, the chronology of these days is a little unclear. (I was going to get this all straight before I came in here; I didn't have time.) So, we went down to his office at 8:00 that morning, and he saw us, and we expressed our concern that there should be some statement from his office, and it had already been made that morning. [laughter]

That helped a great deal. The fact that an extra issue of the *Sagebrush* came out with it prominently displayed on the front page was a great factor, and it was a very good statement. (Again, I've lost track of the question.)

You've answered it very well. How do you think events on campus affect the university's image with outsiders?

Well, in the first place, I don't like the word "image."

No, it's a bad word. Shall I say "public aspect" or . . . ?

[laughter] I wonder what happened to the good old-fashioned word of "reputations." Well, I don't know. The reputation of the university in the community is always a mixed one. In my view, what the town and gown thinks about the university is really only what I get from the newspapers and television. Like most of us within the university community, our social life is built around and with other university people. I really know very few people in town. So, you know, what I say comes from newspapers, editorials in the *Nevada State Journal* and the *Reno Evening Gazette*.

Oh, by the way, back to the previous question about controlling: I think the university owes a debt of gratitude to the *Gazette*—not to KOLO or to journalism, certainly, but certainly to the *Gazette* and to George Frank. I've watched their stories with a great deal of care, and their balanced reporting and balanced editorials are attitudes that I think is another time we got off lucky, just lucky.

One can only hope that it's a tempest in a teapot. Our problem is it's our teapot. We'll probably live through it all right. We're in finals week now, and probably nothing will happen during the summer. Our constituency in the summer is quite different than it is in the fall. I do think, however, that a number of people—primarily faculty—could get together during the summer and

organize themselves so that we will know what to do next fall and not wait until the event.

I think some plans should be made. I'm not talking about policy plans; I'm talking about the kinds of things we were doing during those two weeks. And I don't mean just us pointy-headed intellectuals: I'm talking about very, very conservative people who are also concerned about the university. We should be ready to talk to people. For instance, I think that people should talk to the conservative people downtown who have their back hairs up—the ACAC committee.

It'd be silly for me to go down and talk to them, but I think that some people could: people who have been around for a long time, who are very conservative, who feel the same way they do about things, but who have the interest of the university qua university, at heart, regardless of political affiliation. Those are the people that should be talking to Raggio, Slaterry (if one could talk to Slaterry), and Mr. Bullis. They should be the ones, and they have been.

Sam Basta and I are probably on the opposite ends of the political spectrum, and I have severe criticisms of Sam, but as a person he's well-liked, and regardless of some mistakes that he's made, he knows how to talk to people in the community. He's highly regarded. And I know he's done it; I saw him the other day, and he has been around. This could help a lot. They're the people that should be going down and talking to—shall I say?—our opponents in the community. And some of them have been doing it, but I think that they need to get organized.

Well, the next question has to do with what function the university should have in focusing public opinion, and I think you've covered this quite well.

Well, in focusing public opinion or in improving our image, this is a kind of a lost cause, in a way. The conflict between town and gown has been going on for centuries. After all, the students ran one of the early French kings clear out of Paris. He had to go back and beg to get back

in. This has been going on for centuries, and it always will. It's the degree of it that I'm concerned about. Some of it we just can't do anything about, that's all. [laughter]

[laughter] *Do you feel that issues of academic freedom are involved in participating in demonstration?*

Well, if you mean, are they involved, obviously they are involved since, for instance, my walking in a protest parade is a public expression of my attitude towards something, regardless of what it is. I think like any other statement that is made by a faculty member, it has to be within certain bounds. I think the AAUP code of conduct specifies these fairly well, as does the university code. I think that like all citizens, we have the right to speak our mind.

I'm not a teacher, but I am a faculty member, and being a faculty member I have a responsibility. In a sense, I am a teacher. I buy books for the library, and the primary function is teaching. So within those restrictions, one must live; one must accept the responsibilities as well as the freedom. Now, as I say, I think that my and other people's participation in that march followed well within the scope of responsible action. Going beyond that, obviously, they can be concerned and maybe restricted. [laughter] It's a question of degree: how far you're going to go. I would go on, but I don't want to make any statements about specific charges against specific people at this time. The code spells it out very well.

How do you think that students or faculty can be effective politically? Or should they attempt to influence governmental decision?

Well, I have a number [laughter] of good things to say about that. Obviously they should try to influence political decisions, because they're citizens of the United States. When you say faculty or students, the assumption is that that's an organized group, and in this case, for political purpose. One of the difficulties in my

activities within the campus community in the last few years is bumping up against this concept of a faculty. In a sense, there is no faculty, in the sense of an organized or even unorganized group of people who think the same way about things. There are a bunch of people up here of various degrees of education with a multiplicity of attitudes, every color of the political spectrum, and they will go their own ways. And the same is true of students.

The people from the outside think of the university as a coherent, recognizable, homogenous community. It is not, anymore than "downtown" is. It just happens that we are all here at the University of Nevada, Reno. We spend "X" number of hours per day within the certain restricted geographical limit—the campus. We're involved in what some people think is the same thing—teaching, research, and working (again, there is as much difference in people's work, in a sense, as all the people working in the clubs or in construction work).

So, in that sense, it's hard to answer your question, but in a sense it is a good question, because obviously students and faculty are organizing around the country for specific political purposes. And I think this is a perfectly valid activity. If it's not, we certainly have to cut off thousands of years of our history, because we've always been doing it, and you can't stop it. You may as well live with reality.

I'm very interested in this new so-called "working within the system" movement that's been going on around the country. I think that certainly in this relatively small community, it could be quite effective if it were done properly. You saw probably in the paper where the students at San Jose State had made the supreme sacrifice of getting their hair cut so they could go knock on doorbells. This is great!

To a certain extent, this is the sort of thing I've already made a suggestion to the students that they organize themselves to go and talk to particular people, not fighting it out through the headlines anymore. Oh, you still can. I think demonstrations have their purpose. They're a show

of force, but students need to pinpoint their targets and try to convince them.

There's another interesting thing, Mary Ellen, that's happened on this campus; it's happened to others: the people who violently object to another person's political attitudes (and now let's use some bad words like "cowboy" and "hippie"). They've been shouting and screaming at each other at a distance, but they've gotten together in certain closed rooms lately and talked to each other, and I've heard "Well, gee—he's a human being."

Well, they haven't convinced each other. One is still going to vote for Nixon, and one is still going to vote for whoever is going to be the Democratic nominee the next time. One still wants to fight in Cambodia, and another one still wants to get out today. But what has happened is that they've gained a certain degree of respect for each other as individuals, and I think this is what's important.

When people stand at a distance and shout at each other, it's not going to help because you're not going to convince each other. But at least if you can gain some kind of respect for each other as human beings, this is a great step forward, and this is why I like the idea of these small groups talking together. You can't do it in big, large rooms with a couple of hundred people; you can't do it on television; you can't do it through the headlines; and you can't do it through demonstration.

When the kind of thing I'm talking about happens, I think we gain something. It's happening all over the country, if you've been reading your newspapers. And this sort of thing, for instance, would help in this community. Another one is for them to just bring good, old-fashioned political pressure to bear on votes. For instance, why don't some of us get together and get the person they want for the Board of Regents? There's a position open coming up in November. Find somebody. Find someone who's willing to run, and then get out and get him elected. Go ring doorbells. Go get money for a campaign. And do the same thing all the way through the political structure of the state of Nevada. And the possi-

bility for this, I think, is great, and I see no reason for not doing it.

I remember years ago in Berkeley we did that. There was great conflict between town and gown—I'm talking about in the middle 1950s—and we were having lots of trouble with the city fathers, and so we decided, "Well, let's elect one of ours," and we did. It was relatively simple. At least until recent years, we had a good relationship, you see, because we had one good university person on the city council. It could happen here, but I'm not so sure. This is the most unorganizable community I think I've ever been in! [laughter]

Where do you think the peace movement is headed here now?

Well, it all depends on what happens in Indochina in the next few months. If Nixon is right—and, of course, to most of the old, tired liberals, it seems impossible that he is—but granted the possibility that he is right, and if next fall shows a significant change in the war in Indochina, then we'll have to find something else. [laughter]

This is what happened a few months ago, Mary Ellen. It quieted down because of the withdrawal program and so forth. We weren't out, but it looked somewhat hopeful, and the peace movement really went down. And that's what will happen here. If it continues on, if we get more and more involved, I think the whole country's in for really serious trouble—politically, socially, and economically. I think it's obvious. I think there's a real crisis point, and he better be right. Oh, you better be right! [laughter]

Do you have other comments you'd like to make?

No, I don't think anything that I haven't already said. Again, to a certain extent, the local affair has been a tempest in a teapot—our teapot—and we got off lucky. I hope we've learned something from it. I hope the administration has learned something from it of anticipating the pos-

sibility of trouble and doing something definite to avoid it or to calm them down. This is one thing that one must recognize as a technique: that you don't stop the student. If they're all fussed up about something, you don't stop it. You divert or calm them down, but you don't stop.

This is one of Ben Hazard's techniques during the last few weeks. In some of the conversations that I've heard with students, if I took what he said verbatim and transcribed them and gave them to somebody, he would sound like the most revolutionary person that you ever heard: the language he uses, and the things that he says to do. But within that small group, here's what he's doing: he talks and he talks and he talks, and when he's through, those kids are going off in a tangential direction in a more constructive way, and they're calmed down. But don't ever try to stop them—that's ridiculous.

That's the trouble with confrontation. They bring in a phalanx of policemen or national guard and stop them. You don't do that. It's ridiculous. Always leave your opponent a graceful way out. Never box anybody in. Unconditional surrender is the most dangerous threat known to man. Always leave somebody a way out. If you don't, the only thing to do is to kill each other. [laughter]

AMERICO CHIARITO

June 4, 1970

Just to start off, would you like to give your name and what you consider your hometown and your position on campus?

My name is Americo Chiarito, and Reno is my home at the present, as much as anything is. And I'm a catalog librarian at the main library at the university in Reno.

And why do you think you were chosen to be interviewed?

Well, I suppose possibly because I participated in the various public expressions and dissent since I've been in the university, and possibly because a letter of mine appeared in the *Sagebrush* shortly after Governor's Day relating to what happened on that day.

Well, what was your personal reaction to President Nixon's decision to move troops into Cambodia?

Well, I was appalled and horrified that events took this course. Of course, Mr. Nixon promised

during his campaign for election that he would end the war in Vietnam. The war in Vietnam has not been ended, and the announcement that it was going to be extended into another helpless country should mean the murder of many more helpless people and their dislocation, and so on, all of the terrible things that happen in war. It was very sad news for me.

Yes. And do you think that this had some relation to what happened next on campus here? Or in what way do you think the Cambodia decision was related to the things that happened next?

Well, in the five years that I've been here, I think there's been a growing disaffection with the military course throughout the country, and this has even affected the campus in Reno. There's a feeling that ROTC hasn't had much of a place in the university academic life. I think the Cambodia announcement helped set off the reaction that occurred.

Yes. What was your reaction to events in other parts of the country related to the Cambodia decision, such as Kent State and Jackson, Mississippi?

Well, it's all part of the same picture, as far as I'm concerned. Again, the use of the word "horror" here In fact, the United States has become so accustomed to the use of violence in its official life, while it keeps denouncing students who resort to violence. There is so much use of violence in this country. Of course, the whole Vietnam War and this Cambodian extension is further use of violence to gain what nationally we feel is right for the country. But this is, I think, a terrible hypocrisy and terribly confusing to young people who are looking for some guidance on how to conduct their lives.

Yes. Well, regarding Governor's Day activities at the University of Nevada, Reno, what did you think of the arrangements for the ceremony, for the observances?

You mean the official arrangements for the university, the usual conducting of those observances?

Yes.

Well, here, too, it's so closely tied to the ROTC picture. I think there's been a growing concern and questioning of the use of Governor's Day and total dedication to the military on this campus. And there's been a feeling that this is not what Governor's Day ought to mean, certainly not entirely. Well, there are many ways of looking at it. I don't know if this is part of this question or not.

It doesn't matter. It's your tape.

I know. I think university land is public land, and, of course, there are academic functions on it, which have to be honored—and they should not be interrupted. But I don't think that every function on it is academic in the strict sense of the term. When we had the visit by the governor, especially in such a narrowly confined area as the ROTC (which has very, very little academic

significance), the event of his visit is hardly at all a matter of honoring the usual academic codes.

And I think he carries with him all of his political significance, especially in a public visit to a public place, which means that he is in a position to be communicated with by his constituency, and sometimes that public exchange of opinion gets kind of rough. And it's not always as polite as in the classroom. And I think this is one of the meanings of what happened on Governor's Day.

What was your reaction to the demonstrations? Did you feel it was necessary to participate in any way?

Well, I participated rather fully. Of course, again, the accumulation of frustration over the years was rather great in that I, at least, had to make my own feelings of dissatisfaction known, especially when I felt that the gloss and the veneer of this occasion was to give assent to the Cambodia invasion and the Vietnam War, and to assure everyone that everything was being done properly.

Well, in the first place, I would like to be able to relate to Mr. Laxalt or whoever is in public office on a one-to-one basis, but we can't do that because of psychological distances and clinical distances. And so I think it's not surprising that sometimes communication on that level is grosser.

Yes.

I don't mean obscene. I just mean that like in a painting, the strokes have to be a little broader, perhaps, to communicate over the distances than it would be permissible if you were simply speaking to someone in a classroom or in an ordinary conversation.

What do you think was the most effective part of the demonstrations?

Well, I don't know how you're using the word "effective."

I find it hard to put it, too. What stands out as being important as far as what the demonstrators did?

Well, it's hard to tell, of course, at any time when you're talking to someone, whether you have ever communicated or not. And sometimes, communication doesn't take effect for ten or fifteen years, even in personal relationship.

I thought one of the things that happened that was rather interesting was the visual and sometimes the oral contrast between the death and life: on one hand, the ROTC was representing this great emphasis we have in this country on death and murder and killing and force and violence; and on the other, some of the demonstrators seemed to be enjoying themselves, enjoying the sunshine and were stripped to the waist and were able to enjoy their bodies and all the meaning of joy, and relating to one another as people instead of as objects to be moved around on the battlefield or on a marching field.

And some of them had a sort of a spontaneous theater, which I thought was rather nice. And whether these things will have an effect or not, we certainly can't tell. What we can do, I think this kind of communication has to be made: that life is important, and the human being and the expressions of joy and relating to other human beings are important. It has to be done if we're not going to succumb entirely to death and militarism.

What do you think should have been a reaction of, let's say, the university administration to this conflict that developed on the field? Was their reaction what you expected or what you would like to have it, or would you feel it should be different?

Well, I thought it was helpful in the circumstances that the ROTC didn't overreact to the demonstrators. It would have been very bad to have had violence erupt. As far as President Miller was concerned, I'm a little disturbed that a man

of his standing, a man of his interest in education, and a person whom I admire, would participate in a thing of this sort. Not long before the state-of-the-university message, he had questioned whether violence had a place on the campus and certain other ways of expressing relationships that did not have a place on the campus. And I find it a little contradictory that he would take part in what is really an ROTC demonstration and a political demonstration.

Yes. Well, then what was your reaction to the violence that followed this: the bombings of the ROTC building first, and then Hobbit Hole?

Well, I think that's deplorable—of course, not the way to settle anything. I don't know. Again, what it really means, since we don't know who did it, it's hard to tell whether it was a student or some dissatisfied person in town who was trying to set things off. We don't know. I don't know whether we ever will know.

Yes. That just naturally leads into this next question: what category of participant, whether it be student or faculty or outsider, do you feel was the most effective in fomenting the violence that did erupt? You touched on it briefly. You don't know who it is. Of course, none of us know, but do you have any feelings about who got these violent feelings started?

Well, I don't know. Certainly, I don't know where this started. I don't know really what it means in the picture since, again, we don't know who did it. It's very hard to interpret the results, but I wouldn't be too surprised if there were students involved on campus.

But again, I find it difficult to understand the lack of understanding about this sort of thing. How can we justify all the violence going on nationally and internationally at our behest and then worry so much about the bombing of a little building on a campus somewhere? We're spending billions of dollars, not only theoretically, for so-

called "future defense," but at this very moment, we're destroying villages and people and fields, agriculture, everything, in nations which are not our enemies.

Yes. What actions do you feel were most effective in preventing more violence or cooling off the situation after these bombings?

Well, again, I think President Miller behaved admirably here in urging people to keep their heads and not to overreact to the bombings—and to try to talk things out.

Are you referring, then, to the campus conversations or rap sessions, or whatever they called them?

Yes.

What do you think about events on campus, and how do they affect the university's image with outsiders?

Well, I don't know what this means. What does the university's image mean? That the university is supposed to be a place where a lot of thinking goes on, and it may be disturbing to people off campus who don't want to be disturbed in their daily routine of their lives and who don't want to know that there are other ways of doing things and thinking about things. So if the image is to be one of nothing happening, it naturally is going to be disturbing. I don't know how to answer that.

Yes. Well, then maybe this one will work: what function should the university have in focusing public opinion?

Focusing public opinion?

Well, on problems such as war.

I think the university ought to play a very important central part in these problems. Again,

if it's going to be a place where research takes place, where people think very hard . . . basically about the problems and their causes. In our society, simply because of the nature of things, as we go along, we tend to forget the origin of situations. That's a very bad sentence. [laughter]

Don't worry about it. Say it over if you want to. [laughter]

Well, as we go along, we do forget the origins of our situations, and certain traditions become encrusted on what we do, and so on and so on. And when we go back to the bases of the problems, we sometimes have to get rid of all the meaningless things that have attached themselves to the central core of the situation.

Yes, yes. Do you feel that the issues of academic freedom are involved in participation in demonstrations?

Well, I think it's broader than academic freedom, if academic freedom means the freedom to pursue in research or classroom situation the course of a discussion or an idea to its logical conclusion. What happens in a demonstration or participation of some sort of civic activity, isn't it the whole question of being a citizen in democracy to the fullest, of which academic freedom is only a part?

Yes, yes. How can faculty people be effective politically? Should they attempt to influence political or government policies?

Well, I believe that the classroom ought not to be used as an instrument of propaganda or as a place of propagandizing, which is a position not easy to keep. Because, on the other hand, I don't believe that a person ought to be a machine either. A professor is bound to be a human being and ought to be a human being and react to society around him, which means that in a classroom, he should present all sides of a problem. Perhaps his humanity will also come out, and he's bound

to reflect a certain bias in his presentation of ideas. I've forgotten what the original question is. [laughter]

Well, how can a faculty person be effective politically?

Well, outside of the classroom, of course, he can participate in whatever movements and whatever social groups and political groups he wants to or he feels that he can be effective in, whether an organized political party or peace movement.

The choice should be his.

Whatever he wants. Yes.

Yes. You mentioned the peace movement. Where is the peace movement in this area headed? Do you know?

In this area? I don't know. I don't know.

Yes. Are there any other comments that you'd like to make?

Well, in the back of my mind is the use of that word "outsiders" on the campus, which always has a negative connotation. It's a bad thing to have an outsider on the campus, but is Governor Laxalt an outsider on the campus when he comes here?

Yes.

Why is he not an outsider, and why is someone else from downtown Reno or Carson City an outsider when he comes on the campus to speak or to make his appearance?

I think the question probably stemmed from the usual suspicion, "Oh, it's not our kids who are doing this. It must be some outsiders."

Oh, yes. Fear of the infiltration of an idea or something—a foreign state like California.

[laughter] Oh, well, it was thrown in because so many people seem to need that word to give expression to some ideas they had.

Well, yes. My reaction to it is broader than this. I mean, it's used nationally to indicate that there's someone from off the campus who is fermenting all this dissent and revolution among the kids. But this is the nature of ideas. It could be someone on the campus as well who might have the very same ideas. I mean, if this theoretical person off campus were to come on campus and express the same ideas, I don't know what difference it makes where the idea comes from. It's the validity of the idea itself that matters.

WILLIAM G. COPREN

May 29, 1970

What is your major and class?

History and graduate student.

Why do you think you were chosen to be interviewed?

[laughter] Well, at first I was very suspicious of it, feeling that there was some ulterior motive in trying to gain evidence against persons who might have been involved in the so-called disturbances. Right now, I'm not quite sure why I am being interviewed.

What was your reaction when President Nixon said that he was going to send troops into Cambodia?

Well, I just felt that it was unconstitutional, that it was immoral. It was just wrong to cross international lines, international boundaries, and it was imitative of Russia going into Czechoslovakia and then pacifying a country and then pulling their troops out and saying . . . There's just absolutely no reason for it or justification for something that's immoral and wrong.

And so you feel it was more immoral and in what way unconstitutional?

Well, it's almost unprecedented in this manner to invade a neutral country simply at the desire of the president in the military clique. As a history major, I can only think of one other time it was done, and it wasn't quite the same thing. And that would be the Russian situation, the Siberian situation, just after World War I, when American troops were sent in to keep an eye on Japanese troops. That is the only instance in American history that I know of when it was done specifically at the president's request.

The constitution gives the legislative branch the choice in acting, as far as starting wars. When they give them the power to declare war, supposedly, the legislative branch should be consulted. This was very similar to just simply a dictatorial policy of the man who just decided that he could use the military as a means, regardless of international law, to just do anything.

OK. In what way do you think that the Cambodia decision was related to what happened next on the University of Nevada campus?

Well, I think it was very important, although I think it was the Kent State thing that outraged people more than Cambodia. There was a certain antiwar sentiment on the campus and in the country against what everybody considered to be an immoral and unethical and illegal war, and a war not in the national interest and not in *anybody's* interest, except maybe Sears and Roebuck and General Motors and Brown & Root. Then to agitate and irritate and enlarge and widen the war just seemed to be insane! That just upset great numbers of people and outraged any number of people on the campus—well, in the whole country.

But I think it was the Kent State thing that was more important. When our country reaches such a low point that it has to kill its own students, well, I can see very little difference between this country—this so-called democracy, based on the people—and any other type of autocratic government that has to shoot us people. And students, especially, have been notoriously ones who get shot by other countries and other people.

Yes. How about the Cambodia decision and its effect on the nation as a whole and what happened in the nation? Do you feel that it was directly the Cambodia decision that caused problems to occur?

I don't think it caused any problems. I think the invasion of Cambodia was the catalyst that precipitated the reaction and the *great* reaction on the college campuses, which just could not believe the insanity of this decision and the arbitrariness and the, well, dictatorial, almost, type of decision that would just use the army and the military as a personal adjunct of the executive branch. Now, there are just *millions* and millions of problems. And one of the problems is the historians think it's a bunch of minor group . . . It isn't a minor group of a small number of people. There are all kinds of social and economic problems that are just aggravating and intensifying the dissent in this country, which maybe all relates at this particular moment to the Vietnam

War and the strain on the economy and on the moral fabric of the country.

Yes. So it was a combination, perhaps, of things?

Well, yes. I think it's a combination of social ills; it's a combination of the concentration of the power and the economic control of the country into fewer and fewer hands, the militarization and brutalization of the country because of a war, and this whole concentration of power and depersonalizing the country.

Whether it's the black problem or the problem with the hippies. Just because people look different, they . . . These are all problems that are just being aggravated and more so, and it was just a lashing out, that Cambodia was simply a catalyst that precipitated all the moral outrage at once.

Yes. Regarding the Governor's Day's activities on the campus, what did you think of the arrangements for the observances? Were they appropriate?

No. I mean, to *ask* people to dissent . . . Everybody says, "Well, this country can dissent." We all believe in dissent. Even that list last night; it said, "We all believe in dissent." Nixon says we believe in dissent. Well, in the first place, if you're going to have dissent, dissent has to do something that has to be meaningful. You have to petition Congress. When the abolitionists petitioned Congress and they put the gag rule and they tabled the petitions, well, it has to be meaningful, and you can't dissent in a vacuum, and you can't go out and shout in the wilderness.

They stuck the dissenters off in this little corner of the campus where they could talk to the trees. Well, if they sit and talk among themselves, they do nothing but feed each other's sickness. If dissent is going to have any effect, it has to be a confrontation of views. The dissenters have to confront the conformists—which is not a derogatory word—the people who go along with what's happening. The dissent has to confront those people, or it isn't dissent. It is just

screaming and yelling in the wilderness. It means nothing; it has no value; it *isn't* dissent *then*.

And that's approximately what happened. Twenty-five years from now we would have had the twenty-fifth annual peace rally, because the dissent doesn't mean anything if the dissenters all go down in one part of the campus, and the people who agree go in another part. You know, this was the second annual [rally]. It's like a homecoming parade or something, and you go off and you have one every year. On Governor's Day the dissenters go one place, and the ROTC people go another place, and there's no confrontation of views. There can be no dialog of *any* sort. And so without some type of confrontation, there is no dissent, essentially.

What about the way that the governor and his party observed the day? Do you feel that the arrangements were in keeping with the times?

Well, that was totally absurd on *their* part. If they wanted to prevent some type of "disturbance", they should have just canceled Governor's Day, because *that* was obscene. That was the greatest obscenity in the world to honor the military, on a university campus, right after the military had just killed students on a university campus. That was obscene, and in any number of college campuses those types of activities, which were held on that same day, were *anceled*. So this was just simply a tactical error for the administration to do that if they wanted to prevent a disturbance. It was an obscenity and, well, of course, right in line with the brutalization and the depersonalization of the country. They don't take into consideration the fact that these were people killed, not just four students. So that was just absurd and obscene. It was truly obscene.

Why do you think they went ahead and held the observance?

Well, they have some idea that you can't *give in* to force. Of course, there was no force. Another thing is, had they *not* held it, there would

have been an outcry from the so-called silent majority, or whoever the masses of the people in this state are. Well, they aren't masses. The people, whoever they are, would have just been outraged that this thing should be canceled. They can cancel classes; they can cancel everything for some *stupid* thing like Mackay Day, but they can't cancel classes in memoriam for when four fellow students are killed, because of the outcry from the *very, very* vocal and very unsilent majority in this state . . . or minority. It's the rich and the ignorant who do this.

What was your reaction to the demonstrations?

Well, I thought they were relatively calm and orderly. The dissenters had bad manners, according to what people in the society think are good manners—etiquette, whatever it is. But because they refused to sit down and say nothing while this manifestation of the militarism in this society allowed the military to go through all kinds of long, drug-out speeches and everything, they had bad manners. But that was all.

There was no violence. There was no major disturbance. There were *no* fistfights, nobody got hurt, nothing got burned, nothing got broken. There was just absolutely no violence. At the same time, they're killing thousands of people far away in the Far East. It was just very, very calm, relatively.

Did you feel that it was necessary to participate in the observance or in the demonstration?

Well, I felt it was necessary for me to, because I felt that I had an obligation to my country to point out that I thought that a wrong had been committed, that I couldn't be an American and believe in justice and equality and all of those terms that I've been taught, which mean nothing, obviously, unless I could participate in taking part in this protest.

What do you feel was the most effective part of the observance or demonstration?

Well, the most effective thing was when President Miller told the students that he had permitted them to come up to the Mackay Stadium, and now he wanted them to be quiet, and they told him to shut up and sit down, that they weren't taking orders from him anymore. They have been taking orders from him, essentially, as he's been throwing sops to them to be so-called left, or whatever it is, for years now. They just quit taking orders from Miller. I thought that was effective, because it really upset him. I thought the stopping of the motorcade was very effective, because it pointed out to any number of officials that the dissent on this campus was a great deal larger than people had thought it was, and there was more outrage at what was happening. So those were, I think, effective.

Just marching around the football field means just about nothing. I mean, they could allow you to march forever until the sun got too much and everybody passed out, and they could care less, so I don't think that was very effective. Not letting Miller speak, shouting him down was effective, because it scared him to death.

And when a great number of people wouldn't allow the vehicles to move on a sidewalk . . . That sidewalk, those vehicles were specifically forbidden from being there, since the signs say you can't go beyond a certain point, and they were beyond that. I think that was very effective, and it scared a lot of people to death. Of course, nothing happened. There was no violence or anything, but it still scared people, because they noticed that here were people who were outraged, morally outraged and not *quiet* any longer, and they were unruly and had bad manners.

Yes. Why do you feel the demonstrators yelled during the services themselves?

Well, because they've been yelling in the wilderness, screaming in the wilderness, and into a vacuum for so long. Governor's Day has been going on; those people have been allowed to say what they wanted to say now for thirty years (or however long that Governor's Day's thing has been going on), and the dissenters have been al-

lowed to say what they wanted to as long as they didn't say it to anybody or say it where it counted. As long as they just talked to each other down in the Manzanita Bowl, that was fine, because it didn't bother anybody and it was quiet and orderly.

So they had to express their views to point out the obscenity of this, of having a military demonstration in honor of a governor who had just passed the Republican platform, which specifically condones the unconstitutional, immoral invasion of a neutral state, Cambodia. Somebody had to point it out, and you can't allow those type of people to do all the talking. Belief in free speech and everything is fine, but they aren't allowing anybody else to talk.

What do you think that the reactions of the various factions on the university should have been to the demonstrations? Take administration and the ROTC and the demonstrators themselves, faculty, if you can look at it from these different angles.

Well, if I would have been an ROTC person, if I really believed in the military—which I feel that there are very few in ROTC who do, and a number of them I know who were just there against their will—if I would have been them, I wouldn't have felt that it was . . . I mean, nothing happened; they weren't threatened by anybody. I probably would have been upset. I'm not sure how I would have felt.

Had I been the administration, I would have felt that this was good, because it showed that there were people who were concerned, who believed that there was something to America and worth saving, who believed that "business as usual" can't continue while all of our friends are being killed in the foreign war. Now, they *don't* think like that. They immediately start talking about violence which didn't occur, and their rhetoric heats up and aggravates everything and brings a type of oppression by vigilante groups that call themselves alumni, by newspapers that tell lies—absolute lies—and editorialize about things that didn't happen, who just agitate the

public and misinform the public to such an extent that it causes a reaction to something that was very minor and very calm in relative terms.

Could you elaborate a little on how you felt the news media handled the situation and give some specifics perhaps?

First place, they underemphasized the number of people. They said that there were only 300 people marching—300 dissenters—when actually the *very* minimum would have been 600. And that's a very conservative estimate, in my estimation. That is very conservative to say 600. And 600 out of 6,000 is a fairly good-sized minority of people. Now, that's one thing.

Then another thing was in an editorial they said we tried to take down the American flag. There was no American flag there, *none* except the color guard, and nobody got within a hundred yards of the color guard. There was no American flag flying in Mackay Stadium at all, because the flag standard was broken. And I specifically *know* the flag standard was broken, because we tried to raise a peace flag, and the pulleys wouldn't work. So I *know* that that was broken.

Then they talked about violence. There was no violence. I don't know what their definition of violence is, but my definition is somebody has to get hurt; there has to have been property destroyed. I don't know how they define violence, but there was absolutely no violence that occurred. They twisted that around. They made statements like "communist agitators" and "commie-inspired propaganda," oh, "McCarthy-era propaganda," and "name-calling," "mudslinging," which is just absolutely untrue, an untruth, because as far as I know, there's not a single communist on this whole campus, because there's not enough intelligent people to have any idea what communism is even about. So that was just a misrepresentation of the facts. Any number of times, in the actual news articles, they just made up stories.

They made up stories, like they said the ROTC people pulled the plug on the speaker

equipment for the demonstrators down at the Manzanita Bowl. Well, there was no speaking equipment there; there was no plug to pull; there was no electrical force. It just never happened. And any number of times this paper's editorial policy was put into the *news* articles, and the news articles were twisted and just fabricated stories and some person's imagination. The people who wrote the news articles obviously weren't even at the demonstration, had no idea what was going on.

Yes. What was your reaction to the violence that followed the Governor's Day—the bombing of the ROTC and the Hobbit Hole?

Well, in the first place, no violence in *my* estimation ever happened. There was no violence following the Governor's Day thing, except an empty building, which is simply a manifestation of the militarism in our society, was bombed. Now, a little paint was scorched off one room. There was never any danger to any person and very little danger that any property would be destroyed, with the exception of a little paint off one room. Now, this was played up to be a major fire bombing like happens at Bank of America in Santa Barbara or Cal or Stanford or something, where they have major property destruction due to a Molotov cocktail. There were never any people or persons ever hurt or endangered with certain exceptions.

Now, there's a qualitative and a quantitative difference between bombing Hartman Hall and burning a little paint off a wall and setting on fire a sleeping residence in the middle of the morning when people are living in it. And now, *this* I attribute solely to the fiery rhetoric and the totally insane rhetoric of the drunken courthouse guard who claims to be a state senator from Nevada, James Slattery, who went on TV in a totally insane statement and said that they ought to turn the cowboys loose and let them run the long-hairs off the campus. Well, if any protestor on this campus would have said that, they would have had him in jail immediately for inciting to riot.

Now, this man incited to riot over the public media and certainly should be prosecuted for it. I place the blame for that on him and upon the fact that this group of people, who I assume (which is possibly not good) that these were the Aggie type, the Sundowner type, whose whole life is bent on violence. These are the very violent people who threatened my life, who threatened to beat me up, who threatened to get their guns and run all the commies—that's their word—off the campus, who are mostly incoherent drunks, and who, when they threatened me, were staggering around the Pizza Oven very, very drunk with wine all over them in their normal Levi's and wine-splattered T-shirts. Now, there is the potential for violence among them. They shouldn't be whipped up and agitated by people in supposedly responsible positions such as James Slattery.

Or Bill Raggio, the district attorney, who was another fool, and who was also one of those who heated up the rhetoric and used . . . what was the term? What type of rhetoric? The cooling off that Nixon was talking about. Well, types like Spiro Agnew and Richard Nixon and Bill Raggio and James Slattery—these types of public figures are using rhetoric which is inflammatory. Now, the bombing of the Hobbit Hole has to be, partially, at least, attributed to them and attributed to the ignorant violence that lashes back at the slightest disturbance in the status quo.

Yes. What was your immediate reaction on hearing about both? Did you conclude that anybody in particular might have done this, in your opinion? What was your first reaction, like to the ROTC?

Well, when the ROTC building was bombed, I was home in bed. And the next day I didn't even know. I walked right by the building the next day to come to class—well, not to come to class, since I didn't go to class that week, but to come to my office to work and do some research. I walked right by the building and didn't know anything was wrong with it, except that they had a soldier up there walking around. I gather now

he was playing guard, but I didn't know it. Well, when I found out that it had been bombed, or that one beer bottle of gasoline was thrown at it, I didn't make any prior assumptions, because the people I knew who might be suspected of bombing it just weren't that type of people. It could have been somebody in the so-called long-hair group, and it could have also been a disenchanted ROTC cadet, as an example.

Now, my reaction when the Hobbit Hole was bombed—which showed my bias—I automatically assumed it was somebody in the so-called cowboy group that did that. Somebody like the Sundowners, who would threaten to do it, or just people of that ilk.

What category of participant—student, faculty, or outsider—do you feel was most effective in fomenting the violence that erupted? And you may have answered that already.

Well, yes. It was definitely the rhetoric. The reaction to the slight disturbance was by people in so-called responsible positions, and that includes President N. Edd Miller; it includes Slattery and Mel Farr with their *stupid* and just absolutely incoherent and irresponsible statements on the news media. It was the news media's whipping up violence and trouble and using inflammatory rhetoric in the newspapers and across the radios.

That editorial on KOLO was the most inflammatory piece of radio editorial that I have ever heard in this country. And that is the truth. I mean, it was an attempt to *agitate* people. So I place the blame a great deal . . . although I don't think any violence occurred, with the exception of the bombing at the Hobbit Hole, where lives were truly put in danger. And that was done *not* by the people, the dissenters, but by the persons who think that they are all-American citizens.

I blame it on these people in so-called responsible positions. N. Edd Miller has to take at least part of the blame for that, because he was the first one to start talking about violence. And by the time the newspapers and N. Edd Miller and James Slattery and Mel Farr and Bill Raggio

got through, and a few of the vigilante committees downtown got through, a person who hadn't come *by* the university would have thought there wasn't a brick left standing upon a brick up here, when nothing had happened yet.

Yes. Do you think outsiders figured heavily in the demonstrators?

No. As far as I know, I only can think of four or five people who were from off campus, who weren't students. And they weren't here in the original demonstration. They came later during the week of discussions and rap sessions that went on. They then participated in that. But then there was never any violence or any threat of violence in those. Now, there were, you know, one or two of those people. It was mostly students. Well, almost 99.9 percent were students at the University of Nevada.

Yes. What actions do you feel were most effective in cooling off the situation?

Well, it'd be actions of men like Paul Adamian. Without him trying to prevent any real violence from breaking out The use of the faculty to try to talk with him and committees and diffuse the student dissent, that was effective. Allowing large rap sessions and student government sessions where 700 or 800 people gathered and tried to talk back and forth both sides of the question, I think that was useful in preventing violence. I don't know if it was useful. I personally think it was destructive, because I think that violence might have been the only answer at that time. But it did diffuse whatever went on here.

Now, the reaction that came later, when they are going to persecute Paul Adamian and Fred Maher, now that's the type of thing that is sure to bring violence on sooner or later. And the reaction of the regents in suggesting they might censor the newspaper and suggesting passing laws before the fact—before there's any problem, passing policy, setting up rules of conduct, such as that—dissent will be impossible, taking away

essentially the first amendment freedoms of the students. Now, those kind of things will tend to cause violence.

Yes. Do you feel that there are some kinds of violence that are more effective than others? You mentioned that you felt that maybe a confrontation of some kind might have been a good thing. What kind of confrontation is good, and what kind is bad? Can you make any kind of generalization?

No. I don't even want to answer that question.

OK. How do you think events on campus affect the university's image with outsiders?

Well, that depends who the outsiders are. Now, in the first place, the *events* themselves wouldn't affect anybody, because it could have just been explained, the truth told what happened, and nothing much would have come of it. But when the news media played it up to be such a big event and used the rhetoric they used, the inflammable rhetoric, then it probably hurt the university's image.

Now, I personally called some people who set up a vigilante committee of alumni and asked to come down and talk to them, because I'm the president of an honor society, and I told them I had some constructive suggestions that they might want to consider. And these people didn't care about that. They didn't care about the university. I told them that we needed help with the library. And the man specifically said—and this is that Hawkins, who is a stockbroker for Goodbody and Company—that they weren't interested in that, and if they were, it was only secondary. They want to establish order.

So they don't care—the outsiders, particularly in this state—whether the university goes to hell or not. If it crumbles around their ears, they don't care, as long as it does it *quietly* and doesn't upset anybody. And, you know, it's that simple. The university, academically, has a very poor image already; there's no doubt about that.

In any other state in the union—and I come from California—Nevada is more or less a laughing-stock. A degree from here means very little. So, academically, it doesn't have much of an image. As a passive, conservative, beer-drinking school, now, it has a image as a party school, so I think that's very dangerous. I mean, that's a very poor image. It's not one that we want to have continue.

So I think that within the state this hurt the university, because it's sure to bring reaction from fools, a reaction through ignorance that is liable to hurt any attempt to improve the university academically. Now, people in this state are quite willing to improve the university as far as sports go or sending their kids up here to drink beer, but they won't do *anything* in this state to improve the school academically.

Yes. I hate to have you label or characterize people or fit them groups, but if we were talking about the dissenters and the cowboys or the Aggies, what are their individual images, do you think, with the community as a whole?

Well, now, the cow-county kids that come out of Churchill County, specifically, Lander County, Douglas County, these are upstanding, hardworking American farm boys, a lot of them, and there's no doubt but that they are. They are also very ignorant, very narrow-minded, and they're very much supported by a very narrow-minded public in this state that identifies with them, because they are the violence-prone types. They drink beer, and they're just the average Joe.

Now, the outside world does not identify with men who wear their hair a little longer than usual, and they don't like them because they're different. And in a mass-conformist country, people who are different are automatically disliked. Well, Christ was different, and he was disliked a great deal. Every dissenter has been. In this state they're *really* disliked.

What function do you feel that the university should have in focusing public opinion or in, let's

say, political life? Or do you think the university has a function?

Oh, I think it *has* a function. It should take an active part; it should be the *leader*. Wendell Phillips, the abolitionist (this is for all you people who *aren't* historians), said that college-bred men should agitate continually, that they should open up the issues and point out the moral and ethical issues to the masses. Now, the university *has* done this. With the Morrill Act, when industry and agriculture demanded action, the university was the one who took the first step. They set up these industrial colleges. They've been active in developing the country. In the 1920s, when there was demand for... big business needed trained people, the universities immediately responded to this need by establishing business schools. And when *Sputnik* went up, the universities took the lead in developing physicists and mathematicians, and they were a leading social and economic factor in the country.

Now, when the minority groups, like the blacks and the Indians, need help, when the poor need help and you ask the university to take the lead in involving itself and looking for some clarity in these social problems, they refuse to do this, simply because money talks, and all of the old platitudes and abstracts of justice and equality and liberty and freedom don't really mean anything. But money does.

What about politically? Do you think the faculty on a campus should involve themselves politically, and if so, to what extent?

Well, they're supposedly professionals at this. *They* are supposedly *the* most learned and most knowledgeable people in the country. They are the ones who should be talking and taking part in the politics. A political scientist is supposed to know something about politics. He should take part in it. I don't think now that he should propagandize in the classroom, but I think he should take part as a human being outside the classroom, and I think he should take part as a

professional outside the classroom and try to have the university take part—now, not in partisan politics, but in helping in bringing about necessary change in the American society in line with the American ideas.

In line with the American ideas, which you would consider what?

The constitutional ideas, the Declaration of Independence, the Gettysburg Address, the Fourteenth and Fifteenth Amendments, things like that, the four freedoms. Bringing about what's supposedly the American dream: equality and freedom and liberty and justice for all. And you know, you pledge allegiance to a flag for that, supposedly. They should be leaders and moving the country toward *democracy*.

Yes. In what way can faculty members be effective, let's say, that are not teaching subjects that are directly related to activism? Is there some way that they can be effective, too?

Well, I think there is no such thing as some subject that isn't directly related to activism. The scientist, as an example, has certainly been an activist. The great scientists, Einstein, Max Planck, Glenn T. Seaborg, Oppenheimer—those people—they've always been politically aware of what the results on mankind would be of their discoveries and their progress in the physical sciences. The chemists and the biologists can be very aware of the problems of dealing with chemical warfare, with insecticides, with ecology—all these things that are very important to being human beings. The social scientists—that's their profession. They are supposed to be dealing with people, not with classrooms. They're not supposed to be dealing in theories; they're "social scientists." That means that they are supposed to be dealing with people.

I think it's going in two directions. First, I think the old 1930s liberal types will continue to

set up committees and peace and freedom committees and Northern Nevada Conference for Peace and things like that, which are totally ineffective, and the president specifically has said that demonstrations and petitions and things like that have no effect on him, and he watches television. Well, he watches football games while other people demonstrate.

Now, the peace faction Personally, a lot of people now feel that they're for peace in Vietnam, but that doesn't necessarily mean they're pacifists. And they are for opening a second front in this country. The peace movement will become more violent, I think, and more militant, because instead of reacting to it in a constructive manner, the system has tried to repress it and oppress it.

The system no longer works now. It has been subverted by President Nixon, and the Constitution has been subverted by him. The responsive legislative, democratic representation ideas have been subverted by things like seniority systems. The executive branch of the government and the legislative branch are quite willing to react immediately and respond immediately to economic problems if these economic problems affect *big* business. They do not respond at all to any social evils or social ills or social problems of people who don't *have money*. So the system just does not work.

You can't elect a democratic president, and that's going to cure all your ills, like the 1950s liberals thought. All they needed was to elect another Harry Truman. Well, that won't cure all your ills, and the system doesn't *work*. It is just getting worse and worse and worse, because the government no longer controls the country, if they ever did. It is in the hands of big business—the large corporations, very large corporations—and *they* make the policies, and government responds to them. It's almost the spoilsman in a gilded age-type psychology, political psychology and philosophy.

So violence, as pointed out in *this* campus in the demonstration, got *action*; it got some kind of action. It woke people up. Even if the action and reaction was bad or misdirected or ignorant,

it still got some kind of action. Just the threat of violence, the disturbance, just a slight disturbance got Whereas, all kinds of petitions and attempts at reform have been total failures and have been ignored, or committees have been appointed. And one of the best ways is to appoint a committee to study it. The president appoints committees, like the committee on violence, to study violence in America. They come up after three or four years of study, and he just reads the report and throws it away, if he ever reads it.

Now in the university, President Miller keeps appointing committees to investigate dining commons problems, residence hall problems. The student bill of rights continues to go through channels until it's just committed to death, and everybody forgets it, and nothing happens. But a threat of violence and violence itself in the student movement and in the peace movement seems to bring some kind of response. Now, the response most of the time is negative, but among some people it has been positive. And it appears violence seems necessary to bring reform. In the 1930s, the threat of violence in populism brought some types of reform. If we're going to reform a basically violent society, we'll need violence to do it.

Yes. Are there any other comments that you'd like to make?

Well, just one. A rumor I heard that might be worth investigating to a future researcher was that the police, as of this date . . . which is May 28 [1970]? Well, this was two days ago, so on the twenty-sixth of May, I was led to understand that the law enforcement agencies have suspects with evidence about the people who burned the Hobbit Hole, but they are refusing to arrest anybody until they also find some substantial suspects who they can take to court with a good case for who supposedly burned the Hartman Hall. Now that's simply a rumor, but it might be well worth looking into, because there ought to be eventually some type of documents to document that fact, if it's true.

THOMAS COSGROVE

June 5, 1970

To start off the interview, would you like to give your name and what you consider your hometown and your position?

OK. My name is Tom Cosgrove. I work over at the Center for Religion and Life, and I'm program coordinator at the center. I'm originally from New York and have been living in Reno just for this year.

I see. Why do you think you were chosen to be interviewed?

My guess is that the three of us at the center—John Dodson, John Marschall, and myself—were fairly involved with the issues of that week, up to the evening after the silent vigil service. Some of the poster-making for the next day's service took place in the center. And we also planned, with some other faculty members, the memorial service for the Kent State students and were also involved in several of the meetings—kind of confrontation meetings—on campus between, say, the aggie students and the arts and science crowd. So, we were very busy that week in the middle of all the activities. I'm sure that's it.

Probably. What was your own reaction to President Nixon's decision to send troops into Cambodia?

Well, I was very disappointed, to say the least. I understood his statement about, you know, a temporary measure, and yet even on those grounds, I had some objection to us really invading another country. And it seemed to me that it was inappropriate.

In what way do you think that this decision to go into Cambodia was related to what happened next on the University of Nevada, Reno campus—meetings or demonstrations arranged or anything like that? Do you think there was a direct connection?

Oh, very much so. Of course, the most obvious one, I suppose, is the Governor's Day situation. That one was announced on the weekend, and then, of course, Monday was the first day that we've had the students back on campus. And I think most of the activity that week was in reaction first to just the decision on the part of some, an anger about that related to the university function that coincidentally happened to be an ROTC celebration for Governor's Day. And put those

two things together, and that was the obvious point of attack. The Kent State situation just made that so much worse, I think.

Yes. Well, what was your reaction, say, to things that happened in other parts of the country, like Kent State and Jackson, Mississippi?

Well, I was really appalled at it, especially the Kent State situation. I think it is important to keep protests under control and to keep them peaceful, and yet I feel as if students do have a right to make their position known. If it comes to disrupting activities on campus or, you know, preventing classes from being held or this sort of thing, I think that's another question, and that does need to be dealt with, but I would hope peaceably. And even calling in the national guard: I can see at some point, when the situation got very bad, that it might be necessary to do something like that. But I don't think that they should carry loaded weapons.

Yes. Now, regarding the Governor's Day activities here on this campus, what do you think of the arrangements for the observances or the ceremony—the traditional ceremony of Governor's Day this year.

Well, it seems to me that there are other perhaps more fitting occasions for the governor to appear on campus than simply for an ROTC celebration. Not that he shouldn't be present at that, but that we would put those two things together, at the one time of the year where the governor officially visits campus. I think there would be a lot of other occasions when he could be here. And it really is a question, in my mind, why we choose that day and that particular observance. I mean, the indication which some could get from that is that the one thing that the governor is the most interested in is ROTC. And I don't think ROTC represents the prime function of the university. And if he's going to come and visit the university, it seems to me he could be involved in something that was much more directly connected with a larger scope of education.

Yes. What was your reaction to the demonstrations?

Well, I was there for the rally. I thought that the first part (that is, when the protestors arrived and were given permission to march around the field and, in a sense, have their say before the ceremony started), I was very happy that President Miller allowed them to do that. I think that was a very tactical move as well as a good move inasmuch as he was acknowledging a different viewpoint. And I think that phase of it was handled very well.

Once the ceremony got started, there were, you know—as everyone knows, I suppose—different individuals who were shouting things and who were doing some very inappropriate things during the ceremony. The most inappropriate was probably the blowing of the taps when the parents were awarded. And I think that was very poor taste. However, I think that we're talking there about an isolated number of students, a few radical students who perhaps lost their head and weren't thinking of the total situation. On the other hand, I think that by and large the group that was there did handle themselves rather well.

I know of some students who, for instance, left when the taps were blown. They were there for the demonstration and to have their say, but they found that to be appalling, and they left. And I was sitting in the far end of the stand, and it seemed to me that most of the students that were around me were being very respectful and were quite annoyed at those who weren't.

I think it's very unfortunate that the picture that was painted, in the minds of many people, was that it was just a total disregard for what was going on and a lack of respect. I don't think that's true. I think it was a question of a few individuals and not the majority.

Yes. Well, then what do you think of all of the demonstration? What was the most effective part of it—when they just came in and marched?

Oh, you mean on that day or during the week?

Well, at that particular demonstration. You mentioned the different phases of it.

Well, I think it's the first part: the fact that they went there, and they marched around the field and then, I suppose, connected with that—those students that sat and stayed for the ceremony and were quiet and who, for instance, during the “Star Spangled Banner” did stand. I mean, I think there are other places in the country where this kind of thing would go on where they'd even play the national anthem, and they would just sit. And, you know, that didn't take place. They stood, and many people held up a peace symbol during that, which I think was a way of saying, “We believe in what our country stands for, and part of that, we feel, is peace. And so we're saying both things, but we're saying it quietly. We're letting people know where we stand, but we're not being disrespectful or disregarding another point of view.”

I'm glad you put that in. I hadn't heard it.

Oh, yes. That really struck me—that, and when the parents got their awards, I think a good number of people were quiet. A few people were not.

OK, then, what was your reaction to the violence that followed Governor's Day: first, the bombing of the ROTC building and then the Hobbit Hole?

Well, there again, I think more than anything else, that really set a lot of people in Reno off, and, of course, some reactions against the campus, the university. I think in the minds of a lot of people, that's the peace group, or this group of five hundred students who were doing this, you know. I don't think that was the case. I don't believe we know yet who actually threw the bomb.



“[When the national anthem was played] they stood, and many people held up a peace symbol during that, which I think was a way of saying, ‘We believe in what our country stands for, and part of that, we feel, is peace.’”

From working with some of the students who represented the peace stand, I don't believe it was any of them. There were some out-of-towners. Some of them, I think, were from Reno, but came back to Reno for this, who were just around.

My guess is—and there's no proof for it—that it was one or two students who really weren't that involved in the movement, but who were angry and just decided on their own that they would do this. And I think it's unfortunate that it got associated with that group, because one of the things that that group constantly stressed as a group was "We don't want any violence. We're standing for peace, and therefore, let's not have something violent in our protests."

Well then, that was the ROTC building bombing that you were talking about. And then suddenly the Hobbit Hole got fire-bombed.

The Hobbit Hole. You know, I have no idea or even a clue as to what group was responsible for that. I think that's, you know, another unfortunate incident. I really don't think it's been ever put on the peace group, because that was their headquarters. [laughter] So I guess more than anything else, my reaction was that that was an overreaction to what this group had done.

Yes. You've more or less answered the next question. We have been asking which category of participants—student, faculty, or outsider—would you feel was most effective in fomenting violence. And you've really spoken to that. Is there anything you want to add?

No, I think it was outsiders—not only in those two incidents, but at some of the meetings that took place, some of these outsiders did seem to be trying to, in a way, disrupt the meeting and in another way, incite the group to violence. And I know of one meeting when the students themselves said, "Look, we're tired of listening to you. We'd like you to leave." And they were ousted from the meeting.

Yes. What actions do you feel were most effective in preventing any further violence or in cooling off the situation that occurred after these bombings?

Well, I'm trying to think of the sequence. Well, the two things that I thought were very effective just in terms of a healthy stand, I think, were the eight o'clock vigil on Thursday night, the silent vigil, when for about fifteen or twenty minutes, this large group of students sat on the lawn in Manzanita Bowl and held candles and didn't say anything.

And then the next day, the memorial service for the Kent students I thought was very well handled and very respectfully done and quiet again. I think people got the message of what the group was trying to say, mostly through those two events. As far as cooling off after that, I think it was simply the pressure of exams and papers to be finished and all that.

It wasn't any particular group or anything like that? It just naturally cooled off.

Well, I want to take that back, because I think there were a couple of confrontations that took place, I believe, on Friday afternoon between the ag and mining students and some of the arts and science people, where they had a chance to not just talk about the issue of Cambodia, but the differences that exist between those two groups. And it was, I think, one of the first times when those groups got together and talked really directly and said, "Well, we think this of you, and we think that of you." And I think that's just the beginning of something that hopefully can continue. And I think that they did begin to understand a little better the other's point of view. I think that did help with cooling off.

That's good.

As I say, then the next week, I think it was just a natural process of the pressure of exams,

and no matter how big the issue, well, when it gets down to the nitty-gritty, you know, you have to graduate. [laughter]

OK. You spoke something about this, but I'll let you expand, if you wish. How do you think events on campus affect the university's image to outsiders: people in town, people around the state, and so forth?

How they do in general or in particular?

Well, say, these particular events. How did they affect the university's image?

Well, I think they were, I would say, unfortunately, detrimental to the university's image. I would say compared to what happened on a lot of campuses (not only over this incident, but of many others before), the events that we perceived and participated in were really minor. I regret that the violence that did take place was there, but I don't think on some sort of scale, that it was anything comparable to what we've seen on other campuses. But the reaction to those events was very strong, and in a way, it's said to be that a lot of the people in the community don't really know what violence is and are not ready to deal with it. I think, unfortunately, they talked more about the few incidents rather than the total picture. But given that situation, I think it was detrimental to the university's image.

Well, what function should the university have in focusing public opinion?

Well, in my mind, I think one of the functions of the university ought to be to raise questions. Certainly in the mind of the students, that's why they're here, I suppose: to search out the answers for those kind of basic questions and also to do somewhat the same thing for the community. Maybe a way of saying that is this: I would have been disappointed had there not been some discussion, at least, or some reaction to President

Nixon's decision. Not that it had to be against it, but that at least the question would be raised, and that in a university setting, it would be discussed intelligently and rationally.

And that perhaps even groups would make their stand known to the larger community. One of the ways of doing that is through, I think, some sort of peaceful demonstration or stand that becomes more public at that point. And you know, no matter what the stand is, that that kind of activity ought to be going on in the university as a discussion of issues, and that somehow that ought to be communicated to the public at large, so that in that sense, the university raises the issue for the others also.

Yes. Did you feel that the issues of academic freedom are at all involved in participating in demonstrations?

You mean in the sense of canceling classes and that sort of thing?

Yes, or in the sense of professors either speaking out or not speaking out. Do you think this whole question of academic freedom is involved when it comes to participating in demonstrations?

Oh. Yes. I think very much so. It sort of focuses that issue, I think. You know, it raises the question: can the teacher say something (other than, say, political science, where it would fit in very naturally) or does he have a right in the classroom to raise a different issue, say, than the one that he would be teaching for that day—to discuss it? Does a teacher have the right? Say there is some other activity like a demonstration taking place on campus, can he cancel his class? I think very much so, yes.

I think the issue does raise it in general, and it did in this instance. I think President Miller's decision to allow professors to cancel their classes if they wished and to allow students to not attend classes demonstrates that.

How can students be effective politically? You work with students one way or another. You know what they're thinking about. How can they be effective politically?

Well, I think they can be effective by, first of all, organizing themselves and, first of all, through discussion, deciding "What is our stand?" And truly "our" stand, that they come to some sort of consensus together, just in a form for discussion to clarify their own ideas. And then I think once that is accomplished, they can make their position known through appropriate channels. If they don't use the appropriate channels, the effect is destructive rather than constructive.

I see.

People just turn against them and tend to put students in the box and say, "Well, there they go again." But I think if they take time and effort to use channels that are already there through the student organizations and the like, they can be heard and will have more of a chance of being listened to. And I think that as far as politically, they can be effective because people know that these will be the people in a few years who will not only be doing the voting, but be in various positions where they can implement some change. And so I think an interested politician, if we're going to have politicians, should listen to this and know to whom he is speaking. So I think that there are a lot of people who are willing to listen to them, but they'll only be listened to if they use the correct channels.

Yes. Well, then, you feel that voice should be heard on policies, either governmental or political.

I think so, inasmuch as, you know, they are citizens like the rest of us. [laughter]

Yes! [laughter]

I wouldn't want to put them in a separate category. I mean that if any of us can be effective

politically, then I don't see why students shouldn't be.

Yes. Where is the peace movement in this area headed?

That's a tough one. I couldn't really answer that, I don't think, adequately.

Some people are aware of an attempt.

Yes. I think that's where I would put it. I think the most I can say is that I see a growing awareness of the war, raising questions about it. There are more people who are against it. And you know, I think they have their reasons. It's not just that they jump on the bandwagon, but they have done some study and have their reasons for their position. I don't see much of an organized movement, but I think there is this growing awareness, which may eventually become some sort of movement. But I don't think that's begun yet.

Do you have any other comments you'd like to put on? This is your tape.

This is my tape! [laughter] No, I think we've covered most of the things. Maybe I've said this before, but I do think it's important that a university be a place for rational exchange, and that the issues affect all of us, such as the Cambodian issue or the race relations issues that are in the air, or a lot of things of this sort. If the university is truly an educative place in preparing people for their future life and a deeper involvement, then here, more than any place else, there ought to be this ongoing discussion and not just blanket acceptance of different issues. People ought to be thinking, discussing, and hopefully communicating this to the larger community.

I hate to think of the university as sort of a white citadel on the hill where, you know, you go there for a while, and you do something that nobody particularly understands, and then you come out, and you get a job. But I think that the fact that Reno has a university, that ought to make a

difference, and that there should be a lot more communication going on between the people downtown and the people on the hill.

I just hope that that kind of thing can continue and grow. I think, again, that the reaction to the incidents that took place reveal a lack of communication. You know, in a way, the university is fine; it's there, and it's not bothering anybody. [laughter] But as soon as something does come out, well, then there's this huge reaction to it, which might say, "They never did anything before, so what's this?" And that, in itself, is unfortunate, I think.

I would hope that eventually there would be more communication to the point that we would expect to be hearing things from the university. The university would have things to say to the community, and the community would have things to say to the university. So I just hope that that can continue, and an awareness on the part of students of various issues. I hope that they would use the means that are available to them now—their different organizations and the student body government—and then more students would get involved in it.

OK. Is that it?

I guess so.

OK. Thank you.

JOSEPH N. CROWLEY

June 8, 1970

Why do you think you were chosen to be interviewed for this program?

Well, I kind of wondered that myself. I suppose, perhaps, because I've been active in the peace movement and politics, that sort of thing.

What was your reaction to President Nixon's decision to go to Cambodia with the United States troops?

I was aghast and quite discouraged. For a period of at least a couple of days, I was just totally dejected and thought about all of the activities on behalf of the peace movement in which I, and numerous others, had been a part of over the past four or five years. It seemed to me at that moment in time it had all come to naught, which was, I suppose, the source of my dismay.

In what way do you think the Cambodia decision was related to what happened next on our campus?

Well, that's a little hard to say. One could view it, I suppose, as a kind of catalytic agent. One could view it in the context of the kind of restlessness that pervades the modern student generation—and I guess pervaded all student generations. This might be stretching the point, but it might be related to panty raids, goldfish swallowing, telephone booth stacking, and all that sort of thing, except that it seems to me that this is of a far more serious order.

I suppose there was kind of a sense of acceptance—reluctant perhaps—that there was not much that could be done about the peace issue up to that point, because the president had fairly well preempted any kind of meaningful or effective activities. This was indicated by the collapse of the moratorium committee and numerous other things which happened. There was a kind of constituency there waiting to be molded. I mean, the constituency was there, but had nothing to relate to. Then all of a sudden there's Cambodia, which is perceived as retrogression and part of the same old parcel and related to the same old kinds of assumptions that have been governing the war effort for the last six years. I think viewed in that



Joe Crowley, 1970s.

context more than any other, the constituency was always there. Cambodia was the event that it took to mold it again.

What was your reaction to the events in other parts of the country related to the Cambodia decision?

Well, I felt not at all surprised that there was such a strong reaction. Apparently, there were elements in the administration who were surprised, but I wasn't surprised. What kind of did surprise me is the way in which the moderate "responsible students" took over in many cases. We witnessed at Berkeley where the militants, the violence-oriented radicals, kind of had things their own way for a number of years. Then all of a sudden after Cambodia, you've got 15,000 "moderate" students who have taken over and appar-

ently continue to do so. That surprised me. In spite of the fact that there was sporadic violence at one campus or another, for the most part it seemed to me that the students who were taking over and really becoming involved and interested were the non-violent students.

Turning now to Governor's Day activities here: what did you think of the arrangements made for the observance of Governor's Day?

Well, I suppose one puts them in the context of the state of Nevada, which is a conservative state, and perhaps relates them to the kind of thing that was happening Governor's Day four years ago when we had a mock battle on the turf of Mackay Stadium (I think it was a demonstration of counter-guerilla warfare). I had just come to Nevada at that time to witness that sort of thing happening, and I can remember how surprised I was. I just was not yet adjusted to the political climate of the state. If you put it in that framework, you could say, "My goodness, we've really advanced now in four years. We're not having mock battles and demonstrations of counter-guerilla warfare."

The timing clearly was unfortunate. There was not much that could be done. I was content to let Governor's Day proceed as usual and was happy to see that there was an anti-Governor's Day rally, which was planned to be peaceful and non-violent. It was planned to be a demonstration of opposition to the kind of thing which the students, at least, perceived as being armed and glorified at Governor's Day. But in the context of Cambodia and of Kent State, it suddenly became far more inappropriate to peace-oriented people than it otherwise would have been. I mean, I think people had said it was a process of instant radicalization. People perceived Governor's Day as somehow symbolic of Cambodia, symbolic of Kent State, and symbolic of all the sickness and the violence and killing in society. I think that perhaps explains in part what happened.

What was your reaction to the demonstration?

Again, I think it's possible to view the thing rationally and say, "Well, look, that sort of thing ought not to happen." However much one might deplore the kinds of things for which the military is partly responsible in Vietnam and Cambodia and so on, it is a part of the campus. And if it is to be made not a part of the campus, there are channels for doing that sort of thing.

There ought not to be the kind of obstruction that there was. There ought not be the kind of cat-calling that there was. I personally could not participate in that kind of activity, nor in general terms do I deem it an acceptable form of activity. On the other hand, viewing the conditions as they were and the feelings of the students, as well as the highly emotionally charged nature of that week and of those people, I think we can be thankful that it didn't get any worse than it did. So, while I don't want to condone it, I nevertheless can understand how it could happen. And I'm certainly not intending to be critical of those people who kind of got carried away. It's regrettable that they did, perhaps, but entirely predictable that they would have, given the circumstances.

Did you feel it was necessary to participate in the demonstrations or the other affairs?

It was my intention to proceed to the Manzanita Bowl. My information was that the march to the stadium was to take place at, I think, 11:15 or something like that, maybe 11:30. So I went down there. But as I understand it, the people assembled were so charged up and excited that they couldn't hold them there. So they proceeded to the stadium immediately, and I missed the whole thing. What might have happened to me in that melee, I really don't know, but it was my intention to peacefully participate and march around the track—or whatever the plan was—and march off. I think that sort of thing is quite appropriate as long as it's peacefully done. But as circumstances had it, I missed the whole business.

What did you think was the most effective part of the demonstration?

Well, now, not having been there, I really couldn't say what was and what was not effective. It's hard to separate any one part from the whole, and it's hard to say what you mean by effective. In terms of its impression upon the people who were there, I doubt that there was any part that was effective. In terms of its effectiveness as a gesture on behalf of peace, again, I would be hard-put to say.

It's part of a cumulative collection of things that happened. It's unlikely, but historians may one day be able to look back upon it and say, "Demonstrations such as the one at Nevada were effective in turning a corner towards peace," or that sort of thing—if that ever happens, if that corner's ever turned. But really, without being there and without really knowing what you mean by effective, I'd be hard-put to answer your question.

What do you think should have been the reaction of the various people involved at the stadium—the ROTC, the demonstrators, or the university administration—to what happened there?

What should have been the reaction? Well, I think clearly it should have happened in the first place. That is to say, there should have been a demonstration. I think that's quite appropriate, again, so long as it's peacefully done. I think what should have happened from the point of view of the students and faculty and others who were on the march is that there should have been better marshaling. I know there just wasn't time for that, and emotions were high; it just couldn't be done. But that's one thing that ought to have happened that might have prevented the untoward events that did occur.

I think on the part of the authorities, there might have been a better effort made towards reaching an understanding the students before all this ever took place. That's hindsight and I'm not trying to knock them for what happened. But I think from the perspective of hindsight, I think it might have behooved the administration, the president, or some designated heads to establish a line of communications with people who were

staging the peace rally to work out a program ahead of time. I think there might have been an effort made on part of the students holding the rally to establish that line of the communication. Now, maybe there was such an effort on one side or the other or both. I don't know.

But as I understand it, insofar as there was an understanding, it was achieved while the march was in progress, and that kind of thing we can't really expect too much of. There's no information on the part of the marchers and those who are in control of the marchers as to what they're supposed to tell the marchers to do, so they really can't do anything on the spur of the moment. I don't mean to play the middle of the road, but I think communications of that sort might be helpful in preventing some of the things that happened.

Did you want to comment about the reaction of the ROTC, what it should have been?

In the context, it might have been better to call a halt to the little drills—the bayonet drills and that sort of thing. Again, that's hindsight. Have to make it kind of like a battleground decision, I guess: do the advance on the opposition or do it not, in a manner of speaking. That could have contributed, really, to an escalation of violence.

If, for example, the cadets who were drilling with fixed bayonets had managed to pierce somebody seriously, that could have been the cause célèbre right there. It might not have been Kent State alone anymore: it might have been Kent State and Nevada, the two relatively unlikely places for that sort of thing to happen. Although it might have seemed like a backing off, as long as there was a danger that somebody was going to get hurt, it might have been more advisable to call a halt to the little drills that did endanger people's lives.

What was your reaction to the violence that followed Governor's Day—the fire bombings?

Well, of course, I abhor them. I don't know—I shouldn't say "of course," but I do abhor them,

and it's explicable in several ways: one, that it's the work of a maniacal fringe which believes solely in the politics of deed and is incapable of thinking consequentially; or two, that it's the work of somebody who just gets a kick out of bombing buildings—outsiders or whatever. My reaction certainly would not have been and is not to condemn the student body, the peaceniks, the cowboys, or whomever. It may have been, indeed, representatives of those groups (loosely defined) who did the dirty deeds, but they certainly don't speak for the larger groups.

I know that insofar as the peace students were concerned, that there was a handful of violent types. Most of them were from outside the campus; almost all that I knew of were. They were pretty well isolated by the leadership of the peace movement so that if it was someone like that who did it, it certainly was not in any way a reflection of the sentiments of the peace students.

What category of participant in the various affairs—the students, the faculty, or outsiders—do you think was most important in stirring up violence on our campus?

Well, I think when you put the whole thing in context, it's explicable in terms of the reaction of the community to the kind of threat to their values that they perceived. It emanates from the university. If one understands the process of social change and the kind of things that a university stands for and always has, and one can examine it coolly and objectively, you understand why people react that way.

But I do think there's been an overreaction. I do think that we escaped at Nevada with a minimum of damage. And we ought to be willing to let bygones be bygones and forget about this, because it's an escalatory situation. If there's one thing that we've learned about in the last six years, it's the logic of escalation, and certainly we ought to be able to avoid that kind of thing. Maybe it's parochial on my part, but my inclination would be to place a major portion of the blame for the tensions in terms of local groups: on people in the community who overreact, people on the

Board of Regents who overreact, and people on the legislature who overreacted and simply added to the possibility of escalation. If they had not bestirred themselves to make these emotional and visceral public statements, I think it could have been possible to keep things much quieter.

What kind of actions do you feel were most effective in preventing more violence after the fire bombings?

Well, I think it's a little hard to say, but I think that there were some openings in the lines of communication. To put it another way, there was an establishment of communication where there had been none before between the groups that seem to have been polarized. The long-hairs and the cowboys, as the argot had it, sat down with each other and hashed things out and talked things out, and each could begin to understand the other's point of view. I'm not saying that everything was peachy keen, but at least they began to talk.

Under the circumstances, that was the most important thing because I think for all of us who are interested and were worried about the situation, we all perceive the possibility of this polarization manifesting itself in some kind of serious violence. In some ways, this campus is unique, I think, because it possesses that potential. If any single thing might have avoided that manifestation, I think it was the communications—the little groups that began to meet and talk. (It consisted largely of the leaders of both groups and a lot of participants in both groups, and also the efforts, I think, on the part of sympathizers with one group or another who, while sympathetic, were interested in preventing any violence.) I know my friends in agriculture were very industriously going around trying to keep the tempers down over there. The same thing was going on with the peace marchers, faculty sympathizers, and cool heads among the students. They tried to prevail, and for the most part did.

How do you think events on campus affect the university's image with outsiders?

There are several ways of perceiving that. Student radicals would perceive what happened, perhaps, as maybe a kind of beginning of the making of Nevada. I mean, look: they've had fire bombings there and things that are really groovy. So, to them, the image is improving.

To the community in Nevada, the image has been tarnished, because this is a state, and this is a university, and this is a campus where that sort of thing is not going to happen. This is a campus, after all, which did the highly unusual thing of honoring its president instead of chastising him. In terms of what the image of the university is to the average fellow out in the community, I think it was tarnished by what happened, because now some of his suspicions are reinforced about the university in general—that it's a bad place. It has the effect of activating the latent anti-intellectualism one finds in the community. I suspect something like that, in some way, has something to do with the image of the university.

What can the university do to focus public opinion?

I think it sorely needs to make an effort, or to find people to help them make that effort, to reach the community and try to talk to them about what a university is and always has been: a focus for social change. There are lots of ways you can go about doing that. I know the Center for Religion and Life, for example, has embarked upon a couple of programs, one in which I participated. One was to send out emissaries, professors and students, to go out and talk to certain churches in town as a kind of, you know, testimonial to red-blooded, middle class, good-living, American-way type thing.

I went to a Lutheran church and talked to them, and that's what I tried to tell them about: what a university is, how they might make an effort to learn to appreciate that, and how, in turn, university folks might make an effort better to appreciate the sentiments of the community. I had a feeling that that little discussion was helpful. Again, it's a matter of communication. It was a

group that was, well, impatient and hostile towards the university, towards Governor's Day, towards the peace movement, and so on, and yet willing to talk. I think the result of that particular thing in which I participated was a kind of cooling down, and it was done in a lot of other churches. The senators were also having a series of town-gown discussions involving high-impact people from the community and the university students, faculty, administrators, to try and get it together.

Well, anyway, that's kind of a long-winded answer to your question, but the first thing, I think, is to try to help people understand what a university is; secondly, what a university is in the context of the 1970s; and thirdly, what kind of generation we've raised up in the last twenty years. People don't understand that. Fathers don't understand their sons, and mothers don't understand their daughters. And a university can help, maybe, in bridging the generation gap in a way.

Do you think issues of academic freedom are involved in participating in the demonstration?



"This is a campus, after all, which did the highly unusual thing of honoring its president instead of chastising him." On October 17, 1969, students at the university declared "N. Edd Miller Day" as a way of celebrating Miller's performance as president.

Do you mean whether participation in a demonstration is itself covered by the general term "academic freedom"? Yes.

Do you feel, as a faculty member, that your academic freedom is involved when you participate in a demonstration?

Well, I think that academic freedom ought to cover the freedom to participate in a demonstration. I'm not sure, really, if that's academic freedom or just a kind of general freedom, so long as it's within the confines of non-interference with the rights of others. I don't think, for example, that academic freedom permits you to stand in the way of other people doing what they want to do. I don't believe in the concept of academic freedom which says, "You have absolute freedom to do whatever you please." I hate to use the word, but I think it has to be a "right" that's responsibly exercised if it's ever going to mean anything, if it's ever going to last. But it might be considered to be involved in some fashion in demonstrations.

How do you think students and faculty can be effective politically? Or should they try to influence governmental policy?

Now, if you'd asked me that question on the day after Cambodia, I would have said, "The hell with it, you know. It's not worth it. Look at what five years in the peace movement's done for me or for hundreds of thousands of other people." [laughter]

I just want to make sure I'm trying to be an optimist, but I really think people ought to get active. Well, it's my view that they should. I must say I've had my ups and downs on that score, but I think there are all kinds of things wrong with the system that I can see—that lots of other students and faculty can see. It's very easy to criticize. And in a kind of coolly dispassionate way, it might be easy to say, "Well, wouldn't it be nice if we had another kind of system in which all these bad things didn't happen?" Maybe it would be. But the point is that if you're realistic, this is the one we have, and for all that's wrong with it,

it's a fairly open and flexible system which does admit participation if you're organized and interested enough.

So, I think students ought to participate in one fashion or another within the system—maybe it's on the margins. But efforts to destroy the system will come to naught. They will probably be counterproductive. I'm not interested in that, and they ought not be, it seems to me. Enormous numbers of students are now working on behalf of peace candidates and particular issues like the end-the-war amendment and field-of-government amendment. There are just enormous numbers of students and professors, particularly students, that have been activated. It's like seeing the McCarthy thing all over again, only a lot of these are very new people. I know this, because a dozen kids have called me in the last three weeks. If anything, there's a great dispersal of effort, and I think they haven't really learned enough about the system yet. But I think it's a gratifying kind of activity.

Where's the peace movement headed in this area?

Nowhere. In northern Nevada, as far as I know, it's going nowhere. I was talking about the dozens of calls I had earlier, and I've had to explain to everyone that this is the way it is in Nevada. We used to have this organization called the Northern Nevada Concern, and we did get lots of activity generated in 1968, and we could get a peace plan through the Democratic state convention and so on. But then, of course, also we didn't get very many delegates to the national convention. And along came Nixon and took the edge off the peace movement here. And then along came the campus unrest which followed Cambodia. There was an interest in reactivating the peace movement, and most of the people who might have been active in taking an organizational or leadership role in it were bogged down doing other things—trying to keep the campus quiet and so on. It just never got off the ground. So right now, as far as I know, in northern Nevada insofar as an organized peace movement is concerned, there's nothing there. I think there could be if

somebody or some group would pick it up and put it together. But I don't know if anybody's doing it. So, it doesn't seem to be going anywhere.

What other comments would you like to make about this whole situation—the Governor's Day, the problems arising from the Cambodia decision, the peace movement?

Campus peace? The whole thing? I think a lot is still left undone on all of those fronts. As far as the campus is concerned, I think the possibility of trouble is still there. There are a lot of things that are happening now, and part of it is the result of what I consider to be overreaction by the authorities that could contribute to a rebuilding of tensions in the fall. So, I'm not sure that we've seen the last of this.

Again, it's a kind of historical perspective that I'm looking for. One doesn't necessarily look with disfavor upon manifestations of alienation and frustration, because they contribute to something: perhaps a reformulation of goals, a reestablishment, or a reordering of priorities. In a way, it might be said that this university joined up with this spring—the university had come of age, so to speak. It's unfortunate, the specifics. Those sorts of things are hard to condone, but even in general in the terms of its contribution to the resolution of the problems of this society, including the problem of peace and war, that maybe this exemplified a minor contribution on the part of the university.

As far as the general question of peace is concerned, I really don't know what to say. I have a feeling that the administration is now launching a campaign to convince Americans that Cambodia has been just an enormous success. It's apparent to anybody who reads the good newspapers (the ones reading between the lines) that that's not happened. If anything, we got ourselves involved in a situation as potentially scary as the one we're presently involved in with Vietnam. So, one can be terribly pessimistic about the war. And I know it's beginning immediate prospects for success in the peace movement or the Vietnamization or the resolution of war, so long

as this administration holds to certain assumptions (and it certainly is) as the previous administration had concerning our role in southeast Asia due to a long period of frustration.

FRANKIE SUE DEL PAPA

June 16, 1970

Now, just for the record, if you'll state your name and your residence, and what your major is.

My name is Frankie Sue Del Papa. I'm from Las Vegas, Nevada, and I'm a political science major.

Why do you think you were chosen to be interviewed?

Probably because of my position in student government, and the fact that I did participate in the ceremonies on Governor's Day.

Now, what was your reaction to President Nixon's decision to go into Cambodia?

I was upset. I didn't get to see it on television. I knew that he was making a speech, and so I asked friends of mine what he had said, and when I found out that he was going into Cambodia, my first reaction was that I was upset.

In what way do you think the Cambodia decision was related to what happened next on our campus?

Well, I really don't think there's any positive way of saying how much it was related. There was some relation in that I know there are several people who were upset and discouraged at this point. I think this was the thing that put a lot of middle-of-the-roaders off the middle of the road. And I think that was the relation to what happened on this campus.

What was your reaction to the events in other parts of the country related to the Cambodia decision?

Well, my reaction to events such as Kent State, of course, how can I say? It was unbelievable. It was shocking. But I do think, and I honestly feel this way, that in many instances the press has been overplaying things, and many times the average American citizen just doesn't know what to believe.

Turning now to the Governor's Day activities here: what did you think of the arrangements made for observing Governor's Day?

Many people have said that with the state of the nation, such as it was, with the incidents that had happened just prior to Governor's Day, Presi-

dent Miller should have called it off. I feel that no, he shouldn't have called it off. And I still feel this campus is big enough for both types, for any type of demonstration. I feel that those people who want to have a peace rally should have the right to have a peace rally. I feel those people who want to have a Governor's Day demonstration to pass out ROTC scholarships—that's fine, they have the right to do that. When anyone steps on anyone else's right, then they're wrong. I feel the demonstrators at Governor's Day had the right to march around the track; they had the right to go into the stands. They did not have the right to make the catcalls and disrupt it the way they did, because they were stepping on other people's rights.

Then when you get down to understanding these people, perhaps it's easier to understand if you realize the frustration, too, these people have been under. They've watched a war go on for years and years, and people have been against the war for about that long, too. I think that you have to look at the whole spectrum, and you have to understand the entire picture.

I think that President Miller had to proceed with Governor's Day because of two reasons: the conservative area that we're in, and secondly, this is an election year and people will jump on the bandwagon. We have to go to those same people in the state legislature to get money to run this university. And I think that he would have been in serious trouble had he canceled the Governor's Day activities.

Well, what was your reaction to the demonstration?

Let me say, first of all, I participated in the Governor's Day ceremonies because it was my duty. I had been a member of College Coeds, but I did not plan to go this year—but you never know what you're going to do anyway. I want to say that first.

At the demonstration, I was upset when the young man threw himself in front of the wheels of the car, because there was a young driver, and like we saw at Kent State, anything can happen. I

was sitting in the second car, and from my viewpoint, I thought that Professor Adamian was encouraging people to throw themselves in front of the car. That's the way it looked. Other people, I believe, said, "No, that's not the way it was." But it's easy to understand the reaction, because I, too, thought that's the way it happened.

We got up to the stadium. I thought that it was great that the people walked around. I don't know if I wanted to walk with them or not, but I thought that it was really good. I thought that it was wrong, and I thought that they really hurt their cause when they got up into the stands, and they continued harassing, because they had no right to do that. I thought the most disgraceful thing that happened was when the young man played taps when the mother walked out onto the field. I had been sitting next to her. I had had lunch with her that afternoon, and she's a fantastic woman. She didn't deserve that. She's gone through her sorrow, and she and her husband had the right to give any type of scholarship they wanted to give. I thought that guy was wrong, just completely wrong. I understand why they trickled down, why people felt that they had to trickle down: it'd be better than a big stampede out of the stands onto the football field.

I thought that they were irresponsible, and I thought that mob rule had taken over when they were egging on the fear of guardsmen, because those people are young guys. They had bayonets in those guns, and if something would have happened, it would have been the demonstrators' fault, because you can only push people so far. No matter how frustrated you yourself are, when you start pushing other people, pretty soon they'll push back. The people we have to commend the most are Colonel Hill and President Miller for keeping their cool, and those ROTC cadets who had to stand there at attention and take that.

It's really funny, because a young guy came into my office afterwards, and he said, "I thought it was really great, because the peace people worked out all their frustrations." Yes, they worked out all their frustrations, but at whose cost? I heard people sitting behind me, people who are in power, people who were former colo-

nels of our cadets here, former military men themselves, who were yelling for the Sierra Guardsmen to go on. So, I mean, you get it from both sides. Those people are wrong, and it's really funny to be caught there right in the middle, you know, and you can't do anything about either side, you know. But I thought that the demonstrators had a good thing, and they lost it when they didn't shut up.

What did you think was the most effective part of the demonstration and of the Governor's Day observance?

Most effective? I think "effective" would mean differently to me than it would for the demonstrators. I guess they thought that they were effective because they disrupted the whole ceremony. I thought the most effective thing they could have done would have been to march around and shut up, and then march around afterward. To me, that would have shown that, "Yes, we are against war; yes, we are against the military; but you are fellow American citizens, and we respect your rights, also." I think that would have been their most effective move. I think the most moving thing about Governor's Day, to me, was the fact that the military did keep their cool, which says something right there.

You've already mentioned what the demonstrators should have done. What do you think should have been the reaction or what do you think the ROTC or the university administration could have done in the situation up there at the stadium?

I can't really say what they should have done, because I am pleased with what they did do. I'm pleased that President Miller did call in the police. The police were there. They were not in the locker room, like it was rumored. They were stationed a couple of streets over. The police had been notified. A lot of people, many who were not even present, have criticized President Miller and his handling of the situation. And I just don't know what I would have done had I been president of the university. But I'm glad nothing did

occur. However, I think in the future, if something like this happens again, I don't know if we'll see police, but I think we'll probably see more forcefulness on the university's part. I don't think the university administration will take much of this for very long. I think that the demonstrators got away with it this time, but I think next time they will probably push for, and get, a confrontation.

What was your reaction to the violence that followed Governor's Day: the firebombing of Hartman Hall and the Hobbit Hole?

Well, I deplore violence, and I'd like to think that it wasn't the students that did it. I would hope that it wasn't. The people who did do it—who could say what type of minds they have? I certainly hope that they can find out who they are, and I hope that justice is done.

What category of participant in these various affairs—the students, the faculty, or outsiders—do you feel was mostly important in fomenting violence on the campus?

It's really difficult to say, because we don't know to what degree there were outsiders present. I know that I myself saw numerous people marching who I know are not students and not faculty members. As far as the violence, they don't have any idea as to who did it. I couldn't answer the question any further.

Do you think outsiders were important?

Let me say, in my own experience, there were specifically four outsiders at a senate meeting who were causing trouble, who were yelling out—this type of deal. There were numerous outsiders who did march, but I just don't have any idea as to the amount of influence they had. I do know that there are a couple of outsiders who personally just turned me off, and I'd like to think they were involved just because I have a personal antagonism towards them. But, to be perfectly honest, I couldn't say. I really couldn't.

What actions do you feel were most effective in preventing more violence or cooling off the situation after the firebombing?

Let me say, I was really proud of the entire university community for the most part: the forums that they had over there in the student union where people could sit down and talk on a one-to-one basis. I thought the memorial service did quite a bit. Just in the overall atmosphere, I think, everyone was trying to prevent violence. For a few people, that's what they want, and perhaps that's what they'll get someday. But, to the resourcefulness and the responsiveness of various people (the ag people, even the radicals themselves—I mean, so Paul Adamian is “radical”), I think everyone was making a genuine effort, and I think that's the reason why we didn't have any violence further than that.

How do you think events on campus affect the university's so-called “image” with outsiders?

Oh, this is something. I am so mad at the press right now for, and it's funny because we can sit here, we can criticize, and we can get mad at the people in the community if they were overreacting, but then you have to realize they're not in touch with the university. The alumni—they're concerned people. Perhaps they were the “rah-rah” people who had all this school spirit when they were here. But there are a lot of people who are genuinely concerned and upset, and I think that the university image has been affected somewhat. To what degree, I really can't say, and I wouldn't guess until after we get the money from the state legislature. [laughter]

I think a lot of people have already jumped on the bandwagon as far as campaigning, giving folks the idea, “Let's clean 'em up. Let's get 'em out of there.” How successful they will be, we don't know yet. I certainly hope they're not successful. However, I do think that the press here played up Governor's Day a bit too much, but they've somewhat lessened. I thought that the man who recorded the Board of Regents meeting in Elko was completely responsible. There were a

couple of things that happened up there that he did not send in, that he thought were dead issues, and I'm glad that he didn't, because they could have caused more trouble.

I think the press in Las Vegas played it up terribly. I'm from Las Vegas, and I wrote a letter to the editor down there, because this one headline said “Reign of Terror at UNR” and all this kind of deal. And my mother called, and she said, “What's going on up there?”

I said, “Oh, Mother,” you know, and I couldn't believe it. And I was just really disappointed with the press in Las Vegas. But see, you have to look at the whole situation, because a lot of people couldn't understand Senator Lamb and Senator Gibson's remarks—not so much Lamb, but especially Senator Gibson, because I worked in the legislature, and this man is a responsible man. For he and Senator Lamb to come out with those remarks—you know, they couldn't understand them up here. When they realize what the newspaper is portraying down there, then it's easy to suggest. To answer the question, you have to look at the total perspective of things and realize that the image has been affected somewhat, but we won't know how much until after the state legislature meets. In addition, we won't know how much either until we have lived under this “code of conduct” until December, and we've lived through the fall semester—until cold weather gets here again. Because something may happen this fall. We don't know.

What can the university do to focus public opinion?

Well, I know the Center and the associated students together are having numerous “town and gown” meetings over at the Center, where we're trying to bring some of the most influential people of the community together with a whole handful of students in all areas and all factions. There would be student government people, radical people—you know, the whole realm. Bring them together, and have discussion. I know, myself, I've been attending the alumni association meetings. We've set up a speaker's bureau to go out and

speak to the various service groups, and the people who belong to service groups are usually the most concerned, the people who would take the time to write a letter or do something like that. So, I think the university is making a sincere effort; however, I think the university is going to have to keep this up, and not get caught back on its haunches again. I think that's part of the problem, too—any instance to just let things slide, and they catch up with you. So, I think that a continuing effort is in line.

Do you feel that issues of academic freedom are involved in participating in the demonstration?

No, I don't. Let me say, I think that a person, an American citizen has the right to participate in any demonstration if he or she desires, as long as they do not step on someone else's rights. So the whole question of academic freedom, to me, doesn't need to enter the picture, because I take that as a right of your citizenship.

How can students and faculty be effective politically? Or should they be trying to influence governmental policy?

Oh, I definitely think they should. At the end of my freshman year, I went to Sacramento to campaign for [Archie] Pozzi, and it was a fantastic experience. We were canvassing; we were doing telephoning, passing out pamphlets—everything. I think this is a good way to get involved in the political process. I think students can find a candidate and work for them, and in turn I think faculty can do the same thing. I believe two professors in the Political Science Department went to the Democratic convention and were involved in the writing of the platform.

I think faculty members, if they want to, can get involved in this actively. If they don't, if that's not their bag—I mean, if that's not the way they are—they should at the very least vote. I think every student should. It's their right; they should exercise it. And if they have the time and the opportunity, I think that financial support is always

welcome. They can perhaps, you know, manage their call pool, or just talk up the candidates among themselves. And I think that's the political action as far as state, and local politics.

As far as political action on this campus, every faculty member is sent out a list of committees that he wants to get on, and through the ASUN office, the students can get on numerous committees, if they want to. First of all, a lot of people say, "Committees are ineffective." The only reason committees are ineffective is because the people on those committees are not doing their job—in most instances. Because if you really push, if you're really concerned, and if you follow up on what you do, somebody sooner or later has got to take some action.

Yes, perhaps the administration will sit on things, sometimes. I've served on faculty committees, and I've gone to faculty senate meetings, and in many instances when the Board of Regents and President Miller are asked for action, those people have just sat there—and worse than that, they've squabbled over picayunish minor points, instead of getting these things out in time. And for the faculty member to completely put the blame on the administration? No. Because the blame does not lie completely there. The blame lies also with the faculty senate members and student members, too, because in many instances, the student representatives do not attend the meetings and do not participate (and these are students who ask to be put on these committees). So we've lost their student representation. And where's the answer? Who knows? Because people push and you try, you solicit aid, you solicit help, and you never know how effective you're going to be, because a lot depends on the individual, themselves. And you can only push people so far.

Where is the peace movement in this area headed now?

I would hope that they are going to keep peaceful, and keep pushing. It all depends on what happens June 30, and if we can get the troops out of Cambodia. I know the news said this morning

that they'll be out a week before. But we're in such a ticklish situation that we can't imagine the whole scope.

All I will say about the peace movement is that I sympathize with the peace people. I'm against the war, too. I'm doing everything that I feel I can do. I have not participated in the moratorium because it is against my principles, in that I feel the only hope we have of preventing another Vietnam is through education. That's why I attend classes, but that's just me personally. I think, however, that for any student, it's his education, and if he wants to do that with his education, he's paid the money, so that's fine. He should have the right to do it. I think that each individual should keep working in every way that they see possible.

Do you have other comments you would like to make about the Governor's Day events?

I could write a book on my comments, too! [laughter] It's just really strange being here—the feelings that you have. You know, I've done a lot of reports on campus unrest, and you read about campus unrest, but it's just entirely different when you're part of it. You know, there's such a feeling that comes over you.

I know we were sitting in the stands, and it was such a feeling of disgust when those people wouldn't shut up. You had to sit there and take it. I knew that if we had called the law in to make those people shut up, it would have gotten worse. But it's just a terrible feeling to just sit there and have to take it. Oh, it's just a terrible feeling. Well, I think that's probably why we've had so much reaction and overreaction on the part of the public, too, because probably a lot of those people were there.

I think individuals—especially in any position of authority or responsibility—cannot let their personal feelings get the best of them. You have to always keep in mind what's best, you know, for everyone. Nobody has said that life is going to be just, and you have to accept the small

injustices in the hopes that there's going to be a better day.

I sincerely hope that we don't have disruptive—and especially not violent—events happening at this university, because I think that in this community the conservative element's answer would probably be repression. I think that would be a terrible shame, but demonstrators have to realize that people will only be pushed so far, and people will only take so much—especially in a community such as we have here.

I think there are good people, very good people. I read a report on campus changes by Sol Linowitz, from the American Council on Education.¹ The report that he had was excellent, and the recommendations that he gave were good recommendations. (I would encourage anyone who reads this tape to perhaps get a copy of that report.) I sent a copy of the report to all of the Board of Regents. The points specifically were aimed at trying to tell people to do everything in their power to prevent the polarization, because once you have the polarization, it's going to be so hard to establish lines of communication once again. The second point that he brought up was, I thought, excellent: try not to let this become a political football, because once politics gets involved, and people make statements that they have to back up later on (and perhaps wouldn't want to), they have to back them up because they're in that position. Then you're really in trouble. The only thing I can say is that I will continue to do everything in my power to try and ease things, but you just never can tell what's going to happen.

Do you want a restriction on your copy?

Oh, it doesn't make any difference. This won't come out until 1974 anyway, will it?

The plan is to deposit the tapes in the archives, and there will be no release of any tape until after the investigation is over. Nineteen seventy-four is our centennial, and that's near the goal of

the university history, but if you're satisfied with no release until after the end of the investigation

That's fine. If what I said means that much to them, they can use it. At least we've got a tape to back it up. I've had so much trouble with the press. You know, now I tell the press people, "I haven't read it. I haven't seen it. I'll get a statement down to you, and I'll make a carbon copy of it." Because, you know, all these people are criticizing the news media now. I know Governor Reagan wants to restrict the recording, you know, and they say it's just a censorship and this type of deal. Well, no, it's not censorship.

It just makes me so mad, and I mean damn mad, too, because I just get so frustrated. We were in the state legislature, and they didn't even report what we were doing up there in this legislative internship program. There hadn't been a word about it until one guy got criticized because of his long hair. You know, that's not responsible journalism. So many times, I'm just really mad at the press. I think perhaps many people are overreacting, but I've experienced it too, because they take your words and they twist them, and they take them out of context.

I think one important thing, too, would be just for people to take what they read with a grain of salt. You know, anybody can use anything they want. [laughter]

Note

1. Special Committee on Campus Tensions. *Campus Tensions: Analysis and Recommendations*. Report by Sol M. Linowitz, Chairman, Washington: Publications Division, American Council on Education, 1970.

JOHN R. DOHERTY

June 5, 1970

If you'll just, for the record, say your name, class, and major.

John Doherty. Carson City, Nevada. Journalism, senior.

Why do you think you were chosen to be interviewed?

Probably because somebody, either through people I know or through the publicity received, found out that I was involved in the strike and the protest that happened in the last couple of weeks.

What was your reaction to President Nixon's Cambodia decision?

Well, I thought it was a complete nullification of everything he'd said in his own campaign, ever since he got in office, about his attempts to end the war. It looked to me like he was increasing the scope, regardless of what the opinion and feelings of the American people were.

In what way do you think the Cambodia decision was related to what happened next on our campus?

On this campus? Well, I know that the protestors first organized as a reaction to the Cambodia issue or invasion—whatever you want to call it. The fact that the Kent students were killed was a secondary matter that also gave impetus to the organizers to get more people into it. But the whole protest, I think, was a reaction to the Cambodian situation. They wanted to get together with the rest of the universities in the United States and demonstrate the fact that they were against this move.

What was your reaction to the events in the rest of the country after the Cambodia decision?

Well, I was glad to see that there were so many people who were organizing to demonstrate and use whatever means they had to try to influence President Nixon. As he's already stated before, if he doesn't choose to be influenced, he won't. And I think this time he couldn't avoid it, because the attempted influence was so wide-

spread. I don't, myself, approve of the use of violence as a means of influence, but I do approve of the widespread use of nonviolent techniques. If it involves a strike which would close down a university—in order for it to stop for a minute and consider what is going on and consider its role in the country—then I'm behind that. But the violent nature of it, I don't approve of.

Regarding the Governor's Day activities here on this campus, what did you think of the arrangement for the observances—the governor's appearances, the ROTC award ceremony, and so forth?

Well, personally, last year I was in ROTC myself (in fact, I received an award at this ceremony last year). As far as being at Governor's Day, it was awfully centered around the military aspect of the campus, which is not really what the goal of the campus is. Because of the fact that Governor Laxalt did come out and support President Nixon's Cambodian policy the day before, and considering that several of the schools all over the U.S. had canceled civil and military award activities because of the Kent State shootings, I and other people who were organizing the protest felt that having Governor's Day and a military ceremony at that time was rather out of taste. We felt that there should be some attempt to change the proceedings.

What was your reaction to the demonstration?

Well, I participated in the demonstration itself. And as far as the number of people that were involved, and considering that the people who organized it had a short time to publicize the thing, it was larger than I thought it would be. There was little, if any, control over the people. There was no real organized leadership of it, so to speak. There were just some people who got the idea up, and almost everything that happened did so spontaneously from somebody who would get an idea and decide to do it.

So, as far as that goes, I didn't want to see anything that could lead to a violent confronta-

tion between police or especially between students, because that would be the worst thing that could happen. I was pleased that that many people did turn out and show they were aware of what was going on—when apathy is quite often considered the original sin of this campus. That showed that it may not be. In the future, it may be so even less.

Then, you did feel it was necessary to participate in the demonstrations?

Yes, I felt it was. Some people asked me why I did do this, and my only reaction is that there wasn't anything else I could do. I'm sure you've heard the expression "up against a wall"—well, that's more or less where I feel the American people are right now, as far as their own control of their nation's international policies and national policies. The government has more or less become isolated from the people, and the only way the people can get back into the governmental process is through these large demonstrations. Unfortunately, they are still looked upon in the light of being almost illegal, even though the right to do so is guaranteed. I think it's necessary, and more or less the duty of people—even patriotic—for them to become involved in what the nation is doing and show whether they approve or disapprove.

For one thing, the ballot box is no longer that effective a means of demonstrating how you feel. The nomination procedure is no longer in the hands of the rank-and-file party members of the majority of the American people who vote. It's in the hands of the interests who run the parties on the higher level. I think the Chicago national convention demonstrated this.

What do you think was the most effective part of the demonstration and the most effective part of the Governor's Day observances?

The memorial service that was held Friday was fitting and probably more acceptable, and it had more of an influence on the people that were there (whether you call them the so-called "cow-

boy” types or faculty or just people who came to see it). The memorial service and the candlelight ceremony held the night before was effective, because there was little political content, and it’s just simply a memorial service in honor of the four students who were killed. I think that anybody who is a member of an academic community can identify with these students. The memorial service is something everybody can get into and identify with, whereas the political belief of one faction is going to alienate another faction, and therefore, does not have that much influence.

What do you think should have been the reaction of the ROTC, the demonstrators, and the university administration to the conflict that developed over Governor’s Day?

Well, prior to Governor’s Day we had hoped that possibly the Governor’s Day observance would be postponed or even canceled, but it was too late to postpone it. If they couldn’t do that, we had hoped they would try to lessen the military aspect of it to a point where it was just merely a Governor’s Day and not a military Governor’s Day. The whole scope of the activities concerned a reception with military and civil officials in the Travis Lounge and then the presentation of awards on the field.

If you look at it from the point that he is our governor, too, he’s not really looking at both sides. We extended an invitation to him to speak at the rally we had in the bowl before or after the Governor’s Day ceremony at the stadium, but he refused unconditionally and would under no circumstances come and talk to the people there. So we decided to go up there and talk to him. [laughter]

What was your reaction to the violence that followed Governor’s Day—the bombings?

Well, as I said before, we were against the violent nature, since this would do more harm to anything we want to do. In fact, it was directly in opposition to our own position, seeing as how we were a peace movement. As for the ROTC

building, I don’t like to see any academic institution bombed or anything like this. Personally, I feel ROTC should be voluntary, but it still should be there, and there shouldn’t be an attack beyond this. If you’re going to attack something, you might as well attack something that would have some effect on the thing you’re trying to hit, and an ROTC building really has no significance, except maybe symbolic.

As far as the bombing of the Hobbit Hole, I was much more influenced by that, since I lived there. I wasn’t surprised that it happened, because we’d had threats earlier that this would happen, but we didn’t know if they would be carried out. I was sorry to see that anybody on this campus should be pushed to the point where they’d have to throw a bomb at Hartman Hall or at our house. The people that are on the other side apparently were better at it, because they did a better job. [laughter] I was just hoping that this type of action wouldn’t become a regular form of protest on this campus, or really, any other campus, because it doesn’t accomplish anything. I made this comment before to some of the news media who asked me.

What category of participant—students, faculty, or outsiders—do you think was most effective in fomenting the violence?

A lot of people have tried to lay the blame for the Hartman Hall bombing on people who are not going to school here. But myself, looking at it realistically, I feel it probably was students, and probably students who were involved in the peace movement, though it didn’t evolve out of any of the leadership for the organization of the peace protest. I think it probably was students.

Of course, the faculty would not be involved in anything like this, and the people who were from off campus who were here did cause some disruption and some argument among the students who were involved (about whether they should be allowed to participate). I’ve known some of them for a long time, and mostly, they were just concerned. They probably felt that there was no other way that they could demonstrate what they

wanted to do. But I don't feel that they had anything to do with the bombings, and I saw them several times during the whole several weeks' activities, and most of their activities are mostly with just either carrying signs or participating in protests or the rallies. I don't think they had anything to do with anything beyond that.

What actions do you feel were most effective in preventing more violence, or in cooling down what had built up?

I think the rap sessions that were held in the Union and in the aggie building between the students on the right and the other factions helped. Having a university cop [Doug Sherman] who was, you know, on the side of the protestors also helped, because just a regular cop would not have been able to have any kind of understanding with the students who were down there.

I think the action of the university and the city of not overreacting with a show of police strength, or something like this, is very commendable. Because if there had been a strong show of force from the community and from the school, I know an awful lot of the people would have reacted probably in a violent nature. And this is something you really can't control, because we have no control over how many police show up to try to control something.

As we left the stadium on Governor's Day, you could see the police units across the highway. There were approximately four police cars and a paddy-wagon and about four more motorcycles besides the police that were already there at the stadium. So they were ready, but they weren't going to put them right there on the line right away. I think some of the things that did prevent a lot of violence included this restraint and this decision to give us leeway and the benefit of the doubt that we wouldn't get carried away with something violent, something too outwardly illegal or anything like that. It didn't start off with immediately giving a violent undertone to anything that would happen.

How do you think events on the campus affect the university's so-called image with outsiders?

Well, the image is almost concurrent with the image of the rest of the state. If you talk to anybody who's heard of the state of Nevada and the university, they realize that it is a conservative school and a conservative state. We were hoping that we could show that even a conservative school could be concerned with an issue which was not really conservative or liberal. The problem in the United States with the war and the expansion of the war is anybody's business, regardless of what his political beliefs are. We weren't afraid of altering some people's impression or images of the university. Along with the other four or five hundred universities who were also having protests, we were more worried about the possibility that we could influence President Nixon, that we could give him this image, and that at least in the university community there were people who were concerned with what was going on.

I'm sure that an awful lot of people felt that it was an extremely small minority of students who were causing all the activity up here and that it possibly did not represent the majority, but it did. I think it did represent a larger faction than most people think. And as far as worrying about the image of the school, if we worried about that, [laughter] we probably wouldn't do anything except go to school and go home and study all the time we were here.

Well, what function do you think the university should have in focusing public opinion?

Well, a university, historically, is set up as an institution where new ideas and new practices can be taught so that, ideally, the students who go there can find a better way of life. I mean, the fact that you build a university is an admission that there can be a better way of life. But at the same time, it seems that the community and the state—and the rest of the nation for that matter—

has more or less contradicted itself by refusing to accept any lessons learned from the university. It selects the most intelligent and best-trained people in the country—the professors—to come here and teach, but refuses to listen to how to get that better way of life that has been taught to their own children.

Intellectual leadership should be one of the roles of universities. They are centers of intellectual activity all across the United States, and in any country. That's more or less the scope of a university's activities at an intellectual level. But restraints are placed on it by people who are not involved in the university and aren't aware of what's going on there. They try to treat it as if it were a factory in which the main action is a physical action: going there, doing homework, and going to classes—rather than thinking, learning, and realizing something and trying to take action on it. When it does reach some kind of an intellectual understanding of a situation going on in this country, I think it's completely within the scope of the university to take an action based entirely upon its understanding of this and what has been taught: to take an action to try to influence or have some effect on what course the action will take.

Do you think that issues of academic freedom are involved in participating in demonstrations?

You can look at the protest as maybe a field trip for almost any class at the university. I think a lot more could have been learned on that one day by participating and thinking about the issue at hand than by isolating yourself in a classroom and learning about the theory of relativity or cell mitosis. As far as people's lives go, they're going to have to make sure that they are going to be able to keep on living after they get out of the university community.

You know, they say nine-tenths of your education at a university goes on outside the classroom. I think it's especially adaptable and applicable in the situation of the protest: because there was an awful high content of information that was

going back and forth, because of the rallies and speakers, because of the information that was passed out, and just because groups of students were talking and trying to get with other students and influence them to support the rally and the strike. I don't think you're going to find too many classes and curricula in the university which encompass this area of knowledge.

So, I think such participation outside the classroom is not an infringement of academic freedom. Although there possibly can be a case if there are efforts to close down a university by strike, but we didn't try to prevent anybody from going to class who didn't want to. It was a voluntary idea to have people not go to class, so they could more or less go to class in a different way and try to learn on a different level. This aspect of learning has been more or less overlooked by the university, and there hasn't been quite enough teaching in this area, really.

How do you think that students and faculty can be effective politically? Or should they be?

In some colleges here on the campus, political involvement is considered a pariah or a taboo. You just don't do that while you're in a university. But these people are citizens, and under the system of government we have in the United States, they are a part of the governmental system, whether they are allowed to function as such or not.

The professors are supposed to be more intelligent and more well-trained members of the society, and they are brought here to teach us. If they give us all of these idealistic interpretations of the principles that our country is supposed to operate on, and they themselves fail to take any action to demonstrate these principles, then there's really not any way that they can expect their students to take them seriously. When a professor does take a stand on something, especially something which is accepted by the mainstream of American life (the right to protest, the right to demonstrate, the right to express yourself) and then restricts himself because of the position he's

in, then he's more or less just abdicated the position he's taken in class by going outside and participating as an individual. This was the role most faculty members took who participated in the march and in the rallies. I think the professor is more or less continuing this process of education by example, and a lot of educational theories say that example or participation in something is the best way to learn. By restricting a professor, you're forcing him to take a view which may be just contrary to what he's come to teach, and therefore, you're reducing his effectiveness as a teacher.

As far as a university community itself goes, they are full-fledged citizens. I've made an argument on this point in a column I wrote for the *Sagebrush*¹ about whether faculty members are to be considered full citizens or more or less slaves on the campus. They can dispense this knowledge and do the physical work, in a sense, of the campus and not take part in the actual life of the campus. The university students take the role or the position that a university is composed of the students, and that the faculty are, for sure, as much a part of it, and they should take as much part in the activities of the campus as they can.

So you think they can have an influence?

They can influence, yes. I mean, that's their role here: to influence. They're brought here because they have knowledge to dispense, and I don't think that they should be prevented from dispensing any of that knowledge in any way that they can, as long as it's a legal means. If it's by participating in an antiwar protest or any kind of protest or any other activity, especially in the university community, by all rights they should be allowed to do this.

Where do you think the peace movement is headed in this area now?

That's a good question. For one thing, every spring, the people who have been involved in the peace movement kind of sit down and, you know,

look toward the next fall and say, "What's going to happen?" And every year, we kind of have points in our favor in the fact that we will have more students who have been politically oriented in high school. They have been politically oriented just through their regular class activity there, because high schools are much more involved in this kind of thing than they were.

When I went to high school, there was very little political content in any of the courses. And now, you can go into a high school civics or English or history class in even the most small, conservative towns in Nevada, and you will receive some amount of political discussion there—so that people will be able to come up with some kind of political philosophy in their own mind, and not just blindly accept it.

Besides this, there will be, for sure, a lot more students coming from California, and for one reason: all the California schools' enrollments were filled four days after they opened. There's going to be a lot of students trying to get into Nevada. The California students who come up here, their level of political orientation and just social orientation really is comparable to maybe the average junior or senior on this college campus. This isn't to say that they are smarter or they're, you know, intellectually above us. It's just that they've had more of an opportunity to become exposed to this type of activity and this type of thought. The fact that they'll be starting out as freshman will have a lot of influence on how the peace movement goes.

I was kind of afraid for a while that the peace movement here on campus and across the whole country was more or less dead, that it was killed by people who denied peace to the peace movement. With the Cambodian situation, it appears that it can spring up spontaneously without having to have any of the old institutions which kept it going in Berkeley and down in the San Francisco and the Los Angeles areas. But I think it will increase; it will include more students of all types on this university. And the results of Professor Adamian's and Fred Maher's investigation will determine to what degree faculty will be able

to participate. I think signs look good for the peace movement on this campus.

What other comments do you want to make about all of this that you've been so closely involved with for so long?

Well, I think the main thing is that too many people in the state are looking at the activities on this campus as isolated from the activities on all the other campuses that went on in the country. This is probably for one reason: because nothing to a large extent has ever really gone on at this campus. We've got peace rallies and then Governor's Day rallies and moratoriums here, but not to the extent that they have them on other campuses. This direct confrontation with Governor Laxalt and other high members of the state here on Governor's Day brought it to a new light and a new level which hadn't been here before, and a lot of people in the state, I think, objected to it.

But the purpose of the peace movement and the rally that went on here was not to influence the state. The fact of trying to close down the university was not the goal of the people here. It was not the end; it was a means. The end is to influence President Nixon. So it was not an attack against the institutions of Nevada or the people of Nevada. Most of the people who participated were Nevada citizens or residents, and taken from their own point of view, I think, in doing this a lot of them see it as working for the people in Nevada. They saw it as their responsibility, and it was their attempt to use the university (and I don't want to imply "use" in any kind of negative context) as a means of achieving some influence on President Nixon and the people who make the policies of the war. This was our goal, not actually closing the university. Having the university closed is one of the last things we want, but having the regular classrooms closed down, and having the university open for a different purpose: this is what we wanted.

Note

1. "Are Professors Slaves or Citizens?" *Sagebrush*, May 15, 1970.

BRUCE DOUGLAS

June 11, 1970

Now, if you'll say your name and your residence and your position.

Well, I'm Bruce Douglas, and I reside in Sparks, Nevada, and I'm an associate professor of civil engineering.

Why do you think you were chosen to be interviewed?

Possibly because of my letter to the newspaper regarding the activities of Paul Adamian.

What was your reaction to President Nixon's decision to go into Cambodia with United States troops?

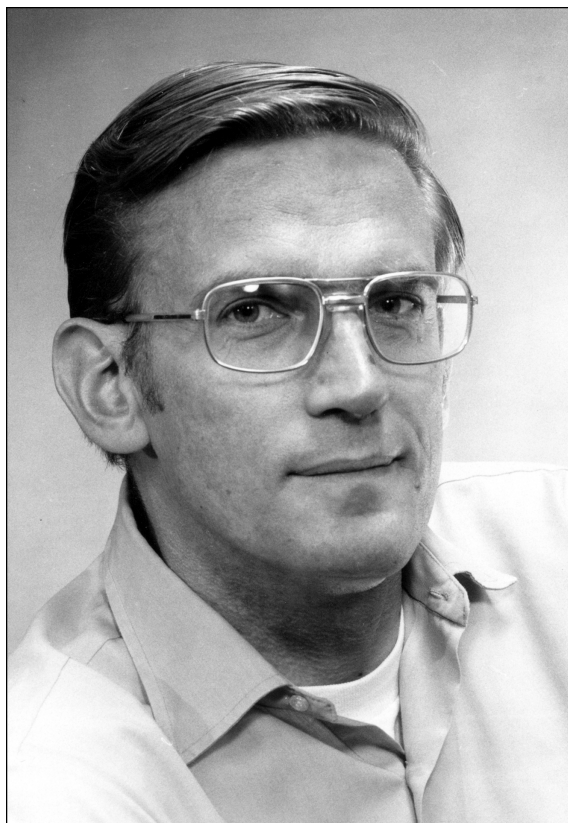
Nothing in particular. No particular reaction. In my view, I feel that this is an acceptable tactical move on his part. I do feel that when it comes July 1, he had better do what he said he was going to do—namely, that the United States commitment in Cambodia will be through. I feel that that is, you know, an important characteristic of what he said he was going to do: "I'm going in

temporarily." I'd be very concerned if we wind up with a long-term commitment in Cambodia as well as in Vietnam.

In what way do you think the Cambodia decision was related to what happened next on our campus?

I think it's related in the sense that those people who have been pushing for peace actively for a long time immediately read this as another extension of the war and possibly a long-term commitment. I think they're already very disenchanted with the war, and personally I am disenchanted with the war. At this point, I think it is a mistake. I felt at the outset that, yes, we could do something in Vietnam. At this point in time, my position is that we should get out of that war because of the fact that we're not accomplishing anything. You know, we can't fight a war on this basis, nor should we.

I think the Dominican Republic was an example of the proper exercise of power, whether or not you agree with the exercise of power, or whether we should or should not have done it. We applied enough pressure to do the job and got away from there. Now, at this point, the



Bruce Douglas, 1970s.

American people are not that excited about what happened in the Dominican Republic, and they may have been excited at that time. But it was a proper example of the use of power.

This particular exercise in Cambodia is a very, very bad example of the use of power—if you look at it from that point of view, and I choose to. I don't choose to look at it from the point of view of morality. I get into fascinating arguments on this whole business and the business of the tremendous atrocities that we're committing in Southeast Asia. But I feel that if you're going to talk morality and atrocities, one has to look at morality and atrocities in the total context. Don't tell me just about the atrocities committed by the American troops against the Asian nations. I've got to know something about the kind of atrocities that are being committed by the North Vietnamese on the Cambodians and on the South Viet-

namese and so on—if you want to play that game. I don't choose to.

As far as our accomplishing anything positive, no. If we're going to do it, we should decide to really fight the war to finish it militarily, which I think at this point is just absolutely impossible. You could not convince the American public to do that, nor should you at this point. So the only other thing is to set a target date for withdrawal, in my opinion, irrespective of the consequences: give the Vietnamese the chance to take the war over and we get withdrawn. If they find themselves incapable of defending themselves, I'd say we'll have to let the situation develop on its own.

What was your reaction to the events in other parts of the country related to the Cambodia decision?

Again, I didn't have an immediate reaction of any sort, particularly. It was, you know, of interest to know what was happening, but I didn't have any personal reaction to that.

Turning now to the Governor's Day observance here: people will mention things like whether or not classes should have been suspended, whether or not the motorcade should have gone on the campus, whether or not the Governor's Day should have been held at all. What did you think of the arrangements made for observing Governor's Day?

From the point of view of the arrangements, I think this particular ceremony has been a long-standing tradition with the University of Nevada, and I feel that those people who are inclined to participate in that particular ceremony should have every right to do so. I'm not saying that everyone necessarily should go or must go to it, but for those who feel that this is a ceremony that they want to attend, I feel that they have the right to do so. And other people should allow them to have the ceremony. I don't feel that we should have canceled Governor's Day as a result of the

Cambodian venture, the Kent State activities, or whatever.

It's hard to know whether or not allowing the presence of the peace march on the field up there was a good thing. I can't make up my mind exactly whether or not it would have been a desirable thing to have told the people who would have marched, "You are not allowed up here." I can see some positive features to that, in the sense that you avoid putting together two groups of people who feel violently opposed to each other's points of view. On the other hand, from the opposite point of view, one could see the reaction in these people. The people who felt strongly about the war felt that they must express themselves about the war this way. I feel that they should be able to do that. In other words, I don't feel that that is unacceptable. At this point in time, I don't personally feel it necessary for me to express myself about the war in that way. But I feel for those who do want to express themselves and make their point by marching. That is an acceptable behavior. It's acceptable within the confines of our system.

So on Governor's Day, when they walked around the field once, shouting, "Peace now!" and so on, they made their point. And the second time around, I think I could have tolerated that. Again, I wouldn't have felt like participating, but at least if they had terminated their activities at that point, I think it would have been an acceptable thing. Not everybody would have liked it, but it would have been acceptable because the one performance would have been merely delayed. That could have been tolerated, and they would have been able to make their point, at least in some fashion. And I think both sides' rights would have been protected.

The first two marches around the field, I think, were a tolerable thing. Personally, I would not have wanted to participate, because I don't feel that way about the war. I don't feel it necessary to express myself that way. I felt that once they had marched around the track twice and then entered the stands, the people who led and organized that march were taking a big chance. Inso-

far as the university administration is responsible for that, that was a bad move. I felt that the disruption of the ceremonies by these protestors was entirely unacceptable. They have rights, but the ROTC students and the people there to observe the ROTC ceremony also had rights. For the most part, I felt that once they got into the stands their behavior was totally unacceptable.

As it turned out, I happen to have been sitting in the stands for the Governor's Day festivities at the field. There was a woman and children—including a little baby—in the stands near the location where I was sitting. After the peace marchers marched into the stands, they just came and tore down the ropes that had been used to isolate the section in the center of the stands where the dignitaries were to sit. They just tore those down and marched in, and were generally disruptive and loud the whole time. To me, this was one type of thing which was unacceptable. Secondly, as they filtered throughout the stands, they were mixing with the other people, and this was just dangerous because there were tense, negative feelings on both sides.

I recall an incident of a lady from downtown telling a girl to be quiet because she wanted to hear the ceremony, and this girl just turned into a screaming rage, just shouting at this woman, "Peace now!" And she did this for four or five minutes. (I mean, it was an extremely long time as you were watching this thing.) It was literally an uncontrollable screaming fit. One other lady told a young man to be quiet in the stands, and he immediately turned around and gave this lady the finger. My reaction to this was to immediately reply, "You've got real class."

The reason I'm including this kind of thing is the fact that there was potential for real violence in the stands. It's just an accident that there wasn't violence, and it's an accident that there wasn't somebody standing up and starting a fist fight. It could very easily have happened. If you had a fist fight start in those stands and a brawl started on those sloping stands, people would have gotten trampled to death, or could very easily have. At this point, one cannot speculate on

the ultimate conclusion of such a thing. But that was the kind of thing that was going on. To me, this is just not acceptable behavior.

Also, a family had lost a son in Vietnam and created an award of several hundred dollars to be given to an outstanding ROTC student. They were there personally to present this award, and at this point, I would say that most of the protestors did attempt to quiet their ranks so that these people would not be insulted. But one young man got out a bugle and played taps—completely inappropriate kind of behavior. If I were those people giving this award, I would have been heartbroken over it. That kind of behavior is below the minimum level that we can tolerate. I think that individual should have been expelled on the spot. If it had been me with the power to do so, I would have done it, and then we would have then argued about whether or not he had the right to re-enter campus.

There were some faculty members there who were obviously trying to calm this thing down. It was getting out of hand, and they did attempt to keep the Governor's Day activities at least in a presentable form. And there was one faculty member there who was doing the opposite, however, standing up in front of them and haranguing the crowd, giving the peace sign, stamping his feet, and shouting something I couldn't hear. Then he managed to get the crowd livened enough to drown out the entire ceremonies at his example. And I feel that this, also, is behavior that should not be tolerated. Given the tenseness of the situation, that has very serious implications in terms of the actual lives of people who were attending that thing. And I don't feel that we should allow that to happen. We could go on and on, but I think we've probably said enough about that.

The next question leads in to what you were saying. What do you think should have been the reaction of the various factions involved up at the stadium—the ROTC, the demonstrators, the university administration?

I think the ROTC handled itself well in the sense that it did not respond to a provocation with

violence. I think the people in the ROTC probably felt like responding in a violent way, and it's to their credit that they did not attempt to put this thing down—because there was a big group of people out on the field who tried to confront the ROTC drill team, who were marching with fixed bayonets. There were some faculty members who were noticeably trying to interpose themselves between these two factions so that there would not be a confrontation. I think the response of the ROTC was entirely proper: Do not reply with violence. I think the only thing you would have accomplished there is to have people wind up getting hurt or killed.

I think that the police role in this thing, as it happened, was probably the best approach: stay out until there is a really good reason for coming in. And good reason, in this case, would not be the embarrassment of the governor or embarrassment of the university officials. Good reason would be actual physical violence being exerted by one protestor, or a group of protestors, on another group of people—in which case you'd have no choice but to stop an actual physical combat. Bringing the police in earlier than that time would have triggered that sort of a response. And I think it's to the credit of the police and the university that they did not bring them in. I think the university got out of that particular confrontation without violence because of the way they handled it.

Within the system, however, President Miller got up a couple of times (I think it was twice) and reminded the crowd that they had a chance to have their say, so now they should let the ROTC and the university have their ceremony. He got very little response to that. And if I were the president, I would have singled out those who were obviously responsible for this particular kind of a demonstration, and I would have responded to them. Maybe not on the spot at that ceremony, but I would have responded in my office to them the next day and let it be known, in no uncertain terms, what I thought about that. And if I had it in my power, I would have dismissed them. I realize that this instant dismissal is not a possible thing in the case of tenure, and due process is a

very necessary aspect of dealing with faculty members, because as events subsequent to the Governor's Day show, there's a repressive element in the society which would be very willing to attack a man not for unacceptable behavior, but because he happens to hold certain views. That would not be the appropriate thing.

But there are some kinds of behavior which are irresponsible, and there was irresponsible behavior being exhibited by both students and some faculty members at that event. Well, that irresponsible behavior should have been responded to in such a way to have let people know that we do not intend to allow this to happen again. I don't think the man [Adamian] should be criticized for his views, however.

What was your reaction to the violence that followed Governor's Day—the fire bombings?

Oh, I think there are so many possible explanations for that. I could speculate on several of the reasons. Well, number one, I think it's fairly well established that there were at least four SDS people on campus during this time. If I were an SDS individual and wanted to stir things up, the cheapest thing I could think of would be to get two cans of gasoline and, first of all, try to burn Hartman Hall, and then a few days later retaliate on the opposite side at the Hobbit Hole and burn both. That would be one very logical, plausible explanation: get everybody all stirred up.

The immediate reaction for me, of course, is that the liberals attacked the ROTC home and the conservatives counter-attacked on Hobbit Hole. That's also a possible explanation, but I think it's also very simplistic. It's possible, maybe, but it could also be that the liberals—you know, people who are peace demonstrators—could have burned Hartman Hall, and then could have turned around and burnt the Hobbit Hole for the same kind of reason. And it could have been done by the cowboy faction or the conservative faction. They could have fired Hartman Hall and could have turned around and fired the other to just stir the thing up. I mean, I think that is possible. I just can't speculate on the kind of reasons that would

be going through a man's head—a reasonable man's head—to burn a building down. I just don't see how that fits into the pattern of dissent, at least any kind of dissent that is tolerable.

What category of participant in the various affairs—the students, the faculty, or outsiders—do you think was most important in fomenting violence on our campus?

Well, it's always very easy to blame everything on the Communists, which I'm not at all inclined to do. In this case, the Communists could be the SDS. I don't think that is a particularly reasonable explanation. Some people are very inclined to jump at this as an explanation. I feel that that's an easy way out. You can quit thinking at that point, you know. It's always the bad guy's fault. That's not a way to do business. I'm not sure violence was stimulated because SDS was present. Their role was small. It added some to this element that wanted to disrupt things, but I don't think it is a major element.

I didn't see any of the, you know, stopping of the governor's car or the procession up to the field, but I was at the field. If we call that violence, it's very hard to assess who is truly responsible for that, because my reaction was that there were some very well-intentioned people.

I know some of the people, faculty people, who were in the march who felt strongly and feel that they must express themselves this way. I feel that it got out of hand, and I think they felt that it got out of hand, and I think that most of them tried to do what they could to turn it off. I would estimate that there were maybe three hundred student protestors there and less than ten faculty people. I'm not saying I know every faculty person that would have been in there, but I think there would have been something like less than ten faculty people there in the whole thing. I think this is a situation which, for them, got out of hand. I don't think one can say they are to blame because this happened.

My reaction, my feeling, my impression, in observing them is that most of them were not particularly committed to anything other than

raising hell. They were there just because they were able to get away with, you know, talking and shouting and singing and disrupting a university ceremony. I think some of them there were well-intentioned, and I've talked to some of them who felt strongly about the war. After I talked to those who felt strongly about the war—they were just as much disgusted by the behavior of these people as the people who felt opposite to that. So, I don't think it was unanimous. I don't think that the entire group of protestors had a single purpose in mind, namely, to disrupt. I think that something on the order of less than half were there raising hell. And I think other people were fairly disgusted with it, but felt that there was no way to turn it off. Well, I'm sure that for them, there was really no way they could have turned it off.

I think that this is the sort of thing, however, that you have to look at in advance—insofar as one could predict the outcome of such a confrontation between groups of people. I think it is irresponsible to say we are going to allow this confrontation to happen. If the people who feel strongly that they must demonstrate want to do so in the presence of people who feel very strongly in the opposite direction, then that kind of thing somehow has got to be organized in such a way that they make their point, and then they leave. They do not sit there and continue to antagonize people who feel opposite to them, because all you're asking for there is violence. I think all you're asking for there is what did happen, or what almost happened. It certainly was, at the very minimum, a gross embarrassment to the university, to the governor of the state, and to other visiting officials. We're lucky it wasn't more than that, very fortunate it wasn't more than embarrassment.

For that reason, you have to weigh the judiciousness of allowing these two groups to confront each other in this way. One acceptable thing would have been to say, "OK, if you feel strongly that you must protest in the face of ROTC, then we, as the university officials, will allow you to march around the field maybe twice. And then you sign in blood that you will leave this area at

this time." That would be one thing that would be acceptable if you could get it to happen. Now, if you have a group of people that you can't control, then you ought not to allow that confrontation to occur in the first place. In that case the people who feel strongly should have a place on campus to do their thing, and the people who feel in the opposite direction should have a place on campus to do their thing. That's one obvious way to keep these two groups apart.

I think university officials bear responsibilities here in the sense that they should know when this kind of thing is going to happen, and if they don't know, the activity is not even allowable. It has to be known by the university officials. And I think for that type of confrontation, you have to be able to insure the fact that you can do what you say you're going to do and leave. And if you can't do that, then I think that you have to say, "Well, we'll keep the two groups apart." Of course, this doesn't always satisfy the people who want to make the protest, because they're protesting in a vacuum.

But on the other hand, other people have rights. Conservatives, liberals have rights; the voters have rights. I feel that those rights are just as valuable and just as important as the rights of those people who want to protest. And protest has got to be done in a responsible way. Those people who encourage it and lead it bear a very large responsibility. That means they have to be good at their job: they have to know how to handle the people they're going to lead. And there are some who don't really have a very good feel for just what they are getting involved in.

What do you think the role of the outsiders was in stirring up violence? Were they important?

I can only speculate. If there were four outsiders, they may have fomented it, but I don't feel it was a major contributing factor. I think these things kind of happen. OK, there are people who are dissatisfied; there's no question about it. They're going to holler about the education they're getting here and holler about the way it's

being done. You know, just the minority groups on campus are unhappy, and they've been unhappy not just because they're on this campus, but partly because they have had a history of being the underdog. When you put enough of these people together (a small group of several, or fifty to one hundred people), I think it is possible to get them to say, "Yes, let's go."

And I think there are some students and faculty members who just feel very strongly that it's an evil, terrible thing that the government is doing in Vietnam. They get to where they're so concerned about this that it clouds their judgment about other people's rights. It clouds their judgment about the relative importance of that feeling they have in their whole spectrum of their immediate environment. So I think it could be suggested that people are going to go disrupt Governor's Day activities, and some people, apparently, had that as an objective: "Yes, we want total disruption of the ceremony." As a university system or a society, I don't think we can tolerate that. I don't think we want to be running around with clubs in our hands to beat these people down, either. I think somehow or another, we have to be able to hear both sides. I think everyone has to have a chance to express themselves, but there has to be some way to draw a line between the rights of the protestors and the rights of the people that they're protesting to. Both sides have rights, and that's what I feel is not being taken into account by the people who are inclined to protest violently.

What kinds of actions do you think were important in cooling off the situation after the fire bombing?

Well, give the "liberals" credit for isolating the one individual who was pretty obviously a leader on the Governor's Day activities. I mean, this individual got out of hand. Other liberals in subsequent events had a candlelight ceremony for Kent State students, and then they had a new ceremony, which I attended on the Friday after that. I think the other liberals were very concerned

about the way the Governor's Day events turned out. If I were a liberal, I'd be extremely concerned. As a matter of fact, I feel these people had the most to lose with this sort of an expression of their concern about the war. It discredits any responsible liberal's participation if one irresponsible individual happens to create a mob, if you will, or nearly a mob.

There's a large segment of the local population that feels that this is very unacceptable. They happen to be conservative, and they're inclined to attack people for the views they hold. And that's too bad, because a man's views is what makes a university. The ability to think about an issue and come to a conclusion freely, without being constrained to come up with a conclusion that pleases downtown, is an important characteristic of a university, and if we lose it, we are no longer a university. So I feel that, yes, subsequent to that, these people did take steps to isolate within their own group those people who would create another scene like on Governor's Day. They are to be commended for their efforts.

How do you think events on campus affect the university's image with the people outside? You've just touched on that.

I don't know that many people, but as a result of writing a letter pointing out the role of an individual in the Governor's Day affairs, I was invited to a group of—if you like—very conservative concerned individuals. They would be very inclined to attack people for their views. They want a very rigid militaristic university system—you know, "Here's the rules, and we'll just club you down if you don't do what we say," and this sort of thing.

But back to the question. Let's say three or four hundred students and faculty people are participating in a demonstration that maybe represents seven or eight thousand. There may be five percent of the whole community up here on the hill. That five percent is what is being heard by downtown, and it is being interpreted all in the wrong way. They are going to keep pushing, I

feel. I know they've had meetings with Procter Hug. I think they're going to keep pushing until they see something happen. Again, these things do lose steam, but I do feel that our image is being seriously hurt.

In terms of the next legislature, it's conceivable to me that the university's activities and these sorts of things are going to be a political issue. I think it's going to further create a foment between north and south. I think the south is going to sit here and try and use this as a weapon to point out to you that, "You bad guys up at the north who do all these nasty things . . .," and they're going to try and use this to obtain, you know, more funds for the south. I mean, it's very unfortunate that we have this north-south rivalry between the two ends of the state, as far as the universities are concerned, but it's there. It's a fact. And I think it is something which is going to play a role.

I go to professional meetings. I have a circle of friends, and they are *very* willing to point out to me what ought to be done. And what ought to be done, in their terms, is repress it. They would be very inclined, I think, to even get to the point where you have a closed university, carry an I.D. card, and if you can't justify your presence on campus, you must leave. It would be a tragic turn of events for a campus.

I think that the university, in terms of being able to keep its present freedoms, is going to draw this line (meaning limits), and I think that line wants to be set in such a way. The overview of this whole type of behavior is a question of limits. We've got people here just raising hell—a lot of them. I think there are other people who are committed to a cause, but who are trying to accomplish their objectives in ways which are just really not acceptable to the majority of the people on campus or elsewhere. I think what they have to find out is that these things are unacceptable. Certain kinds of ways of expressing yourself aren't acceptable: burning down Hartman Hall is not an acceptable thing.

One incident that did happen up on the field was when the students joined in as the ROTC units were marching out. The protestors that were

remaining on the field joined in behind the ROTC units. As they got to the stands, they marched by, and then the people in the stands booed them, so their peace signs turned into the finger in front of the governor. So this kind of behavior flowed naturally from the kind of day that was, but that kind of behavior is unacceptable. It's just flatly unacceptable, in my opinion, in the presence of the governor. That is a symbol of derision that has been used for years, and it's not the sort of thing one uses in that circumstance.

So I think there has to be some level of limits down here with which the university says, "Here is behavior which we consider to be intolerable. The university isn't saying that this is a perfect set of rules, but it is a set of rules we will use." It is a set of rules that you make sure everybody is aware of, including students and faculty—anybody that is involved in these rules. And hopefully, you'll get the faculty and students involved in developing them. But that kind of behavior will set that limit down here to the level where we can be sure that people's freedoms are protected. That means we're going to have to tolerate some behavior which, in my opinion, would be kinds of behavior that I don't personally care for. That's not the point. The point is, though, that there has to be a limit down here. And when it is stepped over by an individual, we have taken care of freedom by setting that limit low enough. Then the university acts, and promptly. I think this behavior of blowing trumpets and so on, that's something that should really result in immediate expulsion. And do it! Quit playing around. Have due process built into the system, of course, where you don't just attack people for their views or so on. But the point is: draw a line someplace, and then use it.

I think that's really the name of this game we're playing. I think people at the administrative level, at least from my own impression, are very un-inclined to draw a line any place. And that's the ball game we're talking about. I think we have to have this limit, and then you can express yourself within the framework of that freedom. What we're saying is that this is the mini-

mum acceptable interface of freedoms between those who want to protest and stepping on other people's rights who want to get an education or maybe not protest.

What function can the university have in focusing public opinion?

I think they stimulate public opinion. Let's see, how do I want to put that? A university should be a place where people can inquire after knowledge and truth, and oftentimes truth is unpleasant to the general public. And that is too bad, if it's unpleasant.

I personally feel at this point that those people who were protesting the war early in the game were probably right, early in the game. I don't think I agree with their reasons. At least some of the people that I know who protested were very concerned about the morality aspects of it and used this as the reason we should not do it. I don't look at it in that way. I look at it as more of a foreign-relations, political arena rather than a moral arena. But nonetheless, for whatever the reasons, I think they were right. We made a mistake there, and this vocal minority has really had some effect on public opinion about the war (although I'm not inclined to think that it has had as much of an effect, maybe, as some thought). After five years of a war of this sort, I think people come to the conclusion it's a waste of time, pretty much, anyway.

But I don't know, exactly. I'm having a hard time answering your question. How does a university focus public opinion? Individuals within the university speak out; that's one way. But then I think you have to be clear that it is individuals speaking. A university should be a place where these people who are willing to speak out *can* speak out as individuals. In other words, a faculty is people involved in studying history and these sorts of things. If they get involved with the nature of the war, and they feel strongly against it—or if they don't—people can speak out. I feel that this should happen. And if a university is a place where people who feel strongly

about issues collect, and they happen to disagree with the general public, then it's a tolerable thing.

The only thing I quibble about is the way in which they make their point. If they want to get involved in the political processes, get involved in the grassroots-level, democratic processes, and make their opinions known—which they can do—that's great. But burning buildings, stopping educational systems, burning down computers and these sorts of things—that's just out of the question, not acceptable. I think the universities better start saying that this is unacceptable: "We're fully inclined to let you people have your opinions about these subjects, but there are certain manners of behavior, modes of expression, which are unacceptable."

So I guess to answer the question, it would be: A university should be a place where people can inquire after knowledge. And if they come to a conclusion that disagrees with current opinion, and they speak out, that does influence public opinion. I don't know whether the university, as such, should take such a position. I don't feel it should. I don't think it can, because of the fact that on a university faculty of four hundred people you could not get a single point of view that would be acceptable to the majority. But it should be a place where people can freely speak their mind and freely inquire after knowledge.

Do you think issues of academic freedom are involved in participating in a demonstration?

They're going to be. Well, participating in a demonstration—demonstrations, per se, are not an unacceptable thing. It's the character of the demonstration. If the demonstration involves the destruction of property, if the demonstration involves the violation or the removal of other people's rights in their process, the demonstration is unacceptable. You don't step on people's rights while you're making your point. Demonstrations can be loud and vocal, a sign-carrying march. Molotov cocktails, though—when you start doing those kinds of things, that's no longer a demonstration. That's starting to be an enemy.

So it seems to me that demonstrations are an acceptable form of expression. I think a professor, if he feels inclined, should be able to do so. If he feels inclined to march, I think that should be within his rights to do so (for example, march around the field, which some people did). When you insult the governor, when you create a situation which is potentially dangerous to the lives of all sides concerned, that is no longer an acceptable form of demonstration, and that's not academic freedom.

How can students and faculty be effective politically? Or should they try to influence governmental opinion or governmental policies?

Well, insofar as faculty and students are citizens of the United States, they certainly should. I mean, that's just something I personally don't do enough of. But I think as concerned individuals, and maybe even as a concerned group of people, they should try and influence the political process.

But you know, the name of the game is to get power. If you're going to have influence, you've got to get power. Now, you got to figure out how you're going to get that. You're not going to get power by antagonizing the majority of the population.

If you go to the committee meetings, you see that this is a thing that can be done. I know of some people on campus concerned about peace who have done this, and I think that is probably effective. I don't know any other way to do it. The only thing I can think of is if you're really going to change things, you have to get power. And to my own thinking, you're not going to change things just by burning the system down—all you're going to get is repression. As a result of the recent university activities, I think that's the most likely outcome. I think there will be repressive moves made from a financial point of view towards this university.

The idea of having a code of conduct developed and adopted by the Board of Regents, as an interim code prior to the university faculty being

involved, is the sort of thing that is going to be complained about by a lot of people. After reading the code that's being proposed, I think it is going to be a reasonable sort of thing in general. But if the situation had gotten worse, the chances are that code of conduct might not have been as fair. I think that is an example of the kind of thing that can happen. And it is mildly dangerous to have that happen from the outside. There are other people who are going to say that that is just completely unacceptable, but I do feel that this line is necessary.

Where do you think the peace movement is headed in this area?

The local area? I'm not that familiar with the peace movement. I don't really think I can comment on that. I just don't know enough about it.

What other comments do you want to make about this whole situation?

In terms of the campuses, the main point, the overall issue here, is the question of the university's setting fair limits of behavior and emphasizing this notion of fairness. I also emphasize the idea that when you set these limits, they should be set low enough such that there's ample room for freedom of expression—for extremes on both sides (the people who are radical on either side of the political spectrum). There are going to be modes of expression which are not really to either side's taste. Well, that's tough. The point we're saying, though, is that those limits should be set such that when people grossly violate other people's rights—or violate the taxpayer's rights in the sense of burning buildings down—that these kinds of behaviors are not allowable.

I think this is like a little kid. You know, these little kids are not happy until a parent sets a limit for them on their behavior. They're comfortable, they're secure, they know how to respond, and they know what to expect. And I think that's really what the problem is. I don't think they really

know what to expect out of the university in terms of what the hell is acceptable in their behavior, because they can do anything. And so far, there's been a very wide range of behavior—some of which I think is really unacceptable—and nothing happens. Or if anything does happen, they try and make it happen a year and a half later.

Take the case of the [Jesse] Sattwhite trial, in which after a year and a half, I think it's just academic. There's no point in doing anything. I'm not commenting here on the relative merits of the Sattwhite case, but it's just an example of a case where the university did proffer charges, and there was a year and a half after the series of offenses. Well, I think at that point, a year and a half later, it's just a little late. I think the university has to have a mechanism of responding more or less timely to this kind of thing.

I feel this way, also, because of the same thing in terms of handling students in class. I think that, you know, the other side of the coin is to set the limits of behavior: in the sense of, "Here's how your grade is made up. Here's what I expect in terms of the homework. Here's what I expect in terms of attendance or non-attendance." You lay these things out at the beginning, then a student knows what they expect from you as an instructor, and he can interface well with you. He knows more or less how you're going to operate, in which case he knows how to handle himself. It works in the classroom, and I don't really see why it wouldn't work in terms of the university as a whole. But you do have to be willing to follow through. That's the problem. It does mean that when the limits are exceeded, you have to act. And this is where I think the university administration has to get busy. They have to set the limits fairly, and then when they test them, you don't keep pushing it under the rug. You act.

LARRY DWYER

June 5, 1970

Now, for the record, if you'll just say your name and your residence and your class and major.

Yes. I'm Larry Dwyer, living in Reno. And my major officially is political science, but I prefer to think of it as environmental studies. And my class, I don't know. [laughter]

[laughter] Why do you think you were chosen to be interviewed?

I don't know, and I don't really think that this is a fair question, so I prefer not to answer that.

OK. What was your reaction to President Nixon's decision to go into Cambodia?

Well, at first I was rather surprised at his decision because of the current antiwar feeling, or at least there seems to be antiwar feeling going on in the country. When he did decide to go in, I felt that this is really a slap in the face to a lot that had been going on. Well, a lot of people had been working on the problems and felt that

this is really going too far. But I wasn't all that surprised, because of, well, things that Nixon has done.

In what way do you think the Cambodia decision was related to what happened next on our campus?

Well, relating back to what I said a little while ago, a lot of people felt that this was a slap in the face, and so they felt that they had to show their disapproval by such things as demonstrating and the student strike and such.

What was your reaction to events in other parts of the country related to the Cambodia decision?

Well, referring specifically to the Kent State "incident," I guess you can call it, I wasn't terribly surprised. I was very sad that this had to happen, but it seems that there are two factions that have been becoming more and more polarized—the extremes on both the left and the right—that something like this was more or less inevitable. I think that if we can communicate a little more, that possibly we can avoid things like this in the future.

Yes. Turning now to the Governor's Day activities here, what did you think of the arrangements made for the observance of Governor's Day?

Oh, I really thought that this was very poorly planned, to take place the day after the Kent State incident and within a few days of the president's decision to go into Cambodia. I felt that the Governor's Day activities should either have been canceled, postponed, or at least modified in such a way that they didn't really try to show the military superiority of our country. And because of this, there was the decision to have a counter-demonstration by several of the students here. I think the whole thing could have been handled a lot better if people had been able to foresee some of the things that would come of it.

Yes. What was your reaction to the demonstration?

Well, I took part in the counter-demonstration to the Governor's Day activities, and I don't know that this was really very effective. I think that it did make a lot of the people in the community aware that there *was* unrest, which is probably very important. But I think it also helped to polarize a lot of people against the students, which I think is unfortunate.

Did you feel it was necessary to participate in the demonstration?

Well, I don't know that you would I think that that question is poorly phrased.

It probably is.

But I did take part in the demonstration, and I felt that I had to show my disapproval in some way. And whether this was the best way to show my disapproval or not will remain to be seen, [laughter] but I did take part.

What did you think was the most effective part of, first, the demonstration, and then, the observance of Governor's Day?

I don't think that any part of it was really very effective, outside of showing that there was discontent, that there were two sides to the issue, so to speak. I think that probably the best thing that came out of it was some of the discussions that took place afterwards. On Friday of the week that Governor's Day took place, there was a student strike, or at least an attempted student strike, and the afternoon of that same day, there were two or three discussion groups between people taking part in the strike and also the ones that were violently opposed to the strike. I say "violently opposed," because they were talking about getting ready to go out and shoot people, which disturbed me quite a bit, because I feel the only way we can get anything accomplished is through strict non-violence.

But that afternoon, we did manage to get together and talk over some of these things, and it turned out that we really weren't as far apart as a lot of people had thought in the first place. And if we can continue communicating, then I think a lot of the problems can be worked out. Unfortunately, the most effective type of communication is on the individual level, and I don't really think that we have time to continue communicating on the individual level, because you have to reach the masses of people in order to get any change to come about.

Yes. What do you think should have been the reaction of the ROTC and the demonstrators and the university administration to what developed at the stadium on Governor's Day?

Well, this I can answer as a personal opinion only. I don't know what recourse they had open to them, but I feel—I said it earlier—that they should have either postponed or canceled the Governor's Day activities in view of the current situation. Whether this would have been possible through the bureaucratic process, [laughter] I don't know. Or if they could have modified it in such a way that turned this into a dialogue-type situation, where they had someone get up and talk about why they were going through the ceremony and then let someone from the other side

say why they should *not* go through with the ceremony. This might have been more effective. But whether something like this would have been possible or not, I really don't know.

Yes. What about the ROTC and the demonstrators? What should have been their reaction? You have mentioned what the administration probably should have done.

Oh, well, as far as the demonstrators were concerned, I don't think that they were well enough organized to do anything else than what they did, which was more or less to try and disrupt the whole process, and, by disrupting it, showing their discontent with the military authority, or however you prefer to look at it. And whether they could have been more effective or not, I don't know, but it seems that they did get their point across that they were unhappy.

What was your reaction to the violence that followed Governor's Day?

I wasn't surprised. I was a little disheartened to see it taking place. I was hoping that maybe we could be different than other places, but that's probably being a little too idealistic. Seems that the violence usually erupts when people are polarized into two or more different factions and don't communicate. At least, my personal opinion is that people are more or less forced into a situation where they have not been able to communicate and the only recourse *is* to violence.

I don't think that the violence that took place here—such as the bombings at the ROTC building and the Hobbit Hole—I don't think they were as a result of student activities. I feel that this could have been either extreme radicals from either the right or the left. I am concerned that both bombings could have been done by the same people, which would have the effect of polarizing the two . . . well, whatever you want to call them, factions even more. And this is something that we're going to have to be aware of, that this is taking place, and see if we can't avoid this type of situation in the future.

Yes. What category of participant in the various affairs—the students, the faculty, or outsiders—do you feel was most effective in fomenting violence on our campus?

I think they all were equally effective in fomenting violence because of not being aware of why violence takes place. Well, my personal opinion is that violence erupts when you fail to communicate. If this were taken into consideration by *all* factions, then I feel that this could have been avoided, if we had been able to get together and communicate—the students, faculty—both the liberals, conservatives, and all concerned.

Yes. Were the outsiders important?

I don't really think so. I know that there were a few so-called "outsiders" on campus; I spoke to several of them myself. And they were primarily interested in getting something started, they said. Now, what they meant by this, I'm not too certain. I feel that they wished to see violence of some sort take place because this would help to bring publicity to their cause, which may or may not be valuable. But I don't really think that they were effective in getting anything started, because there were enough people that realized what they were trying to do and did not let something like this take place.

Yes. What actions do you feel were most important in preventing more violence?

Well, primarily communication between the different factions—the conservatives and liberals. I think, as I stated earlier, communication is always important in coming up with solutions to any problems. I mean, if you want to extrapolate this one step further, you can look at the worldwide situation and say that if we could communicate between, well, the communist countries and the capitalist countries, if they could communicate better, then there'd probably be less need for an arms race, so to speak, and probably eliminate the possibility . . . well, I shouldn't say

eliminate, but at least reduce the possibility of open warfare.

How do you think events on campus affect the university's image with outsiders? "Image" is a bad word. [laughter]

[laughter] This is true. But I think there are lots of factions of outsiders. First one I think I'll talk about is the business community in Reno, and I think that this is, in general, a fairly conservative group of people. Probably an understatement, but anyway, I think that they, for the most part, took a rather dim view of the students' activities—the strike and such. And I've heard various people say that the university ought to be closed down until they get rid of all these agitators and everybody else. Kind of bothers me, because I think I'd probably be one of the first to go under such circumstances. [laughter] But I don't really think that they're looking at the whole situation. They have a very narrow view of what's going on: they've made up their minds and are not willing—at least it seems to me that they're not willing—to look at the viewpoint of some of, for lack of a better term, the more liberal students. As long as they see violence erupting, regardless of where it comes from, they're going to say, "Well, this is all because of the people who are trying to change things." And it seems to me that change has always been accompanied by a great resistance to that change throughout history. I think this is what is taking place right now, especially in this community. I've lived most of my life in California. It seems that Reno is considerably more conservative than where I came from. But they are pretty well satisfied with the way things are going and just don't want to change, because they feel that this could conceivably be a threat to their security (referring to security in the overall sense of the word, not financial security or anything like that, but general peace of mind).

Yes. Did you want to say anything more about other categories? You said you were going to

speak first about the business community and how they felt.

Oh, yes. Well, then you could go on a step further and talk about the country in general. I think that this would just be viewed as one other problem, one other campus that has students that are concerned about the way things are going in the world. And hopefully that, in conjunction with other campuses, will eventually bring about some positive changes. Whether this will happen or not or whether the so-called "conservative" factions will win out is something that remains to be seen. But I think that possibly, if some of the students can get together and work on political campaigns this November, we might stand a good chance of getting somewhere.

On the other hand, this conservative backlash . . . I really don't like these terms, but we're stuck with the English language. [laughter] I have to use them. But I feel that the so-called "conservative backlash" may end up being a very strong factor in the November elections. And if it's strong enough, they could end up electing the overwhelming majority in the House of Representatives and also in the Senate, which I think would probably mean more and more violence and could eventually end up in open revolution, which I think would be disastrous to mankind. I feel it would be disastrous to mankind, because any type of disruption of this sort would have consequences that we probably want to be able to recover from because, primarily, of our highly mechanized society. We are so dependent on various resources, such as petroleum and electricity, that if these were to be disrupted, it would be *very* difficult, once these things were restored—if they were restored—to pick up and carry on without the effects of mass starvation in the large cities. And with mass starvation, you have all kinds of other problems which probably end up in a total anarchy, which would, of course, be very dangerous, to say the least. [laughter]

Yes. What function can a university have in focusing public opinion?

I think I would answer yes to this question. [laughter] University definitely has a function in focusing public opinion. I have always looked at the universities as being the one place where people are currently thinking about all sorts of problems and have the necessary tools to deal effectively on the intellectual level with various problems. And through the universities, we will be able to develop solutions and such. If we can implement these solutions, then . . . Well, let's see, getting a little far beyond here from what I really want to say. [laughter] But if we can get people in the universities to communicate with people outside the university and get the general community to look towards the universities for various solutions, as well as towards government agencies and big business, then I think that the university will definitely play an important part. It's maybe a third factor, the government and business being the two other factors in focusing public opinion. I don't really think I stated that very well, but . . . [laughter]

Well, actually, it's just having to do with what our university ought to be doing to perhaps change an unfavorable situation at the moment.

Right. Yes. I think that we can help to change an unfavorable situation. Well, one, through the students working on political campaigns. This is probably the most important. The president can also get involved in various organizations that are involved in various problems, such as the environmental problems or several organizations that are . . . [laughter] Seem to be more of them springing up every day that are concerned with separate problems and also the problems of war in southeast Asia, along with various other social problems, such as racial injustice, poverty, and the problem of the Indians.

I feel that these are all tied up together. And the basis of it all is an attitude towards life, that we can change our basic outlooks. [laughter] Instead of trying to set ourselves as individuals and as groups apart from other individuals and other groups and apart from nature and such, we

can realize that we're all part of the same planet, the same ecosystem, and that we have to deal with each other. As long as we have to deal with each other, we may as well do this on a level where we can more or less avoid conflict. Well, I should say disastrous conflict. Conflict is inevitable, and slight conflict, I think, is really a positive force in coming up with solutions. But when conflict gets to the point where you stop communicating, then you run into problems.

Yes. Do you think that issues of academic freedom are involved in participating in demonstrations?

Oh, definitely. Academic freedom, the way I look at it, is the freedom to express one's own opinions. Well, it's hard to really express your opinions unless you're listened to. It's great to go off in a corner and spout off to the four walls what you think ought to be done, but unless someone is going to listen, then it becomes really useless.

As far as taking part in demonstrations, being a part of this, I think that this is a way of focusing public opinion on specific problems and getting people to listen. Because I feel that a lot of people are willing to go along, and they may not realize that there *is* a problem, and they don't really want to be told that there is a problem. And so I think this is part of the problem of conflict between various factions, that some feel that there is a problem, and others feel that there is no problem and don't seem to be willing to be told that there is a problem. But through demonstrations, I think the people that don't feel that there is a problem are at least made aware that others feel there is a problem. Through this mechanism, it might end up with better communication. Then again, as I stated earlier, this might tend to turn more people against the ones that feel that there is a problem, which would probably be dangerous, also.

You have mentioned a number of times about the effectiveness of political action. The next ques-

tion is: How can students and faculty be effective politically? And should they try to influence governmental policy?

Well, I think that students and faculty should definitely try to get involved, because I feel that a lot of people are willing to look up to university people as being people that have thought about various problems and maybe have done a little more research than, oh, say, the average middle-class American, which is a bad term to use. But I feel that there is this large majority of people in this country that would fit within a broad category as such. And I think a very effective way is working on political campaigns, finding candidates that are willing to support various views. Specifically, I feel that the war in southeast Asia should be brought to an end, and if we can find candidates who are willing to work towards ending this war, then they should have the support of anyone—not just university people, but anyone in the community—that feels the same way. And not just passive support, but definitely active support: that is, going out and ringing doorbells. And here, the students can be very effective, because I think for the most part, people are willing to listen to students who have kept themselves informed on various issues and can answer questions that a lot of people have regarding the various issues. So, by going out and ringing doorbells and such, the students can really be very effective.

Yes. Where is the peace movement headed in this area?

Who knows? [laughter] I would like to think that the peace movement is just getting started and that it will continue to grow from the few things that have taken place on the campus. Like last fall, there was the Vietnam moratorium committee that was relatively active, and then recently, the student strike. I guess, there was a committee of sorts that was involved in that. And I hope that things like this can be continued and become more and more effective in the future. Whether the community will react against such

things is something that I think we're going to have to take into consideration and try and modify our efforts, so that they will be more effective in promoting communication, other than stopping communication. And next fall, hopefully, things will get started again, and we'll continue from where we've left off. I don't think much will happen during the summer, because the students tend to take off, get summer jobs and such, and they're not united on campus like they are during the school year.

Yes. What other comments do you want to make?

Well, I'm still not too certain about the value of such a project, and I hope that someday, a project such as the oral history project will be valuable. I did talk to Dr. Hulse this morning, and I don't think . . . [laughter] I'm probably not asking the right questions, is what it amounts to, to find out what I really want to know. But I hope that we can get together and concentrate our efforts on some of the environmental problems, the social problems that we're faced with, that assure that we do have a future so that such a project as this could be at least of some value.

June 3, 1970

Just to start this off now, if you'd give your name and hometown and your class in school and major and so forth.

OK. My name is Dennis Flynn, and I'm from California. I'm a P.E. major, graduated in January. And that's about it for that.

Why do you think you were chosen, then, to be interviewed?

I wasn't exactly sure, but I think that whoever made up this list probably thought that I had some pretty definite ideas on subjects one way or the other, and probably knew I was halfway involved in some of the activities. I do care about what's happening around this university, so that's probably one reason why I was selected to be interviewed.

What was your own reaction to President Nixon's decision to move troops into Cambodia?

At first, I was quite concerned, because I'm not really behind the war at all, but I am con-

cerned about what's going to happen. So I was concerned about why we were going into Cambodia, and I was sort of shocked at first, because I didn't want any further involvement. I felt that we should be getting out as soon as possible, but I'm still not one that thinks that the only solution is to pack up our bags and leave. I don't think that's fair to our country or to the people that have already been over there, the ones that have already been involved, the ones who have already died.

What way do you think that this Cambodian decision was related to the things that happened next on this campus?

Well, it seemed like it set the fuse or something. I knew things had been building up around this campus, and it seemed like there had been sort of a lull in the way things had been fairly quiet. I think it was something that a lot of people might have been waiting for, waiting for something that they could really say, "Well, here—it happened. Now what are we going to do?"

And that's why I don't agree with this at all. I can't see why you have to wait for something to happen that really seems like a gross mis-action

or something, in order to start making yourselves really heard. I don't think you have to wait until something happens distinctly in order to act. I think a lot more could have been done in the month before. It was just going at it in a steady pace and trying to solve these problems or trying to find definite solutions. But I don't believe that just one incident can justify the actions of violence and everything else.

Well, what was your reaction to the things that happened in the other parts of the country, like at Kent State and at Jackson, Mississippi, too—campus incidents?

Well, those campuses' incidents, I feel, were real tragedies, things that should have never happened. I can't blame any one faction for even the lost lives at Kent State, since I've been in the national guard for three years, and at different times, I've come in and had this riot control. I've been involved in some sort of extent of it, and I can't condemn the national guard for their actions at all. I know in our national guard unit, probably at least 50 percent have either gone through college or are attending college right at this time, you know. And I'm sure that probably some of those people that were involved in the incident at the Kent State campus, as far as national guardsmen, probably were going to school there at the time.

The way I feel, I don't think this incident should have ever really happened. What I feel really bad about is that they probably say, "Well, innocent people were killed." Well, that's just like any war. It's the innocent ones that seem to suffer most of the time. I can't see where a lot of these campus radicals just took this as condemning the national guard, the president, and the country on the whole, and then they turn around and use violence. So they condemned violence, but then they wanted to make it look like their use of violence was all right just because it had already happened. And I don't like any campus violence at all. I don't think it has any place on campus.

Well, now, regarding these Governor's Day activities here on campus, what do you think of the arrangements for the observances? Actually, the observances have happened every year for the last several years, but it happened right after the Cambodian thing.

I think that protest is all right. I mean, it has its place. But as far as this Governor's Day deal, I think that it was completely in bad taste, because it's just like they're protesting against something—which is fine—but still, these people that are involved in it have their rights, too.

That's what I meant to ask first. What did you think of the arrangements for Governor's Day as such? And then the next one would be: What would your reactions be to the demonstrations against it? So you can talk to both sides, if you wish. [laughter]

OK. [laughter] Well, I feel that there is a need for an ROTC program. I mean, there's always going to be a need for some sort of standing army, and there's always going to be people that are going to find their life in the military.

We need to have well-trained officers in our military, and there's no better place than on a college campus. If we have our most intelligent, or part of our most intelligent, people in the military, then maybe some of these actions and atrocities that sometimes do happen, won't happen—if a person has a well-rounded background and has gone through the college life. I don't think they're apt to get involved in some of these war-time atrocities and even just different war-time or military operations.

I myself was quite mad. I wasn't there; I was working at the time. And just as I say that violence isn't a good thing, I think if I would have been there, I would have been quite upset. I would probably have attempted to do something about it.

About what? The demonstration?

About the demonstration itself.

Now, they could have stayed outside and carried their flags, with their bands and their sayings, and done anything they want. But when they come in and try to disrupt any kind of activity, I think it's wrong, especially when the parents of this Jim Woodsman, who was killed in Vietnam, were there. How did they feel, you know? I mean, they lost their son, you know, and he did what he thought was right. Now, as far as if these people are doing what they think is right, these other people have no business at all trying to disrupt it: catcalls, whistles, yells and screams, marching around, and trying to just make a complete mockery of the thing.

Well, and you say you were working. You didn't participate. You weren't up there?

No, I wasn't.

You didn't see it. Well, I can't ask you the next one, then. [laughter] Well, I can ask you this: What should have been the reaction of, say, the ROTC boys to the conflict that developed? Or do you know what the reaction was?

Well, I know pretty much. I think, very easily, they could have just completely erupted, themselves. I think they, well, showed quite a bit of what they're made of and everything, quite a bit of the discipline they've been through by just pretty well taking and keeping their heads.

When I heard about it, I was hoping that they would have just ripped into them, because I don't have too much use for that kind of people anyway. I mean, if they want to act that way, I think they ought to take the consequences. That's one thing I feel about this school, that there's more of a conservative element in this school and in this state, too, mostly because it's sort of isolated, in a way. Where I came from, there would have been an hour drive between junior colleges to universities, and universities are probably thirty schools in all. And there's not as many people at these schools that would stand up and actually fight

against a protest. Some might, if they thought it was wrong.

In this school, I think that there is a large enough element of people that are concerned enough about different actions of protest groups that actually can stand up and be heard against them.

OK. Well, what was your reaction, then, to the violence that broke out, like the bombing of the ROTC building and the bombing of Hobbit Hole? What was your reaction to this?

Well, I was quite worried at the time, especially at the first incident of the bombing of the ROTC building, because I thought it could get out of hand. I've been around places and have heard of places where complete violence has broken out just by a rock being thrown through a window. And I wasn't pleased to see the Hobbit Hole bombed either. I think somebody could have been killed. It's just uncalled for.

Did you see any relation to these things, or were they just unrelated incidents?

I think there is a definite relation. I really don't think that it was a retaliation deal. I think it could have been outside groups, or if not outside groups, just a group that is just dead set on bringing violence to this campus. And I'm not sure, but it's more my feeling that there was more chance of probably the same group doing both things.

Well, that's interesting, because the next question I was going to ask you was which category of participant—whether student, faculty or outsider—did you feel was most effective in fomenting this violence that broke out suddenly? Do you think outsiders were important?

I think outsiders were. In one of these discussions on the day they had the moratorium up in the ag building, one of the—call them a radical or one of the protesting element—said that,

yes, there were outsiders up here this weekend, which everybody knew, because they let it out to be known that there were going to be outsiders. (Schools in California had been let out for the rest of the week at that time.)

So, he made the statement that, yes, there were outsiders, and there was a statement brought up that said, "Well, why do we need outsiders on this campus?"

And then, of course, one of the other guys said that, well, he just told these outsiders to "be out of here by midnight tonight," or else they're going to get their ass kicked.

I more feel on this line. I really think that there's no need for them, and I don't think they belong to this campus. They're not going to help this campus; they want just to fall in line with the rest of the campus and try to disrupt the whole university life. I don't think there's any need for this, at all. I feel that, especially if we're concerned, there's a lot that can be done about different things such as the war. And these are more national things, but still, I think a great deal of the problem around this campus is what we can do about our campus itself and the problems on our campus.

Now, on the other side, what actions do you feel were most effective in preventing more violence, or in cooling off this situation that developed right after the bombings?

Well, in some of the discussions that developed—the meetings, getting together—there was a lot of yelling back and forth. That's why I'm more concerned about the outsiders and the violence, because there's just a small element of people that really are striving for violence, and I really think that that's what they want. And I think the majority of people up here at this university don't. There's not that many in this campus, I think, that will get behind violence. One of the reasons is because if one group does start a violent movement or something, if it came to real violence, there is this other element on the campus that would retaliate. And that's just because

they like their school, they like the way it is, and they don't want one group of people trying to ruin it. They're willing, and they will stand up for their rights—or what they think are their rights.

I see. OK. How do you think that events on campus affect the university's image with outsiders? And that could be townspeople or people in other states, or whatever.

Well, I don't really know how much. As far as outside the state, I don't really know, because I don't think Nevada has too much of an image, at all. At least, I don't think it's known that much; it's just too small, you know. Because when I was in California, before I came to school, I didn't know there was a university in Reno, and I know a lot of people that really don't either.

As far as people in this area, I think their image of the university and what they think is going on at the university has changed quite a bit in the last couple of weeks, say, in the last month and a half. As far as the community and everything, I think the image is quite changing, and it had quite an effect on the people. It seemed quite evident when different politicians around the area came out with different statements—and they still are. I think it's even going to be an issue in this election as far as what should be done in this area.

Do you feel that the university has a function in focusing public opinion—say, on the war problem, the problem with blacks in school, or on any problem? Do you think that this is one of the functions of the university?

Well, I'm not sure if it's a function of the university itself, but it is a function of student choice. Quite a few of them do belong to a voting class, and there's the way that more and more young people have a say in the government.

You started to mention the students now who are voting age, so that leads into this: How can stu-

dents be effective politically? Should they attempt to influence political or government policies?

I definitely think they ought to, but how can they best do this? Demonstrate or run for office? Work within the system? What? I think it has to be a combination. I mean, protest does bring certain things to light. It shows unrest that people have. It brings out opinions. It brings out feelings.

But as far as a violent protest, it just doesn't have a place. I don't think it does any good. I think it does more harm to the feelings of young people, because people will stand up and listen to you, but people will react against violence. And they say, "Well, they might have good ideas, but who gives them the right to go out and burn down buildings?" So they figure that if we get more behind them, get more liberal, maybe we're just asking ourselves for more trouble. Because the young people are still a minority, and in the voting, it's going to be hard enough to be heard as it is. The young people are being heard, but how much their vote counts right now still hasn't really been figured out. I think it hurts their cause quite a bit—the violent stuff.

Working within the established system—you're going to have to do that to a certain extent, because that's the only way that your politicians are elected right now. I mean, they're going to have to run along their lines. They're going to have to use their own tactics. But if they want to be heard, I think that they're going to have to do it in the right way—maybe even in groups, even if it is another party or something. If they get behind it and set up the right platforms and, well, go out and present a credible campaign, I think they are going to be heard, and it's going to start showing.

It's just like everything else. It can't be done right away, and people just think too idealistically. They think that, "Well, we've been waiting to get heard. This has to be done right now"—whether it's civil rights, whether it's getting out of the war, or whether it's anything. It just isn't realistic to think that this can be done right now,

I feel. It's going to take time, and it's going to take a lot of work.

And you're kind of more in favor of working within the system than trying to overthrow things?
[laughter]

True.

Yes, and this question of academic freedom has come up. Do you feel that the issues of academic freedom are involved in participation in demonstrations?

Well, it seems to me that there is quite a bit of academic freedom there and other issues that seem to be going along quite a bit together. It seems like there are quite a lot of groups. The protesting group is the group that is pushing academic freedom and everything. I don't know. It just seems to me that it's getting to be too much where it's one sided. You're either one side or the other.

I don't think this is really good, because it seems to me like you're getting involved where if you're on the one side for one thing, and if there's another issue, you're going to have to stay on that side. And maybe a lot of people feel that they're justified in doing that, but I myself would rather feel that I have the freedom to make a choice on every issue.

I don't know whether this is meant for the student's academic freedom or for faculty's, but do you think that being involved in a demonstration is outside the realm of what they call academic freedom for a university teacher? Or do you think it's within the bounds of it?

Well, I'm not exactly sure. I don't think I can really justify myself in really taking a position at all, because I've seen some things that some professors have done which may be classified as something that's their academic freedom or something, but that I'd just condemn. And other things, I really can't . . .

Well, I'll kind of drop that one, then. I don't know how familiar you are with this group that calls itself the Peace Movement. Do you see it headed anywhere in this particular area? Do they have a goal that you can see? Are they working for a goal?

Well, I think that their goal is an ending of the war, but I think for anyone in their right mind, that's their goal, too. Now, I think they're definitely doing more than the average person, but like I said before, I just think they're too idealistic. They want the immediate ending of the war, and it's just an impossible task.

I'm sure even President Nixon wants to end the war right today. I'm sure he'd be more than willing if it was at all possible to say, "All right, all American troops come on home." I mean, anybody that says anything different, I really couldn't agree with.

JOEL M. GARTENBERG

June 2, 1970

Now, just for the record, if you'll say your name and your residence and your class.

Joel Gartenberg, 3175 Bryan here in Reno, not any actual class. I'm just doing some part-time graduate work.

In what field?

It was management, but I'm going to drop it. I'm not particularly interested in management. Next semester I'll take some background courses—language or psychology, sociology, something to that effect—but I'm not working toward a master's degree anymore, not on a part-time basis.

Why do you think you were chosen to be interviewed?

Well, for the reasons you stated—because you wanted to get a broad background, or people from various sides of the spectrum, I guess you'd say, within the university.

What was your reaction to President Nixon's decision to go into Cambodia?

At first, my reaction was somewhat reserved until I thought about it for a few days and saw what the reaction of some other people was, and also till I did a little bit of investigative work on my own part. And then, the more I thought about it, the wiser move I thought it was, primarily because, tactically, it's the best thing they could have done. Should have been done a long time ago. Unfortunate that it wasn't.

In what way do you think the Cambodia decision was related to what happened next on our campus?

Well, it probably acted as a catalyst, something that many of the students were looking for to react to, just something to spark the fire, so to speak. Generally, I tend to think that many of them are followers and there are very few leaders in the group. And they like to belong to a cause—to identify, I guess would be the right word to use—and this was a means to do it. The fact that the president decided to go into Cambodia just acted as a catalyst.

What was your reaction to events in other parts of the country that were related to the Cambodia decision?

Well, I was pretty much disgusted with much of it, that students could do so much and get away with it. They're complaining about not only the lives lost, but the amount of money being spent in Cambodia and Vietnam, and then they run around destroying their own campuses, which is pure stupidity to me. I think that there are other ways they could probably make themselves heard and felt more effectively than that. I think it had an adverse reaction on students . . . or any time you do something like this. I know with myself, and I'm only about a half a generation separated from most of them, I was disgusted with it. I think that some action should be taken to ensure it doesn't happen in the future. What, I don't know.

Turning now to the Governor's Day activities here on our campus, what did you think of the arrangements for the observance of Governor's Day?

Well, since I was involved in the planning of them—is that what you're speaking of?—I thought they were fairly well firmed up, well planned, and so on. Oh, we started planning for it well in advance, a month before Governor's Day, and we spent quite a bit of time in preparation for it. We used to have fifteen drill periods, and now we have seven in the classroom, so they get more leadership, more exposure to public speaking, problem solving, things like this, which are more leadership oriented than the drill field was. So we had seven hours of this non-leadership lab and then eight hours in the drill field, and we took three hours out of that primarily to prepare for Governor's Day. Well, the final hour was Governor's Day. And the cadets put a lot of time into it, and the personnel in the Military Science Department put a lot of time into it, and we thought it was fairly well planned. We had all the details worked out. We had contingency plans, of course, and I thought . . . Well, everything considered, it went very well.

What was your reaction to the demonstrations?

Well, I was surprised initially. I was unhappy about it, because it disrupted the ceremonies, initially, but I think that the Military Science Department gained much from it as far as public sentiment went. Of course, it also tended to polarize the groups on the right and the left, or the radicals and the conservatives within the community here, which is, I guess, an unfortunate situation. Whereas before people were, well, more neutral or willing to communicate, now they're more polarized.

My personal feelings, however, on the event was that it disrupted our ceremony to a degree, but much more was gained for us than for the demonstrators. I think they got out of hand. I was sorry to see them there in the first place, because it was my understanding, after Monday morning quarterbacking, that they weren't supposed to be there at all. They were supposed to be restricted to the Manzanita Bowl here. And I think it was a black eye for President Miller that they got out and he allowed them to come into the stadium, although I think he handled it very well after they got there. Unfortunately, they didn't react very well to his pleas to calm down. I think it was disgusting to see some of them, when the national anthem was being played, run up their peace signs and hiss and boo. If at no other time, I think they could have been more respectful at this one time, when they would have made many points for themselves, whereas they cut themselves badly on this one occasion.

What do you think was the most effective part of both the demonstrations and the observance?

Effective parts? I think if you're speaking in respect to reaction and accomplishing something—is that what you're talking about?—the students didn't really accomplish a heck of a lot, other than to make a lot of noise and alienate a lot of people. They could have been very effective if they'd marched around the stadium three times, as they had agreed to do or as President Miller had told them they could do. At the time,

they weren't allowed to come to the stadium. If they'd gone around three times, gone into the stands, and sat quietly and observed the ceremony, which wouldn't have required them to go out of their way, they could have done very well. I would have considered that a peaceful demonstration, and although it would have disrupted the ceremony to the effect that we would have lost some time, it wouldn't have had any actual adverse effect on the populous, the silent majority, if you will.

As far as the ceremony itself went, I think it was a credit to the cadets that they were so well behaved and disciplined out there. They didn't break ranks or anything while they were being heckled and harassed by the demonstrators. On one occasion, I know there was a student, part of the dissidents, who had ridden a unicycle through the ranks of the cadets. Were you at Governor's Day?

No.

You missed a good ceremony. But anyway, he rode a unicycle through the ranks of some of the cadets, and they didn't break ranks, and they stood there quietly. And a few of the demonstrators took off the cadets' hats, but they remained fairly immobile, and I think that was a credit to them. And, of course, the way they marched, I think, was something to be proud of. In my opinion—of course, I lean toward the conservative side, or maybe a little bit to the right—the cadets came out much more ahead than the demonstrators, who lost many points.

What do you think should have been the reaction of these factions at Governor's Day—the demonstrators, the ROTC, and the administration?

As a result of what?

Well, with the conflict that developed there.

What do I think should have been the reaction?

Yes.

Well, I don't know what the demonstrators had to react to, really—nothing, as far as I could tell. As far as the cadets go, it's conceivable they could have broken ranks and gotten somewhat unruly. And I'm sure they were perturbed. I don't *think* they should have broken ranks, now. Of course, considering my position and the fact that I'm an army officer and have been in a discipline-oriented atmosphere for six or seven years now, based on my training, I would say that the reaction should have been just what it was, to act as they had been. I was somewhat pleasantly surprised, because they did restrain themselves so well. If I were in the ranks, I don't know, I might have got a little more irate and taken some action. I don't know. I think it was a credit to them that they *didn't* break ranks or anything.

As far as what the reaction of the spectators should be, I think it was probably pretty much what it should have been. They were somewhat disgusted with the demonstrators. The spectators were there to see the ceremony. Many of them participated, to present an award and so on, and consequently, I think they reacted as they should have. They were somewhat unhappy with the demonstrators, because they did disrupt the ceremony, and I think their reaction was pretty much as I would have expected.

And the administration?

The administration. To be honest with you, I was a little bit surprised that President Miller got up and even told the students to sit down, because I thought he was, well, a little more reserved than that. I was pleasantly surprised to see him do this. I think that I would have expected him to have more control over the ceremony. As I saw it, there was only one police officer there, and they should have had more there, particularly after they found out that demonstrators were going to be there. In addition to this, the city police have jurisdiction over the campus, and they could have brought them in if

necessary. Now, the result of this might have been a further confrontation, I don't know. But I think the administration, considering the fact that Governor's Day is a yearly event—it's had a precedent for, oh, seven or eight years that I know of—they should have allowed the ceremony to go on and should have done a little bit more to support it. And when I say more to support it, I mean to curb the demonstrators.

Yes. What was your reaction to the violence that followed Governor's Day?

I was honestly surprised at the fire bombing. I guess you're speaking of the two fire bombings? The one of the Military Science Department surprised me somewhat, because I thought the students were a lot more conservative than that, although there are a few radicals in the crowd. I tend to think, although I may be wrong, that the people that did the fire bombing, even if they were University of Nevada students here, were incited by some outside influence. I had heard a number of rumors that there were students from Berkeley here. Well, four people were pointed out as being from Berkeley, and I, of course, didn't recognize them, because there are many students I don't recognize on campus. But as I say, I was surprised that the fire bombing took place at all. Even more so, after I got down to the campus and started speaking to some of the students, I found out how disgusted and appalled they were at the fire bombing.

As for the fire bombing of the Hobbit Hole, or whatever it is, the house over on Virginia Street, that kind of surprised me also, though I wasn't particularly concerned about it, considering that it didn't hit close to home, as did the fire bombing of the Military Science Department. However, I felt that it might have an adverse reaction in that it might polarize people once again into thinking that it was the cowboys or the ROTC group or the Sundowners who had done it, and as a result of this, there might be further confrontations. As far as any actual reaction to the bombing of the Hobbit Hole, I couldn't really care less.

What category of participant—the students, the faculty, or outsiders—do you think were most important in stirring up the violence that erupted?

I think you've got a strong faculty influence here, and I wouldn't restrict it to the two who were investigated—I don't know the results of the investigation yet—Maher and Adamian. But I think there are other faculty members who, rather than presenting the completely objective viewpoint in classroom, tend to lean to the left—I'm sure there are many—and as a result of this, I think they tend to, oh, sow some seeds in the students' minds, which are further used by students or agitators from other areas who probably come in and stir up the students. I think, after being down to the campus and speaking to a number of students, that most of them tend to be conservative and wouldn't go to the violent edge, I guess you might say. The small representation of students who did march around on Governor's Day—200 or 300, maybe a little bit more than that—weren't representative of a campus of 6,000. I understand many of the people who were marching around in Governor's Day were not students at all.

So, I guess there's an outside influence. There has to be, to an extent, although I think, as I said, that some of the faculty members don't help things at all. They should be more objective in their teaching. Now, the courses I've taken haven't had any problems, and they're graduate level courses—fairly straightforward, not political science or psychology or anything like that, but accounting and business-type courses. So I haven't had any exposure to some of this more liberal or left teachings in the classroom, but I understand they do occur. I've gotten second-hand hearsay from students, and I think this tends to poison the minds to a degree if the academics aren't presented more objectively. So I think it's an influence of both the faculty and students, to a lesser degree, and then some outside agitators' influence.

Do you think the outsiders are important?

Well, it's hard to tell. I'm sure that some outsiders have had a partaking, or an involvement, I guess you'd say, in the activities that have taken place here on the campus. I'm not so sure they're as important as the faculty itself. I think because of the conservative element you have here, things tended to be less severe than they could have been. Now, this is the faculty on the other side, as I say. But some of the instructors are too liberal, and I think this is your main problem. And I may be wrong, but just based on my observations, which have been somewhat concentrated during the past few weeks as a result of the activities that have taken place, I feel that the instructors are the biggest problem we have.

What actions do you feel were most effective in preventing more violence from the situation that developed?

On Governor's Day?

Well, stemming from Governor's Day and the bombings and so forth.

Well, I don't know. I probably think the communication, which is a big word right now, that took place between the rival factions, the fact that the students voiced their opinions that they *didn't* want violence, that they wanted peaceful demonstrations—which are fine, as long as they remain peaceful—were the big influences, really. The fact that students got together and talked about the thing and said they didn't want violence on both sides of the confrontation, both the conservatives and the liberals or the radicals. I think this contributed greatly, as far as internal policing of the problem went.

Externally, I think that the administration and the local police cooperate enough or communicate enough between or among themselves that they have managed to thwart any further violence. I think the students have done an excellent job of policing within the university to be sure that nothing else occurred. We had many volunteers come up to the Military Science Department who volunteered to stand guard there, make sure it

didn't happen again, both cadets and other students. So I think that the conservative or logical-thinking elements in the university thwarted any further confrontations.

How do you think events on campus affect the university's image or reputation with outsiders?

I think they have a strong influence on it. I thought considerably about this. I think it's unfortunate that a few students, such as the 200 or 300 that were marching around on Governor's Day, should influence the headlines so much. Of course, the headlines are always seeking the stories which will appeal to the populous the most, and this was the biggest thing happening in the Reno area. And it was publicized throughout the northern part of Nevada. I know we received publicity as far back as Washington, D.C. I think it's adverse.

Well, you can make a good comparison here between the honoring of President Miller earlier in the year, when the students went to his home and sent him and his wife off on a vacation for a couple of days, in which they got national publicity. However, they got a black eye out of the Governor's Day festivities, which is unfortunate, because it was a minority of the students, a minority of the people who were there that were actually demonstrating. And many of those, as I said before, and as I understand it, were not even students. So, I think reaction was adverse.

You can see by the reaction the Board of Regents have had, the many editorials in the newspapers recently, all of which have been anti-student, anti-university. I understand that President Miller and the regents have had their jobs threatened if they didn't do something about it. What has happened is that people have become polarized, as I said before. And the conservatives have become more firmly entrenched, and probably a lot of them are leaning to the right. More patriotic groups, like the veterans and so on, are pretty well disgusted with it and want to take some action and ensure something like this doesn't happen again. The general populous, who's paying the taxes in support of the university, are dis-

gusted that their funds should be wasted by students who demonstrate—and I'm not only talking about Governor's Day. That was a sanctioned affair, the time out of class. But other times, when students don't go to classes, they can demonstrate or conduct some other activity which takes away from their class time. So people are somewhat aroused now. I think that the bulk of the demonstrations and the other activities that have taken place on the campus have had an adverse reaction with the people in surrounding areas. They're quite unhappy with what has occurred.

What can the university do to focus public opinion?

Good question. I would say that prior to the activities that took place, the public opinion of the university was fine. I think that I would tend to try and keep the focus off the university, particularly if it's going to be adverse. If there's something favorable that occurs, why sure, go ahead and publicize it. It's hard to pick up a paper—at least a local paper—without finding some article about the University of Nevada in it, whether it be in sports or some scholarship being presented or something to this effect. But I think this more neutral publicity is more desirable. And then, of course, when something favorable comes along, why, play it up, although you won't get any better than a second- or third-page headline, as opposed to a demonstration, which hits the front page—something violent that happens. If I remember correctly, the *Nevada State Journal* used about a third or a half of a front page to cover the fire bombing of the ROTC Department. It's hard to say what the university should do. I'm sure they spent many thousands of dollars trying to figure out what they can do to better their image, so it's not really my place to tell them what they could do, although I would tend to remain neutral, since it is a conservative community.

Do you feel that issues of academic freedom are involved in participation in demonstrations?

No, not here. Students couldn't ask for any more here, really. I didn't go to a liberal institution; I went to a military academy, West Point, so I've never been to a college, and I don't know what most of them are like other than what I've gotten secondhand. But I haven't heard any complaints about academic freedom other than from some of the minority groups, like the blacks on campus, who want some black studies and a few other things. As far as the majority of the students go, I think they're fairly well satisfied. The campus is fairly liberal, although the community is conservative, at least as far as academics go, and I don't think the students can complain to any great degree that they're being suppressed or anything along these lines.

How can students and faculty be effective politically? Or should they try to influence governmental policy?

They should influence governmental policy to the degree it affects the university, I think. And what I mean by this is that they should make their views heard. Being right here at the university, students and faculty can get a better feel than anyone outside a university can for their own problems, and as such, if they have a problem or if they need something . . .

One thing I've observed that you need badly here at the University of Nevada is a gymnasium, and we should get involved politically for the gymnasium. Now, I understand the regents have a gymnasium as a priority, but it's way down on the list and shouldn't be completed or even started till 1974, 1975, 1976, somewhere in there. So it's a low-priority project, but I think something like this deems some attention. If the students directed their energies towards something like this with the support of the faculty, which I'm sure everybody would agree on, they'd probably accomplish a lot more than they would by demonstrations.

There's a number of other things that could be done on the campus here that students and faculty should get together on. As far as pure poli-

tics, like what has recently been publicized, the election of this lawyer Springer downtown, I have my own views about that. He has a good record, but Well, I won't say anymore on that one, but I don't think students have any business getting involved in this. Their primary function is to get an education here. I think a gymnasium would assist them in getting an education, or a better one. It would certainly enhance the athletic programs here at the university. However, I don't think either students or faculty should get involved in politics just for the sake of getting involved in politics, such as electing this man Springer, who has been a great fighter for the minority groups or anyone else who needed assistance. But I think that they should restrict themselves to something that affects them directly.

Where do you think the peace movement is headed in this area?

Well, right now, I think it's going to probably remain fairly neutral throughout the summer; everybody's going to have their own way. Come the fall, it's hard to say, really. It depends on what occurs in Vietnam, how many troops are withdrawn, whether or not the troops come out of Cambodia, whether or not there are any agitators. So many variables involved, it's really hard to say, and I wouldn't right now venture a guess.

What other comments would you like to make about the whole situation?

Well, I'd like to say that I was pleasantly surprised by the students on the campus, after going down and speaking to them on the day following the fire bombing and one or two days after that, speaking to student groups and finding out that many of them are more level-headed than I thought they were. I thought they were, for the most part, a bunch of reactionaries, and I found out they weren't. I think there's really a fine bunch of people here at the university—now I'm generalizing, since there are a few individuals

who are, of course, exceptions to this—fine bunch of students and faculty. And I hate to see a university torn apart by a few who advocate violent change and who advocate change right now. It's unfortunate that some of them don't realize that change doesn't occur as you snap your fingers and that it takes a little bit of time.

I think we've got a very fine campus, as I've said. I'm very pleased to be here, myself. I couldn't be any happier anywhere else, I don't believe. Well, I couldn't be happier anywhere else. I think we're fortunate that the violence we have had is at such a low level as opposed to some other places, where the national guard has been called up, where classes have been canceled completely, things which—as far as classes being cancelled completely—I don't condone at all. And if there's a requirement for the national guard, which I doubt there ever will be, here at the university, I'm an advocate of bringing the national guard in, if necessary, to protect the property here and personnel. I think that's about it.

Do you want any restrictions on your interview?

Well, I want it understood that it's not a military viewpoint, now. It's strictly my personal viewpoint. It has nothing to do with the military or anyone else up in the Military Science Department. And as you see many times, it's not condoned by the United States Army or the government. Other than that, I have no objections to using it.

TABER GRISWOLD

June 18, 1970

So, now just for the record, if you'll say your name and your class and major, and where you're from.

OK. Wow. My name is Taber Griswold. I'm a pre-law student, and I'm going to be a junior. I'm from Squaw Valley in California.

Why do you think you were chosen to be interviewed?

Well, the reason why I think I was chosen is because I'm in two organizations. I'm on the senate, and I'm what you could say a charter member of the USA [United Student Alliance]. I've been involved in these moratorium efforts on campus, so, politically, I think I was chosen because of my diversity.

What was your reaction to President Nixon's decision to go into Cambodia?

I was appalled. I felt that way because I'm completely against the war. And I have since learned that this offensive has been in the plan-

ning for approximately two and a half years, which I think is an insult to the American people.

In what way do you think the Cambodia decision was related to what happened next on our campus?

I think there was a direct connection between the two of them, but the Cambodian offensive was an overt aggressive act, and it was like throwing gasoline on a smoldering fire, I felt. Kent State and the other campuses erupted—all the way across the country with a lot of hot, heated tension.

What was your reaction to the events in the other parts of the country related to the Cambodia decision?

Well, I was kind of two-fold. I am against violence. And the Kent State incidents and the four deaths there shocked me, because I feel that the national guard should not have bullets in that case. I think also that the students, on their part, were not behaving as maturely as the situation called for—though I know situations get carried

away into a mass fluctuation. So it can happen to anybody. I think, though, that the violence was really completely uncalled for.

Turning now to the Governor's Day activities here: what did you think of the arrangements made for observing Governor's Day?

Well, I showed up on Governor's Day, you know, after the beginning of the ceremonies. And I sat down on the field, because that's where I'm comfortable—sitting on grass rather than on bleachers.

I have mixed feelings about Governor's Day, because I feel that the ROTC, as a group of people, do deserve their merits and awards for their duty. But I feel that different circumstances could be used. I do not think that it should be such a celebrated occasion to be giving these merits. I mean, seniors are given their awards on graduation, and I feel that that is the only place for a major formal occasion. Other award ceremonies are very quiet, such as, you know, women's night of honor. I feel that the ROTC thing should be very toned down and subdued. I don't think it should be in the stadium and be such a big occasion, a big ceremony.

Also, the heat that went on that day between the people, I found really, well, depressing, in fact. I was sitting on that field, and there were these tempers that started moving. I saw people who I normally considered quiet people become very loud and boisterous. I know one boy wanted to go up and take a gun from one of the ROTC, and Ben Hazard going up to him and saying, "Listen, if you want to make an overt attack against someone there, pick on one of those gentlemen sitting up there. Don't pick on the poor ROTC student who's there because he has to be there."

I thought Ben Hazard, Paul Adamian, Bob Harvey, Dan Teglia, and other people who were there did quite well in trying to calm down people, between the students and the faculty. A lot of people felt that they were kind of traitors to it all, and I felt that with all the cops that were around there, that was the only way it could be.

I do not think there should have been any Reno cops there, at all. I think there only should have been university cops. Because I talked to lots of people later on that night, and those guys were so pissed off, because there wouldn't even be any reason for cops there, if anything had happened.

Well, anyway, the young man who laid down in front of the car was a very unusual person; that was what he felt like doing, so that's what he did, and that was completely uncalled for. Paul Adamian asked him to get up. He wasn't encouraging him to lay down there. And the uproar that ensued from that, I thought, got me uptight. I don't like to be uptight. The very fact that one of the cars was pushing into the peace march that was up there has been turned around—saying that we were blocking the cars—which shows, I think, the short-sightedness of the people who are against these marches like that. The peace march was okayed at the end of the procession, and I don't think the person who was driving that car had the right to push into the back of the procession.

I know myself that before the Governor's Day was over, I felt my mind kind of losing its individuality in the sense that I was feeling all these vibrations coming from people—very antagonistic vibrations. The guys and I went up there, and I was just sitting there *feeling*. We weren't thinking of ourselves. When we were up there, we were feeling all these high emotions, this tension, and the height of feeling that was going on there—and we were quite scared. I had a feeling that I would have gone with whichever way it would have gone, because we had kind of lost our individuality in the mass of people. Afterwards, I felt very drained, like a lot of emotion had been taken from me. Now, I hadn't done anything up there, but I felt like I had, which I didn't like.

What do you think was the most effective part of the demonstration and the most effective part of the Governor's Day observance?

Well, for effective, I really can't think too objectively, because I was in the middle of all

these feelings going on down on this field. My opinion is, from where I was sitting down on the field with this group of people, that's where I wanted to be. I don't know. I would say that I think, for me, the effective part of the demonstration was sitting down there showing that that's where I wanted to be. I didn't want to be up in the bleachers. I really didn't want to be out amongst the ROTC people.

As for the ROTC part of the ceremony, I thought the effective part of that was the way that the young men kept their cool, because I know they were mad. I got in an argument with Louie Test, who was standing out on the field after it was all over. So I know how they were feeling. I think that the way they kept their cool was the most effective part about that. And the ceremony itself, I didn't pay too much attention, because that wasn't why I was up there.

What do you think should have been the reaction of the various people involved up there at the stadium—the ROTC, the demonstrators, the university administration—with the conflict that developed up there?

Well, I felt that the conflict was very well contained by the faculty members that I've listed before. I don't think Governor's Day should have been held that day, in consideration of the university and Governor Laxalt's planning. They did nothing about commemorating before it, in any way, the Kent State murders. And in the larger context involving the whole conflict of the preceding days and the days afterwards, I felt that the Governor's Day was in very bad taste. And hence, this is one of the reasons why I think it should not be a well-publicized occasion. It should just be toned down to be an awards ceremony for the ROTC people.

How about the demonstrators? What do you think should have been their reaction?

The demonstrators got *extremely* uptight while they were sitting down there, and there was

a conflict. In a way, I think that people should not have made such a mass of people—and then lost individuality like that. Then in the other way, I think there really should have been a *real* demonstration out there, a confrontation. I felt it was the only way that it could be, because people are tired of not being listened to. I thought Governor's Day was a very good example of showing how the events weren't listened to.

So, in thinking about it, what happened up there was the only thing that could have happened, because if it was any less, everybody would have just walked. The apathy would have just kind of ruffled the fur of a lot of people, and they would have left and not proved any point by being up there. If it had gone the other way, I think a lot of skulls would have been cracked. So, as I said before, I think that what did happen up there was the only way it could be.

And the ROTC? What should they have done?

I felt they did what they . . . I felt that they behaved accordingly, also. They didn't break ranks and get mad. I mean, a lot of the tempers were very heated, but they didn't lose control, which is more than you can say for some demonstrators.

What was your reaction to the violence that followed Governor's Day—the fire bombings?

I was mortified. Concerning the fire bombings, when I heard about them, I laughed, because I think that I could throw a fire bomb better than those that were thrown. To have one bounce off of a wall, one not even go off, one go through a window—I just laughed, because I thought, you know, to do nothing, it was just completely asinine. I thought if somebody was going to do something like that, they may as well do a good job of it or don't do anything at all.

The fire bombing of the Hobbit Hole, I thought, was just completely senseless, because why bomb a house where people are welcomed, you know, no matter who they are? I could see

no sense unless it was a person who felt that he could strike at the left movement by burning up a house. It seems very inane to me, like he was very stupid politically, you know, and perhaps risked murdering people, which I think is just as bad as something like what happened at Kent State.

There was one incident not connected with the fire bombings, though, that upset me quite a bit. When everybody marched back down to the bowl to listen to people talk, the P.A. system did not stay hooked up. So this one person went following the extension cord up to the administration office, and he was jumped by six ROTC people, who started beating him up. I saw him, you know, and then just as I saw this happening, Doug Sherman [a university policeman] came up and really bitched at the ROTC people, how they had absolutely no right to do this. They said, "Well, they interrupted our ceremony. Why can't we interrupt their ceremony?"

Doug said, "You know they didn't touch any of your people. Don't you touch anybody."

It was just a perfect example of the conflict going up there, because all the guy was trying to do was make sure that the extension cord was correct, and the ROTC people had been pulling it out. Things calmed down quite a bit thereafter—after having the fire bombings, which seemed kind of out of context, almost, to me. Very unnecessary.

What category of person involved—the students or the faculty or outsiders—do you think was most important in stirring up violence on the campus?

Outsiders, because there were five of them, and they came here looking for trouble. They decided they couldn't find the trouble here, so they were going to make trouble. The only crime that the faculty might have committed was by opening up people's minds so that they could listen to these people. There were meetings going on all the time in the student union, and there was one I walked into, when they were talking to these five young men that had come in.

They said, "We came here looking for what's happening. If it isn't happening here, then we'll do it."

The reaction of the students was, "Get the hell out of here. We really don't need you."

That's why I say outsiders, because I knew these five people, and I saw them, and I talked with them, and I heard them talk. It wasn't people like Dan McKinney, Brooke Piper, Dan Teglia, or me who caused trouble or anything. There was this outside influence that came in with these people to disrupt the things that were happening here. I don't think those outside people were students and faculty members on this campus. They could have just come from downtown Reno, and that's outside far enough.

What kinds of actions do you feel were most important in cooling off the situation after the fire bombings?

Well, one thing was the people who turned off to these five cats who came on campus. The fire bombings really shook up people and made them start thinking. They started making an effort to bring themselves down. I know I had to.

But the thing that started me getting uptight again was when I heard that the cops were out for Paul Adamian the Friday night after this all was going on. I thought, "Wow, you know, they've got no business going out for professors up here."

Then that rumor proved to be dispelled later on, but the pressure that was put upon Gunter [Hiller] and Paul and Dan [Teglia] and Fred [Maher] was immense. They had to keep it cool, because everything would have blown up around here, and you know, that's not what we needed. So I would say that people have made the effort to calm down. But then, on the other hand, I remember something that Dan McKinney said: "If nothing happens here to work it out the way it's supposed to go, I think I could find myself a tree and bury myself in the middle of it, because it just won't change anything here." And I have a feeling that this university code that Procter Hug

Jr. is coming up with is the very thing that Dan is talking about. It's reactionary. It's not progressive.

How do you think events on campus affect the university's image outside?

Well, two things: Yes, I think to a small extent the university has lost its reputation of being "blah." Yet, on the other hand, because of what happened and the reactions and the measures taken against it, I think it will turn off people from trying to do anything constructive here—anything constructive and timely—because the trend that I see on this campus as something that is timely right now will not be effective here until about ten years from now. And any place that is that slow, I don't want to be there; I feel that my feelings are being restricted.

What can the university do to focus public opinion? You talk about how people feel about the university from the outside—how can the university make them feel right about the university?

Well, the university's main concern is particularly with these people who live here in Reno, the Nevada taxpayers. There's been one thing set up, and that's the Clinic over at the Center. I think it's a fantastic idea. They sat in the senate, and I heard everybody bitching about it, and I walked out. You know, I was completely foreign. I didn't want to listen to everybody complain. And I'm against committees, but I think a branch of publicity should be set up so that the conservative mode in Nevada can understand the progression that belongs in the university.

You know, the people who are in this university, particularly, are usually here for an education. They're not opened up to socialism—and I use that word in the whole progressive sense of it—you know, just to be opened up a little bit to what it could be like if the people are state supported. And it's in any sense of the word, preferable to living under a capitalistic, imperialistic state. I feel that the university is an alcove, you

know. It should be separated from society. It should not really have to answer to society that much. It should be able to progress by itself in what it is doing. And the way this university is set up, it is so connected with Nevada that it can't. It'll move forward one step and go back three.

I was just looking through some of the issues of the *Sagebrush* that came out the beginning of the fall semester, and then the ones I remember from this semester. The difference from them is fantastic, because the ones last fall were very open, and they came out with things that were very good. And in comparison, the ones that have come out this semester are very drab—compared to what it could be—because they have been restricted so much in their use of photography, material, and subjects. Maybe they felt that the trend that was existing in fall semester would make it end up like Berkeley Barb or something. I don't know how their thinking was, but I thought it was far too reactionary.

Concerning publicity, seeing that the university is in the state that it is in, it has to make the overt attempt to communicate. The administration has to defend students. Otherwise, you know, they screw themselves over in front of the people. But I don't think they should screw the students over in the same way by not doing anything. That's the reason why I participated in the USA demands to instigate the administration to move themselves. But they're so hung up in the bureaucratic bullshit and interaction and the money that comes from the outside that everything just gets stalemated.

I really can't see how this university could turn progressive in any sense of the word like other universities. I've been to Fresno State, which was very much in a similar kind of bind. Violence broke out down there because maybe the students felt they had to break out of it. And I wouldn't like to see that happen here, because it's a beautiful place and also because if any violence broke out here, the kids would be stomped in the ground or shot, in my personal opinion.

So, I've been beating around the bush, but I think that an honest effort should be made for

communication, and I mean not just communication that might come down because somebody happens to hear of something that goes around, but an overt attempt of one person to be able to communicate objectively and not have it turned around and twisted, as so many times happens.

Do you think issues of academic freedom are involved in participating in demonstrations?

Yes. Academic freedom is a belief that if a person feels one thing to be true, then it is his right to tell other people what he feels to be true. Now, the problem that occurs is that they say that one may try to force on another their feelings and their beliefs. And I heard some rightist people accusing leftist people of this when we were having all these talks here, just people getting together and talking. But the thing was that we were able to get together and talk.

I don't think anybody's rights have been infringed upon on this campus to the extent of real bodily force. I mean, I do not think the ROTC's rights at that demonstration were infringed upon. They couldn't hear everything that was going on, but the ceremony was not completely disrupted. They still had their ceremony; the demonstrators still had their demonstration.

I think that the rights of academic freedom allow a person to say what he feels to be true, to believe what he feels to be true. These university codes that have been flying around, coming out of the Board of Regents, are a direct violation of the true essence of academic freedom. When they say that a professor should be investigated for communist influence that's in his background, that leaves an area so wide open that a university is not going to be hiring anybody. And that is not part of a university. A university is to bring people together, to introduce them, to have a course on Marxism. That is, you know, what belongs in a university. You can also have a course in imperialism. It's the subject matter which counts, not people's ideals. They have the right to expound them. They have the right to do as they believe.

And nobody should be witch hunted for what they see fit.

How can students and faculty be effective politically? Or should they be trying to influence governmental policies?

The only way the students and faculty can be effective politically is when they get together. I saw schisms develop on this campus—the student body dividing into left and right, pulling the moderate people left and right. I mean, it was just like the Spanish Inquisition torture. The same thing was happening in the faculty; but it was even stranger because you had very far right people, then not so right (but still right), and the very far left people, and then “old-fashioned” liberals (and I mean, not like the old meaning of liberal, but just old-fashioned liberals, which are quite a majority).

I had an occasion to talk with six people in the agriculture college, and one of them, Dean [Glen] Peterson said he knew who I was—meaning as an activist. And he was trying to get me uptight. These other five professors were teasing him, saying, “Hey man, I don't trust you, either. You're over thirty.” This type of thing. A black friend of mine was there, also, just watching this—and it's degrees of people receptive to other people. I feel Dean Peterson is an ass because of this interaction that I had with him, whereas these other five men have risen in my estimation. They were all members of, oh, landscaping-horticulture, a division of that college.

So I feel that there needs to be a lot of communication between the faculty and the students. But when this happens, there are cries of activism, radicalism. So really, there's not that much choice of how to get people together, because they're either going to be one way, or they're going to be the other. This campus is in an area of Nevada where it can divide into a battlefield, because these people downtown are worried about the casinos getting beat up or blown up or something, so they come up here and like an ant-

eater with a poor ant, they just kind of swallow it up. But political effectiveness is in mass numbers and putting people in the right place.

Where do you think the peace movement is headed in this area?

The peace movement is headed in two directions. One, towards Charles Springer and trying to put him as a third candidate on the ballot for governorship. The other one is a setup of meetings by Pete Perriera, getting people such as Dan Teglia together with downtown people—such as the business meeting coming up with the Nevada Bar Association president and the vice-president of Dow Chemical. Get these people together, and they can talk and perhaps understand each other a little more.

I was talking to Dan about the first one, and he just made a glimpse at me when I asked him how it went. As far as Dan is going, people here are far too conservative to really be receptive to his ideas, to be able to open their minds to a point where they'd be willing to let something happen. He feels right now that they're not willing to let anything happen.

Do you have other comments you'd like to make about this whole situation?

Well, I found that I got too involved with it, too involved with it in a superficial sense. I was getting hung up, going in so many directions. When this happens to me, I get sick, and I got sick. And it's just too trying for me to be in a situation like this, and yet the way I believe puts me in the middle of the situation. So, my feelings are against super-uptight circumstances arising out of reactions. And the only way I see to prevent this is by people being perceptive and seeing that this trend is going to be coming because of this, this, and this—and do something about it.

When Dean Sam [Basta] told me that he was in favor of a P.S. system all the way through the school, well, he did get on to awarding a certifi-

cate, yet he will not do anything about it. He will not do anything about his belief. He'll just keep it inside of him and go on with his own way. It shows to me the level at this university. It shows to me that when people do have these beliefs, and they're not going to do anything, something has to serve as a catalyst. And those things don't serve as a proper catalyst. I just hope that people open up their minds. I guess that would be all I could say.

ROBERT D. HARVEY

June 1, 1970

For the record, if you'll say your name and your home and your position.

My home address? Robert D. Harvey. I live in Reno, and I'm an assistant professor of English.

Why do you think you were chosen to be interviewed?

I don't know. I suppose because it was known that I was at Governor's Day.

What was your reaction to President Nixon's decision to go into Cambodia with troops?

Well, I wouldn't say that it was one of rage, but it was one of a very intense disappointment. I thought the speech that he made—whatever it was, Wednesday or Thursday—of the week preceding Governor's Day was most upsetting. It was self-serving. He was thinking about himself. He was thinking about running for the second term. He was worrying about the fall elections and not

about the country. I thought it was an extension of the war, and I still think so.

In what way do you think the Cambodia decision was related to what happened next on this campus?

This will have to be hearsay, because I should say that on the morning of Tuesday, the fifth of May, I came over here confident that Governor's Day wasn't until Thursday.

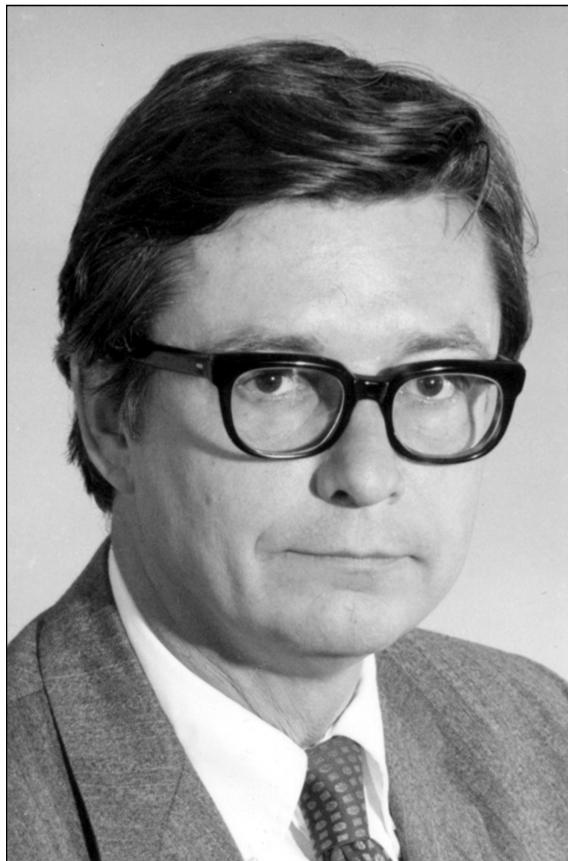
On Monday afternoon, a student who is an advisee of mine, had come into my office and mentioned something about Governor's Day, "What are you going to do about Governor's Day?"

I said, "Well, I'm certainly not going to worry about that, because it's not until Thursday."

He said, "Oh, no, it's tomorrow."

I said, "No. No, it isn't. It's on Thursday, and I can show you that it's on Thursday." And I took down the time schedule for the semester, on the front of which is identified Governor's Day as the seventh of May, and I said, "Tomorrow's the fifth of May."

He said, "What do you know about that?" and went out of my office scratching his head.



Robert Harvey, 1970s.

What I've heard since is that there were some planning sessions. A number of students and some faculty were meeting in the Hobbit Hole and perhaps elsewhere Monday afternoon and evening, late into the night.

In my opinion, on top of the decision to go into Cambodia, the incident which occurred on Monday at Kent State College pushed a number of people on the campus here, well, let's say, over the edge of ordinary rational discourse about the president's policies: the national policy in the Far East, and the whole notion of repression throughout the country. And they were working all Monday evening and had plans to disrupt the proceedings the next day.

So, on Tuesday morning, I came over to the campus as usual—about 9:00—and saw Paul Adamian wearing a striped arm band and sitting

out on the terrace of the union having a cup of coffee.

I said, "How's it going?"

He said, "Well, we're going to go up and bust up that Governor's Day thing."

I said, "Well, you're operating on the wrong day. That isn't until the seventh."

He said, "No, it's the fifth."

I said, "No, it's the seventh."

He said, "Well, what does *this* mean, then?" and handed me the paper which identified the proceedings as, of course, on Tuesday the fifth. I don't get a local paper; I get the [*San Francisco Chronicle*].

I said, "Oh. Well, I'm operating in limbo, then." And at the time that I was talking to Mr. Adamian, he said that he hadn't got much rest the night before and that he hadn't gone to bed. And he looked pretty tired and worn. I commented to Mr. Adamian that I wouldn't be interested in going up to the stadium and disrupting this ceremony.

He said, "Well, that's what we're going to do, and you can make your own decision about that." He said many arm bands had been made and [peace-]signed and that the students were going to meet down in the Manzanita Bowl.

I said it seemed to me that it would be more useful to have a counter-demonstration such as they had had the year before, which I thought was fairly successful—several hundred students down in the Manzanita Bowl. As a matter of fact, according to the student newspaper of May 1969, the peace rally had drawn more people than the Governor's Day ceremony. And this seemed to me to be a success.

He said, "Well, that's not enough. We're going to go up and bust up the thing."

At that point, it was brought to my attention somehow or other—I've forgotten how—that the governor had arrived on the campus and was in the Jot Travis Union. And I decided then to walk upstairs and speak to N. Edd Miller and perhaps to the governor and suggest to them that they acknowledge the mood that the students were in.

That is to say, not speak to the students necessarily, but add some remarks at the stadium which would acknowledge the historical events of the Cambodian decision and what I regard as the massacre at Kent State.

I went up there, and when I got up there, I found the room full of brass—a great many uniforms—and some ladies. It was like some nineteenth century military tea. I walked in, and I felt very uncomfortable in this room. I went to the president, who was speaking to Procter Hug, and I rather abruptly interrupted them and stated my grievance and asked them if they would respond to this situation. I then added that there were several hundred students who were very excited and who seemed to be interested in demonstrating, and that they were planning to march to the stadium, and that one way to handle that would be, perhaps, to say something about Kent State.

I said, “Don’t you feel, gentlemen, don’t you feel uncomfortable in this room? I feel very uncomfortable in this room on this day. Here we are very concerned about peace, very concerned about the military, and very concerned about repression in this country—and here we are standing around with cups of coffee and tea in our hands, talking to people in uniform.” At this point, someone came up to President Miller, and he turned away without responding to me.

Procter Hug (whom I’ve met many times, and he knows who I am, as, of course, the president does) turned to me and said, “What do you mean? What do you want me to do? What is this all about?” I tried to explain to him what it was all about, repeating what I’d just said. He said he was most fascinated, most interested and curious, and very honest with me. It was clear to me that he was aware that I really did have something on my mind, but he didn’t know what to do about it.

So, as he hesitated, I then said, “Is the governor in the room?”

He said, “Yes, he’s over there.”

I said, “I’ve never met him.”

I waited for a moment, and Mr. Hug made no move, and so I said, “I’m going to go over and

talk to the governor.” So, I went over and introduced myself to the governor, who was talking to Frankie Sue Del Papa, and told him who I was. I said, “This is going to sound a little strange, perhaps. You don’t know me. But there are two-hundred-fifty, three-hundred students who are interested in demonstrating against the Cambodian decision and against the massacre at Kent State. And although it’s not my part to tell you how to respond to historical events, Mr. Laxalt, if I may suggest, I think it would be an extremely useful thing if you would add a couple of remarks to your speech this morning, acknowledging the kind of emotion that some people are undergoing with respect to the Kent massacre and the Cambodian decision, particularly, on a day honoring the military.”

He said, “I’m not *making* a speech.”

I said, “Well, then, *make* a speech.”

He then looked at me very closely, put his hands up in front of his body, waved them back and forth, and said, “No way. No way. My friend Governor Rhodes of Ohio is running for the Senate nomination today, and I’m not going to embarrass him in any way. I don’t want any story going out on the national wire from Nevada that would embarrass him.”

I said, “I’m disappointed, Governor. I can understand why you might not respond to me, but I think you’re making a mistake.” He smiled, and I smiled. And I left.

I then went downstairs and discovered that the students were moving down to the Manzanita Bowl. So, I went down there and I met, oh, probably eighty or a hundred students who were there. There was some sound equipment which was not functioning, and many people were wearing striped arm bands now with the peace symbol on them. And I met James Hulse. Now, this was very reassuring to me. Hulse is a good friend of mine and a very stable character. We sat on the grass for a few minutes, and several students were raising questions as to what they should do.

Several students said, “Let’s pick it up and go up to the stadium,” and several questions were raised. “What shall we do when we get to the

stadium? Shall we pick up a stone?" And there was a chorus of no's. They should not pick up a stone.

Two or three students, and also Professor Adamian, said, "We have talked about it enough. Let's go." And suddenly, people started moving.

Hulse looked at me and said, "I think we ought to say something."

I got up and said, "Do you really want to disrupt this service, this ceremony, or do you want to counter-demonstrate down here?" There were several voices on both sides, but the crowd by this time was moving, so we followed the crowd. And as we walked up past the administration building and the humanities building, we found a number of cars lined up to take people from the reception at the Jot Travis Union up to the stadium.

Mr. Hulse and I were in the rear, and we discovered immediately that there was a movement to stop this procession. We were walking in, oh, you know, a fairly dignified way past these cars, and I was practically opposite the door of the union before I realized that there was some effort to block the motorcade. I passed the marshal of the university [Alex Dandini], also a friend of mine, and he was looking very grim indeed. I smiled and nodded to him as we went by. Then, I made the discovery that the motorcade was being blocked, that the students were pushing on the cars and what-have-you, getting in between the cars, and lying down so as to prevent their movement.

And I, then, along with several other people, including at one point Mr. Adamian, tried to pull students away from the cars. We physically grabbed several students by the wrists or the arms and pulled them up if they were sitting down and pushed them away from the cars and said, "Don't block the motorcade. Don't block these cars."

We then got to the head of the procession, where the cars had been moving for a few feet and then stopped by the pressure of many bodies around the car. At this point, we were between Lincoln Hall and the library, and it was a very narrow place—a place where they could easily

block the cars. By this time, people were shouting, and the students were pounding on the roofs of the cars. Several students had jumped up on the hoods of a couple of the cars. And it occurred to me that to be in a car, with so much noise and pounding and so many people pressing, might be a somewhat terrifying experience.

One boy, Tom Myers (a history graduate student, I believe), was up on the hood of the front car. I didn't hear what he was saying. I thought he was demonstrating. According to Mr. Hulse, he had jumped up in order to get enough attention to tell people to get away from the car. At any rate, a military officer [Robert Hill] got out of the car, grabbed him by the back of the belt, the small of the back, and yanked him unceremoniously off the car. Tom Myers is a large boy (and the military officer was also a well-built gentleman) and did not like being handled this way and felt, no doubt, that he was misunderstood.

At that point, I and Mr. Maher (a graduate student in the English Department) jumped between these two men and pushed them away from each other. They were about to trade blows. The noise was deafening, and this formed a kind of hypnotic response in people at this point. The noise bouncing off the walls of the library and Lincoln Hall was kind of an echo chamber there.

In any case, the students then did get away from the cars. Most of the rest of the cars had apparently turned around and gone off to the south, and there were only two or three cars being blocked, and we waved the cars on through and then continued.

Now, they were somewhat frightened as what might happen as the thing went on. Mr. Hulse and I continued to walk with the students up to the stadium. Now, there was a considerable amount of high spirits, but no actions were taken that anyone could object to as we went up to the stadium. Mr. Hulse, meanwhile, had talked to Procter Hug and had told me as we walked up there that he had done so, and that Procter Hug had suggested that it would be all right if the students would walk three times around the stadium track. And it was ambiguous whether he meant

that then they should leave the stadium, or whether they should sit down in the stands somewhere. I never understood that. Mr. Hulse later told me that he understood Procter Hug to say that they should march around three times and then get out.

So, we entered the stadium. The troops were standing at parade rest, near the east side of the stadium and facing the western stand. The governor's car and what-have-you had arrived. All the dignitaries were in their boxes with a very small crowd and the president of the university. As we came in some 300 strong, marching four abreast, we realized that there were more of us than there were of them. I think at that point—perhaps, perhaps not—it occurred to many there that it was their stadium, and it was going to be their ceremony and no one else's.

We then marched up north past the stands and continued in a clockwise fashion around the track twice, and not three times. As they passed the flagpole at the north end, some students were carrying a peace flag—a large blue flag with the peace symbol on it—and they decided to run up the peace flag. Now, I thought there was a flag at the top of the pole, and I was about to stop them, because I had the notion that they were going to run down the American flag and put up the peace flag. And I looked at the pole, and I can't tell you how charmed I was to discover there was nothing at the top of the pole. So I then continued near the front of the procession, and the students tried to figure out how to attach a flag to a rope—and weren't able to solve that knotty problem.

We then continued down the east side, moving now southerly, and there was considerable interest among the students. They were quite raucous, shouting cat calls and what-have-you to move off the track and start messing up the military formation of the cadets. I think many of us—I, Fred Maher, Adamian himself, and several others—were instrumental in preventing the demonstrators from leaving the track. It seemed to me that, at any time, if one were able simply to look at some excited demonstrator and ask him what he was doing, that he pretty quickly sobered up.

We continued then to the southern end of the field, where it became clear to some that there was indeed a flag in front of whatever the building is south of the stadium [Hartman Hall], and another flagpole flying the American flag. It occurred to some to go down and take down the flag. I then commented, "Well, you're going to have me to fight if you try that." And it was probably simply a wayward thought anyway, but this was not done. No one went down there.

We then continued around, marched again past the reviewing stand and completed another circle of the whole track. As we were coming in a southerly direction a second time, they were thinking now of going into the stands, and it occurred to some of us to move people into the stands on that [east] side of the stadium—and keep them out of the crowd that had come for the ceremony. It was pointed out by several that this would have the virtue of separating people, but it would also have the reverse of virtue in polarizing the people in the stadium. It would be better to get everybody mixed up with each other and not have two cheering factions, more or less, on opposite sides of the field. So, we did not move into the eastern stands.

We came around, and walked up and sat in the stands. We moved up behind the people who had come for the ceremony, behind the dignitaries. There was a roped-off area which was empty, and so demonstrators stepped over the ropes and moved in there. There was no question but that there were more demonstrators than people already sitting in the stands.

Then the ceremony began, and as the ceremony began, there was no recognition on the part of the people running the ceremony that anything strange or untoward had already happened—either in Cambodia or in Washington or at Kent State or, indeed, earlier on in the stadium. It was as though we were in a vacuum. Many persons felt very upset that they were given no chance to alter the nature of the program. They certainly had already altered the nature of the experience of Governor's Day, but they wanted some feedback. They wanted something from the people who were running the ceremony. They

wanted the governor to say something, I'm sure. They wanted the president to say something.

So, they got noisy. And, of course, they applied the dialect of the young, which is to say, twelve-letter words. And, of course, some of the dignitaries' ladies found their sensibilities somewhat annoyed by these goings-on. It wasn't simply, however, cat-calls. The students had decided that they were, indeed, going to take over the ceremony, and so they sang songs. I thought they were a fairly good-mannered—not well-mannered crowd, but a good-humored crowd. They were not in an ugly mood. They did not want violence now at all, indeed, if they ever had. Their actions were theatrical and symbolic.

They wanted to take down the flag earlier on and trample on it and run up their flag. This would have been a symbolic act. It did not occur. During the ceremony, they wanted to take the ceremony's meaning and reverse it. The ceremony's meaning was to praise cadets for military efficiency and other virtues, and what these people wanted to do was to damn them for those very virtues, or to make clear that, in their opinion, these were not virtues but sins of one sort or another—"A good soldier is a dead soldier." So, they sang—they mocked. They sang "Onward Christian Soldiers" and drowned out the young officer or cadet, whoever he was, who was reading the entire program. No change was made in the program.

The only interruption by the people in charge of the ceremony was one by the president of the university, who finally decided to get up and say, "I ask you now to behave yourselves and to allow the ceremony to proceed. I think you are being very ill-mannered"—and that sort of thing. But there was no attempt on anyone's part managing the ceremony to give any genuine acknowledgment to the feelings of the demonstrators.

Incidentally, several of the faculty were now acting, although without any official capacity, as monitors—Mr. Backman, Mr. Hulse, I, Mr. Richardson (Sociology Department), and Ben Hazard (Art Department, a very visible man). We were trying to make ourselves very visible to stu-

dents and constantly talking with different students and saying, "Let's keep it cool. Let's keep it cool."

Meanwhile, a small group of black students—ten or fifteen black students—had decided to be provocative. They did not come up and sit in the stands. They sat on the edge of the grass a short distance south of the reviewing stand or the dignitaries' box, but on the playing field within the oval track. And they set up a certain amount of cat-calling down there and asked other demonstrators to, "Come join us. Come join us." By ones and twos, they did.

I'd say that the one provocative act that Mr. Adamian did make during the day was *not* made at this time.

Mr. Adamian, who was sitting and standing near me, suddenly tore himself away from me and said, "Let's go down on the field and set up a kind of a cheerleader's rally cry." With the motions of his arms and shouting very loudly, he ran down the steps onto the center track and across. No one followed him at that time. I shouted after him, "Paul, Paul, don't be foolish!" And across the way he went.

We attempted to keep people cool. We also attempted, as the movement began to go down into the field by ones and twos to prevent that, to ask people to stay in the stands and not mix it up in the field. We were unsuccessful in this. During the next half an hour or so, it was unbelievable to us (to Mr. Hulse, to me, and to several of the faculty who were acting as monitors more or less) that they did not truncate the proceeding. We had no idea how long we could hold these people, and we knew that they were students. We knew that they were very angry, and we were charmed whenever they acted in what seemed to us to be, however outrageous, in high spirits, in good spirits.

But as I say, in small groups, people were drifting out of the stands now and going down onto the field. And we thought this might be another potentially ugly situation. Finally, it became clear that there were many more people down on the field than there were in the stands, and so Mr.

Hulse and I decided to join them. We then walked down across, actually, the same track as Mr. Adamian, and tried to prevent the people on the field from getting close to the drill squad.

By this time, all the awards had been presented and we'd had a little marching among the cadet formations. There was one march in particular, now with fixed bayonets, and they were going to do a monkey drill. This involved displaying their rifles and marching back and forth in formation. There were now at least 200 students on the field—and not in contact with this [ROTC] group, but more or less drifting toward them.

At this point, Mr. Hulse decided that he would separate himself from us and went back and sat in the stands. We now were standing with our arms outstretched, gesturing with our arms for people to sit down—Mr. Hazard, Mr. Adamian, Mr. Backman, and Mr. Richardson (these are the

people I remember; there may have been others, perhaps Crowley, but I've forgotten). When I first said this, half of them sat down. I was struck at, you know, what a position of authority we really did have, however momentarily.

So, we now had half of them sitting down and half of them standing up and still drifting, wanting to be provocative. Meanwhile, the boys with the bayonets did march, and as they marched toward us, people began to get up again, and they wanted an encounter.

At one point, Mr. Adamian shouted at me, "Harvey, look out!" because I was about to be skewered by a bayonet. I turned around, and by that time, the military boy in formation had already received the order to turn around to about-face, and he was doing so. (It seems to me at this stage of the proceedings that Mr. Adamian was thoroughly with us in attempting to prevent any encounters—as earlier he had not been.)



"With the motions of his arms and shouting very loudly, [Mr. Adamian] ran down the steps onto the center track and across."

Finally, the groups of cadets formed up and started marching at the far side of the track, now in a counterclockwise direction marching north on the east side, and they would then pass around and march south past the reviewing stand and out of the stadium. We then formed behind them with no break, shouted our slogans, and made our gestures. So, the military contingent and the demonstrators' contingent were all one vast procession which walked out of the stadium.

As we walked out of the stadium, they seemed to have made it. There was a great deal of relief in everyone's hearts that nothing further had happened, that no heads had been broken, and no police had been called in. We then discovered that the police indeed were there, and that they had, apparently, had orders to stay out of sight. There were several police, with helmets and what-have-you and sticks, down over the rise of the entrance to the stadium. It seemed to us that not only had we been fairly intelligent, and that the demonstrators had been fairly good humored, but that the president had been wise in having police there and not ordering them into the stadium.

So, that's what happened on Governor's Day, at least at the stadium. I should add about the whole demonstration that I've described that it was, in my view, spontaneous. No one led it. I referred to a number of the faculty as being informal monitors. As I say, I didn't even know there was Governor's Day at 9:00 that morning, and I'd say that most of the faculty that were involved were involved after the fact. There was a spontaneous fact in that the actions which took place were spontaneous.

Later on, there were meetings—endless, endless meetings at all times. You want to hear about all that more?

The next question is your reaction to the violence that followed Governor's Day.

Well, there were two violent acts, I guess. There was a great deal of talk Tuesday afternoon about shutting down the place. Again, it seems, to me that this was more reaction to the feeling

that the authorities were not responding to and not acknowledging the feelings of several hundred demonstrators.

During the moratorium in October or November, the President of the United States had said that no demonstrators would change his policy, that no demonstration would alter his policy, and this seemed, in effect, a provocative act to many people interested in demonstrating. The Constitution guarantees to the American citizen a right to petition and to a redress of grievances and what-have-you, and of course the notion is that petitions will redress grievances. The force of the feeling behind petitions and demonstrations and what-have-you, that they will at least be acknowledged, was ignored.

The feeling on Tuesday afternoon in small groups here and there among students and some professors, was that the university authorities were stupid—that they should acknowledge them. Ultimately, they did, I suppose, in a way, when it became clear to President Miller that there was interest in striking in the university and shutting it down. He then stated that attendance of classes on Friday—the day of the national memorials for the Kent students—would not be mandatory, and that no action would be taken against faculty or students who failed to attend classes that day. (It has come to my attention that there has, in fact, been some attempt on the part of a couple of professors to penalize students who didn't turn up that day, even after the president . . .).

At any rate, it seems to me *that* announcement, which came very, very late (as I recall, it came Thursday morning) was the first genuine, public response of the president to the force of this kind of emotion. I thought he was slow. I thought he should have reacted very openly Wednesday morning. He wasn't ready to do so. Of course, the pressure that he's under is not the pressure that I'm under.

Anyhow, Tuesday afternoon, there were some speeches down in the Manzanita Bowl, and there was a group of gentlemen. Mr. Hulse, I believe, organized this group and met over in the Center Tuesday afternoon with students and faculty, to

try to get some notion as to what further actions might be taken, and what sorts of things might be planned or be spontaneously engaged in.

Now, there was talk Tuesday afternoon—Mr. Hulse raised the question that maybe we ought to reorganize the peace group. I was out of the country in 1968 when Eugene McCarthy's campaign got going. Mr. Hulse was a delegate at the Democratic convention in Chicago that summer and had been an active worker for Senator McCarthy and had been involved with [the Northern Nevada Peace Group]. When McCarthy's campaign collapsed, the peace group collapsed. What Mr. Hulse was suggesting in May 1970 was perhaps reorganizing this in order to provide an outlet for the kinds of feelings that so many people seemed to be having. This struck a number of persons at the meeting Tuesday afternoon as foolish. "Oh, another goddamn committee. What we want is action! What we want to do is shut the goddamn place down!" And once again, the dialect came on. We had some wonderful, flavorful twelve-letter adjectives about the word "University of Nevada."

Once or twice, one heard the expression, "Well, I wouldn't be sorry if I woke up tomorrow morning and the goddamn ROTC was ashes." I'd say that this, again, was theatrical, symbolic assertion. Nevertheless, Wednesday night, the place was bombed (at least I guess it was Wednesday night, wasn't it? I can't remember for sure. I'm confused now as to when the two bombings took place. I guess one of them must have taken place early Wednesday morning and the other one must have taken place, what—Thursday? I can't remember).¹

Anyway, [Wednesday] was a long day. There was a certain amount of interruption of classes. Even on that day, I attended my classes. On [Wednesday], I had scratched a three hour seminar from 12:00 to 3:00 that day in order to be present at what seemed to me to be interesting, perhaps important, goings-on. And I'd gone to my class at 10:00 and my class at 12:00. There was great pressure among students to talk about what had happened the day before on [Tuesday],

and I allowed this for about half a period in the 10:00 class and did not allow it in the 12:00 class, which was a class of senior undergraduates and a couple of graduate students. Instead, I told those people that they would have the opportunity to go to a memorial service on Friday at 12:00, and I told the 10:00 class that if they wanted to meet, I would meet the class on Friday, and we could decide then what we wanted to talk about.

To get back to the Tuesday afternoon, nothing very decisive was concluded at that time except that someone did come in from the ticker tape in the Mackay Social Science Journalism Department, which stated that somebody, some peace group in Washington, had sent out on a national wire the notion that there would be a candle-lit march or candlelight ceremony of some sort on Thursday evening and memorial services on all campuses throughout the country at 12:00 Friday. We then started to plan.

The only thing that did come out of this Tuesday meeting was the plan to have, indeed, a candlelight ceremony on Thursday evening in Manzanita Bowl and have a memorial service on Friday. Two committees were formed, then, out of the people present to talk to speakers, people who might speak at either one of these. And I suggested that Bill Thornton might wish to speak, and that maybe Larry Hyde would speak.

By this time, it was clear to me that there was going to be quite a reaction in the community, undoubtedly because of the response of some of the dignitaries in the stadium. It was clear to me on the march up and while there that there was going to be quite a reaction to what was going on in the campus, and undoubtedly it would be misunderstood or overreacted to. It was clear to me that it would be a good thing to have some community people identified with the memorial services. So, that evening the committees met and worked out what sorts of people we would like to have. Then and there at the Center that evening, Tuesday evening, we made several phone calls and got George Herman, Frankie Sue Del Papa (who sent a substitute because she was going to go to the regents' meeting in Elko), Larry Hyde, and Bill Thornton.

I called Thornton and asked him if he would like to take part in this, and he said, as a matter of fact, he was very deeply moved by the Cambodian venture and the Kent State killings and was thinking of establishing a peace chair, offering peace prizes on Governor's Day—not just military prizes, but peace prizes also. Ultimately, he didn't make this announcement on Friday.

Anyhow, Ken Carpenter and I were talking to each other after this meeting Tuesday, and we decided that we would go to the president and ask him to make some announcement. So, we met and talked to him very early Wednesday morning. Well, Wednesday and Thursday there were many, many meetings of various factions of students. There was an effort on the part of the deans—apparently at the direction of the president—to suggest that faculty be present at these meetings where everything might take place. So, at numerous times, I found myself meeting Jim Hulse or meeting Ken Carpenter and going and hearing the same arguments. It got to be boring insofar as an intellectual experience, but it was always interesting as an emotional one. And as theater, it was curious and fascinating to hear people who obviously didn't like each other actually listening to each other—for the time being, anyway. John Dodson, it seems to me, was absolutely marvelous as a master of ceremonies or a moderator for a couple of these. He managed to keep people cool and allow for various views to be expressed.

The second bombing struck me as thoroughly predictable, and of course, it occurred to me and others that both of them were done by the same people. I haven't the slightest idea who committed either one of these outrages, and I regard them as outrages, even though no loss of life was made. I was, however, fascinated at the notion, too. And many, many, many of the students, of course, were fascinated at the response to the bombings in the community. In the minds of the community, both bombings were caused by peace demonstrators, and if there hadn't been any demonstration, there wouldn't have been any bombings. Therefore, the demonstrators were responsible for them. Maybe

that's true. I don't think it helps. The intensity of the reaction to the dynamite thrown against a wall, it seemed to me, was curiously greater than the intents of many minds, many hearts—curiously greater than the intensity of reaction to the feelings of most students: "Oh, life and property." So much for the violence.

Of course, there was some physical violence fairly muted, I thought. A lot more talk about it. Well, actually, what I heard was pretty much on the cowboy side as it became identified. The view of the conservative agriculture students was, "All right, you hippies have pushed us far enough. We've tried to come half way to you, and what we're going to do if you keep the pressure on is take your pants off, cut your hair, and throw you in the lake." There was a little of that. I don't think anyone was actually thrown in the lake, but there was a certain amount of pushing and shoving and a little strong-arm here and there. But nothing important. (More on violence? I have nothing else.)

You had just mentioned something about the university's image or reputation with outsiders. How do you think events on campus do affect this?

This is a very conservative state, and I think this is a very anxious country that we're living in—a very anxiety-provoking time. Some people think that the mood of the country is very, very bad—I'm inclined not to think so; maybe I'm mistaken—and that we're in for a long repression, the kind that Americans who are now alive don't remember at all, and have no notion of. I hope that isn't so, and I'm inclined not to think so.

The way I view it is that the country is very anxious. They want leadership, and they want the end of the war and that sort of thing, and they hate the notion that their president is not going to get them out of this, that he's not going to be a good leader. They are frightened by people who have already decided that he isn't a good leader, and therefore, they are inclined to want to rally behind him. I think the intensity with which they

do so, the “silent majority” and all, is a measure of their anxiety that maybe things really are worse than we’d like to think in this country.

Bring this down to the University of Nevada. I think the reaction of the state is theatrical. Again, I don’t think that people rationally believe that the university is in the hands of communists, but I think that they do wish to prevent the university from becoming another Berkeley, as they say. They don’t want those things to happen here. And it’s like the agriculture school, you know. The agriculture students really don’t believe that Professor Adamian or Professor Harvey or Professor Hulse are communists—of course, they did talk with us, and we talked with them. Nor do they think that the long-haired students are, you know, some evil breed. When they actually sit down and talk to them, it becomes evident that they don’t really feel that. Nevertheless, it becomes a very simple matter to solve their problems and their anxieties by symbolic or theatrical means. And I think that that’s what the community has been doing to the university.

Now, it may be that a person like the Vice President of the United States or a person like Senator Slattery genuinely does have these feelings that demonstrators are bad people, and that they must be put down. I think it’s quite clear that Senator Slattery here is a man of no consequence in the state of Nevada, but I’ve been here for eight years, and several times I’ve seen him (or heard him, rather) rally a kind of rampant proletariat foolishness. Apparently, the meeting of the regents in Elko on Friday and Saturday was fairly wild. I wasn’t there, but I listened, and they wanted blood. They wanted a scapegoat. They wanted to be able to turn to the community and say, “Don’t you see? We’re taking care of this.”

Of course, at the same time, that’s exactly what the president wanted to say to the regents, that, “It’s all right. You don’t have to step in here. The great majority of our faculty and students and the administration itself is intelligently aware of the situation. Please do not overreact.”

So, it’s a chain of this sort of thing as you move from one level of authority to another. I

felt on Tuesday that if the authorities had made a couple of moves, that the whole thing could have been prevented. They chose not to do so, and they had their reasons. What did happen wasn’t as bad, by a long shot, as to what could have been. And to a large degree, this was due to self-policing on the part of many students and many faculty. On Wednesday, and Thursday, and Friday, same thing.

Finally, by Thursday, the president of the university was moving himself to . . . I think a certain amount of any of these persons’ moves is in response, again, to imagined moves elsewhere: in the regents, in the community. “Downtown” became quite a frightening phrase, and in some respects, still is a somewhat frightening phrase. Simply on a personal level, I could illustrate that with a party that had nothing to do with the university, really, at all. An elderly professor was celebrating a twenty-fifth wedding anniversary on this Saturday—this was two or three weeks after the event.

The marshal of the university [Alex Dandini] was present at this party. And he had had no particular occasion to speak to me since the events. But it was clear to me that he had, at *that* time, been confused and inclined to take the view that Professor Harvey, after all, was a communist. At this party, he came up to me, shook my hand, looked deep into my eyes, and said, “You’re clear.”

Now, the marshal of the university is, it seems to me, a man of mature years and a man of no particular power with respect to the state of Nevada, or the regents of the University of Nevada. Nevertheless, he felt that he should do this—he should tell me, in effect, that an investigation had been made, and that I was all right. This struck me as a measure of a kind of insanity that’s going on, and I don’t know how serious that is.

I just don’t know. I’ve been here eight years; I have tenure, and I have several responsible positions. The president is a good friend of mine. I think we understand each other. I’m very fond of him—I have very strong confidence in him. I’d hate to find that there really is a repression in the

offing, and that his job is in danger, or that he's in any danger. If he is, we all are, it seems to me.

I don't know much of the regents. I know the two Reno regents quite well, Dr. Anderson and Procter Hug, and I respect them. I think they're intelligent, and according to their likes, they move, they take action. At the moment, I'm somewhat disappointed with Mr. Hug's recent actions. It seems to me, nevertheless, that this may be a measure—according to his likes, at any rate—of the strength of the feeling of the community at large, which is negative to the university. I think that his motive, however naïve, was defensive in this recent action to interpose his authority between the community and the university. I think it was mistaken. It was an attempt to nudge the university into taking some action which he felt the community wanted and would otherwise impose.

Now, of course, at the same time, it seems to me that he is, in effect, imposing it. So, I don't know. I think that if his motive was bold (and I'm sure it was), that it was foolish. That's a measure of where we are. It seems to me a failure of communication between this university and the community at large. I don't know what the community, what the populous of the state of Nevada thinks a university is.

We were all thunderstruck by President Nixon's going out in the morning and talking to some college students and saying, "What school are you from?" And a student would respond, and he'd say, "Oh, yes. How is your football team?" and that sort of thing. Now, the President of the United States is a member of the silent majority, it would appear, and has some of the same curious notions of what a university is that "downtown" seems to have. It may be that we're in for some bad misunderstanding between the taxpayers of the state who support this university and the people who are engaged in making this a productive place. Of course, if the university is a place for social change, and if the populous pays the taxes and doesn't want this change, then there will be further clashes—no question about it.

Do you feel that issues of academic freedom are involved in participating in demonstrations?

Very much so. And I know that this is a controversial subject. There are many faculty members here with whom I've talked, who feel that our basic function is to teach our classes, period. Mr. Maher and Mr. Adamian are both charged with activities regarded as improper, and maybe they are improper. Maybe they committed these activities. I don't know. But I certainly wouldn't want to prejudice that situation.

In my view, a university necessarily is a place to create knowledge, to transmit knowledge, and to bring together informed opinions. It's a place that has its being with respect to some intellectual values. It also is a place that has its being because two generations, at least, of human beings are involved in these activities—basically, intellectual activities. When you get these groups of people into a geographical location with the purpose of discovering and transmitting knowledge, you also have, of course, a polis—a political body, a body of human beings, a community. In this state, because the university is the only institution of higher learning in the state, and further, because it is a state university, the university community becomes a kind of microcosm of movement in the thought in the state. This is true, of course, of any university, but it's perhaps somewhat more isolated, somewhat more focused upon in the state of Nevada since it is the only institution of higher learning, and because it is a public tax-supported institution.

Now then, it seems to me that the intellectual and political life of the state necessarily has a forum in the university community. Therefore, issues must be dramatized at the university. And some of these issues will be narrowly considered political issues. I think it is absolutely necessary that lines be preserved by which the act of communication and transmission—the kind of discussions of issues between adults and young people, that kind of community—needs to be protected and allowed to have its proper function.

Now, there is a point at which advocacy of particular movements impinges upon the academic freedom to move from discussion to advocacy. That, of course, is where the whole so-called university movement got started at Berkeley in 1964 with the free speech movement. The whole issue in 1964 in the fall at Berkeley was the question of whether or not state campus people could advocate certain lines of political activity. It was shocking to some people that this should be asked for or defended as proper at a university, particularly a state university.

I think we are now running into something of the same thing six years later at the University of Nevada. It is felt very deeply by some professors and some students—by no means a majority of either—that advocacy of particular lines of political activity, as well as simple discussion of issues, is part of academic freedom. In my view, it is, and I think it should be defended. In the views of some—many, I'd say, and I suspect a majority even of the faculty—this becomes a very, very highly controversial situation. In their minds, advocacy upon campus becomes indoctrination or propagandizing. It can become those things, and I would fight that, too.

I think that what I'm interested in, what I see as academic freedom is the freedom to discuss and advocate different views. But this is anxiety-producing. It's very upsetting to the people who, of course, are by themselves advocating a particular view, and they would prefer not to have any other view advocated.

Where do you think the peace movement in this area is headed?

I'd like to see it headed into political activity. There's been some talk. As a matter of fact, during the week of the trouble a friend of mine in political science from the University of California at Riverside was on a sabbatical leave writing a book in Berkeley, and he came up here to talk to some friends he had here. This situation turned up, and I chatted with this gentleman. He said that there is quite an organized effort, par-

ticularly in various branches of the University of California—I've forgotten what the word was now—but the idea is to take over and discuss the peace issue in classes, regardless of the supposed content of the classes. One will not take American literature. One will sign-up, register for these courses, and when one gets there, what one will get will be lectures on Vietnam and that sort of thing. This more or less shocked me. So, you see, I'm more conservative than this man on that point.

There has also been talk of the analogy of the old days when they used to release students from school in order to get in the crops—to release students in the last two weeks of October, say, for political activity, to not require attendance of classes, or even to shut down, dismiss classes for a two-or-three-week period and let them do political activity for candidates of their choice. There's also talk about lowering the voting age from twenty-one to twenty, or nineteen or eighteen. By the looks of the Oregon vote lately, that's not going to happen, at least not this year.

I would hope that the peace movement on this campus was politicized in a sense that they decided to get off the streets. It seems to me that demonstrations are now a cliché, and I think that the events on this campus in the last month have indicated that this is so. People do not listen to the demonstration. They see it as a familiar bit of theater, more or less, and are frightened by it. I think small group activity is, in effect, how the situation was contained on this campus: stopping mass action and getting people into smaller groups so that they could face each other and discover that all sides were human. That's the way to do it.

Now, it seems to me that banners, rallies, slogans, and what-have-you—mass action—only occurs when there is no response from authority, when large numbers of frustrated people get the notion that no one's listening to them and doesn't care what they think or feel. One way to overcome that is, of course, to organize small groups and send out small groups to talk to people. I mean quite small groups—five or ten. If these groups are organized, and if they do engage in a kind of

a political canvas, in the attempt to proselytize for certain candidates or certain issues during this election year, I think that would be proper activity. I hope that it goes that way. However, I'm not talking to them about the result of such action. The notion of the state is very likely to return a very conservative vote.

Do you have any other comments you'd like to make about this whole situation?

No, I don't think so. I think I've kind of run out of gas.

Note

1. The chronology is a bit confused here. Meetings were held all week, but the meetings referred to here in the interview as taking place on "Tuesday" appear to be a combination of events from meetings that took place on Tuesday and Wednesday. President Miller made an announcement at 5 p.m. on Wednesday evening. Hartman Hall was firebombed in the early hours of Thursday morning. The second firebombing, on the Hobbit Hole, took place the next Monday morning, on May 12, 1970. Emendations have been made, where possible, but the chronology should not be considered valid in this segment of the interview.

BENJAMIN A. HAZARD

June 15, 1970

First, if you'll say your name and your residence and your position.

Well, my name is Ben Hazard, assistant professor of art, University of Nevada. I reside in Reno.

Why do you think you were chosen to be interviewed?

Well, because of my participation in the activities of Governor's Day.

What was your reaction to President Nixon's decision to go into Cambodia with United States troops?

My reaction was very much disappointment. I'm disappointed in the fact that he took that step, which not only enlarged the war, but also in the philosophy behind it: as if one can go into someone else's home to shorten the war within his own-home kind of philosophy. His justification I don't think was great enough, especially since the first damage that was in that first home has never been

justified. So therefore, he's spreading it to someone else's home. It's turning out now that we will leave that second home, going back into the first home and leaving the second home now in turmoil. I just don't believe that that direction or that philosophy is one that's going to benefit, you know, everyone involved, but more or less it's a smaller, selfish approach.

In what way do you think the Cambodia decision was related to what happened next on our campus?

I think there were a couple of other things that took place just prior to our campus situation. One was first with the Cambodia situation. Students on this campus, I felt, were very nonviolently protesting. In fact, they were so nonviolent, the administration misunderstood it to be consent. Then, there was the Kent killing, which took place the day before Governor's Day, I think. Then the demonstration that did take place was the following morning, in which we had a military day following campuses from coast to coast being destroyed through violent methods, mainly ROTC buildings—and again, I stood and still didn't join the chorus and destroy their property.

So, as a thanks for nonviolence, we have a military day; and to me, it was, in itself, a slap in the face.

I've heard the other side stating that, "Well, the date was already programmed. We can't change it." My philosophy with any institution or any organization, the system which governs it is not a law or a pact situation; it's basically a guideline, which usually runs under the normal circumstances: we will do this, or we should do that. And with the Kent killing, the Cambodia situation, and the national disturbances across the country, this was not a day of business as usual. But a lot of politicians and people really do not project both sides of the coin, but constantly involved with that one side, they fail to see this; therefore, they take the student as a threat against their manhood rather than a question being asked by some students, whether it be as the minority or the majority, and give them some kind of consideration, or at least listen where you can understand.

The disturbance as it took place got a little bit out of hand, and I do not blame the students. I blame myself, and I blame 90 percent of the professors on this campus. I blame them, especially myself, because I came from Berkeley. I've been in a lot of demonstrations, and I've never been in a violent or hostile demonstration. I've never been in a demonstration that ran into conflict, outright confrontation. I've seen them. I've seen people being shot, I've seen them being hurt, and I've seen property destroyed. I've seen police riding down the street shooting out of windows of cars, and as people were being hit, ambulances lined up like taxicabs: one picks them up, takes off; the next one pulls up. I've seen hospitals surrounded by the police where you can't get in unless you go through the police first. It hurt me so much that I couldn't stand it, and I finally left. And I came here hoping to prevent that type of situation.

But I feel like I failed because when I received a call that those kids were getting together to plan a demonstration for the following day, I didn't go and help them. I had my son, and he was re-

ally tired, and I had to get him to bed. I didn't have time to get a babysitter since I had like a thirty-minute notice. We had just gotten back from San Francisco—from Berkeley, where I also have a house—and he was very tired.

So, I did not go and help them organize a peaceful demonstration consisting of monitors, which help keep the ranks and act like a police force of the demonstration. I didn't seek out legal aid, to make sure there were some attorneys there to protect the students on a legal basis, or make sure there were medics there to make sure that if anything did break out that medical attention could be provided on the spot.

Then, after reading the list of professors that signed the petitions the prior day in regards to President Nixon's acts from Cambodia, these professors were not there, either. In fact, they didn't even appear at the demonstration. So then you have a bunch of young people who felt disturbed about Cambodia and Kent, but they're wanting to do something to voice, nonviolently, their feelings. As young people without all the experiences of life, they went with the only tools that they had at their disposal. Being very young, they are not aware of some of the implications involved, and neither I nor these other professors were there showing them.

When I saw the crowd jump up and get ready to move out, then I knew I had to do something, and I better do it fast. So, I took on a leadership role, knowing that they would be looking, knowing that they would be misinterpreting and misunderstanding (but they always do that, so I've given up on that kind of philosophy). But my decision was I had to do something to prevent these kids from going through the same hell that I've seen take place in Berkeley and Oakland and across the country. So, I got out there, took a leadership position, and helped direct the crowd in the most contained manner as possible—the most un-mob-like. But at this time their frustration had reached such a peak that it wasn't a matter of them demonstrating their feelings.

It's almost as if you were standing next to a friend and being held underwater, and you see

how long you could hold your breath. You know, we used to play these games with kids. If you're ready to come up for air, and you gently tap the guy on the leg, meaning, "Listen, I'm drowning. I can't hold my breath any longer. Please let me up." You ask in a nice way, but I'm too busy looking at beautiful things around me. I don't pay any attention. So, you bang harder, and I still don't. If you looked down on the ground and found a knife and you stabbed me in the leg, can I accuse you of being violent? Can I accuse you of all these other things? Or should I *first* accuse myself of being so naïve and so ignorant, and then take my consequences—and then talk about the violent actions you took, and maybe show you all the other ways you could have approached it? But no. These kids got so hot and so frustrated, they're starving for air. They're drowning. No one is giving them consideration.

They did march around the field. They sat in the stands. Not President Miller nor anyone else got up and said, "I think it's a tragedy about what happened at Kent State. Let's take a moment of silent prayer," and then proceed on with the ceremonies. No, they act as if Kent State, which was less than twenty-four hours old, had never existed. They act as if there was *nothing* happening across the country. Business as usual. The funny thing about it, the only students in the stands can be counted, probably, on both hands. The rest of the stands are filled up with parents, and then, collectively, they didn't amount to fifty. Then you had the band, and you had the regents, and then you had the officers. You did not see the students out there.

So, one said, "Well yes, what about our boys out on the field?"

"They were not out there because they wanted to be out there. They were out there because they were told to."

"Sure," the officers will say, "You don't have to be out there."

But let them *not* show up. I've been in the service. I spent my time and got an honorable discharge, and not the straight honorable—I didn't just do my duty. Mine was above and beyond the call of duty. I didn't go to war; it was in peace

time. But I'm not one that just rides the wagon, and just be nice. I'm open and honest, and I do things to help people, and my record will show it from my military life all the way to the present. I won't just be the nice guy sitting in an office, that one nice Joe. I will go out and try to actually help people. I know how the military runs. You do not ask questions; that is a mortal sin. You do it because you're told to.

They probably were given a choice to go out there or not, but if they didn't go out there, they also would find themselves right out there on latrine duty or parading the field or some other activity that would be very distasteful. So, if they were really given an option, I mean they wouldn't be there. So the majority out there were these students. So these students do not represent the majority of the campus. But the majority of the campus also is represented by those ROTC kids who are there because they were told to be there, and the consequences, you know, would have been something else. That's why you didn't see them there, period.

A lot of these students, if they really did understand, came out of some of these meetings we've had following those demonstrations, following the bombings. They also realized that they were in quite a bit of agreement with what [Spiro] Agnew called the "dirty dissidents"—it's just that they didn't go for the tactics. At the same time they also realized they did not understand the frustration which caused the action. The meeting and purpose they went along with 100 percent, but the exact direction they took is what Agnew calls "the silent majority." The majority, the *vast* majority of people, I feel, are really *against* the war, against the Cambodian situation, but they're quiet. They're afraid to speak out.

You know, I can remember when I was young that I was afraid to say something because I was afraid I'd say something wrong, and I'd be laughed at, I'd be humiliated, or I'd be degraded. It's something that's very strong in a lot of our minds until we're trained to overcome this.

You hear them talking about the education: "We don't want to close the schools down." The students don't want the schools closed down ei-

ther. They feel that the schools haven't been taught the same way that they were being taught fifty years ago, when at that time we were training people for skill. It was more of a training school to make the nation grow. But now that we have achieved those goals set up at that time, the goals—once they've been accomplished—changed; we have new goals. Now, the kids are demanding not just a training school, but a school of education: teach you how to think, teach you the type of alternatives available, but let *you* make the alternative. But we're not trying to do that. You talk about getting a communist on campus. Oh, Lord! Whole world based on why we got to protect ours. We don't want to give them that choice. Well, we're not giving that as a choice; just let them be aware of it.

If you know that your way is right and honest and good, then why should you fear it? Why do you feel so incompetent about it? I really feel sorry for those flag-waving people. I am more American, I feel, than anyone. I feel so American that I don't have to go around waving flags so you *know* that I'm American. My actions, my deeds, my words will show you that I am an American. For one to have to raise the flag and wave it in front of everyone else's faces to be secure about it So therefore, they must do something to convince you that they are an American. But I'm not against them. If this is the way they feel, I think that's good.

But I still think that the students today are more aware of a lot of things. They are more unaware of a lot of minor things. I have a young roommate, and, you know, he'll see a stack of dirty dishes and won't realize that he should clean them up. So they're lacking in some of the basic moral things, but they're very far advanced on the national and social level. You see the students going to long hair direction because the society that they've been raised up under has projected so much of the emphasis on materialistic things that they get confused, and they're now avoiding anything materialistic. I don't think it's so much that they despise beautiful hair, nice jewelry, a fine car, or a lovely home; it's that our trade school

method of education has taught us to value these above all. Will your Cadillac give you the right to kill a guy if he's stealing the hubcaps off it? That a guy tearing down a fence to run over it faster can be shot to death, and no other alternative is given—that is it, and they're just fighting against this kind of concept.

For Governor's Day here, I think we should really be very proud, under the circumstances, to have it go as peacefully as it did. People say, "Well gee, well, these kids don't really understand. I mean, they're violating someone else's right." I agree. I agree. Just like that guy who stabbed me in the leg when I was holding him underwater. He violated my right to stand there in the water when he stabbed me in the leg while I was holding him down. Now, if I wasn't holding him down, then we would have an argument. But, by the mere fact that you never gave these students a chance to listen, to say what they have to say—and when you listened, too. President Miller says, "Yes, we gave them rights to march on the field, and they can give all the speeches they wanted"—*after* they left. He still wouldn't sit there and let them stay where they all could listen.

I've been able to hold the lid down on the situation, not by being with the leftists. I don't go to the meetings. I don't meet with a bunch of black people down in ghetto village. I know how they think, so I don't have to go there and listen to it over again. I know how they think, so I don't have to go there and give them my impression. Our goal in the administration . . . I'm sitting here right now because of that same reason, because I feel like I could be of better help if I know how you think, how the institution thinks, how the administration thinks—someone who is not necessarily black, also who is not necessarily on the far left. Well, go see the far right guy. Figure out why he does what he's doing. And maybe, if I'm open and honest enough, he will find a hole in my philosophy or my way of thinking. And I was able to help on both sides because of that.

There was one student who was out in the field. He couldn't stand just standing back there chanting. He wanted to go up there and grab an

ROTC guy and grab his gun from him, and I had to stop him. I said, "What do you want to do that for?"

He said, "I just can't sit here and chant!"

I said, "All right. If you want to be so violent, if you feel so dedicated, do it where it counts." We're talking about choice now: I said, "Do it where it counts. These kids out there in the field, with their little green uniforms and their guns, know no more about the war than you do. They have seen no more of the war than you have. They sit with you in your same classroom. *Why* are you going to get him? If you *feel so dedicated* and that your cause is so right, go over there! See, there's eight generals sitting in that front row. Go grab one of them. [whispering] Beat the hell out of them, because you know they've seen it."

"If you *really feel*, go beat the hell out of one of them. If that's not strong enough, see that next row? That far end, that's Governor Laxalt, and the other end is President Miller, and all these other people like senators and all the other heavies. Go whip one of them. Beat the hell out of one of them. If *that's* not strong enough, or if that's too strong, then the next row is all regents. [whispering] Go grab one of them."

"And the parents, you go grab one and beat the hell out of one of them—if you feel so convinced that your way is right. Otherwise, get the hell back in there and act like you've got some sense."

And, you know, I gave him the choice, but I gave him the open and honest choice. I not only gave him the choice of what to do, but also let him be aware of the consequences involved. [pounds on table twice for emphasis]

That's why I'm against when someone says, "Don't have the communists come here, come and teach, because they infiltrate the brain."

Aw, come on. I've learned, because I have gone to places where I've seen the communists get up there and talk—and every time I've seen them get there and talk, I've seen them get booed off the stage. Never fails, because they come off so trite. They even make some of our stereotyped *right-wing* extremists look heavy. And so that's

why I don't worry about them. Because I know who I am. I *demand* my education, and I demanded more than what they were producing. My demand to my student, I say this: "Listen, I will teach you the best I know how, but if you accept everything I give you, you're a fool, a damn fool. You better demand more. Even though you know I'm giving everything, demand more. Because when you leave this classroom, *that's* where it's going to count.

"I could be nice and treat you great inside a class, and what in the hell is going to happen to you when you leave this goddamn room? What will you do out there in that field? What would you do if you're in sociology with these people? What would you do if you're in the Ag. Department where you learn how to plant corn and raise cattle and you go into India? Do you know anything about people in India? Do you know anything about human beings? You may come with all your nice conceivable training in how to raise cattle—and you go to India, and that's a taboo to eat them?

"But you get a look at your education, the education that you're given, and now you've got to demand more. But there's a right way. And the right way is making you fully aware of all the alternatives, and then giving you the insight and all the sense and the credit that you're a human being and have some common sense (evidently, you must have had to pass these tests to get in here), and have enough faith in you that you're going to pick the right one. And if you pick the wrong one after knowing all the consequences—and you're going to go that way all along—you might as well find out right now so you won't take too many other people with you."

And in every case, they come out like champs. I feel proud to be an instructor, and I'm privileged—for the first time in my life I feel like I'm really making an inroad.

No, I'm not being a communist. I don't need to bring them. I don't need to bring them. But I can give them enough and give them enough alternatives where they know where to go. I don't go teaching like I know it all. I teach them how to

find it all. I give them what experiences I have only as a pusher—to push them into something else. They ask me a question. If I don't have the answer, I tell them where to find the answer. I don't start, "Well, uh, we'll forget that right now. We'll come back to it next week." Now, was I not so damn insecure that I feel like I've got to have all the answers?

I have my students teaching each other. You come and you're a little more advanced than this guy. OK, this guy, he's got a good style but needs a little more help in this area. "Well, you're pretty good in that area, so you work with him." So, I'm working with this kid who doesn't know a damn thing about it. So, this kid who is with him nine or ten times turns out to be the better. Everyone in the class will come out ten times greater than they were when they went in there, and I made this demand on myself. I will tell the whole class, "I am *not* here for you to like me. You're not supposed to. You're here to get all you can get out of me. If you like me, then you'll accept anything I give you *as is*—and then you're in trouble, because you won't know what to look for. And if something bad comes at you . . . I could be coming at you, upside your head with a stick, and you'll never realize it until I hit you with it—because I'm a human being also, and thereby, I'm subject to errors. So, if you don't start questioning me, then you'll accept some of the errors that I may teach and not know it, because I never knew it. But if I can teach you how to question and *resolve*—not question and condemn, question and resolve—then you will catch me in an error, and we both can be better off, because we've both been corrected."

And it's been working. It's been working. Our demonstration on Governor's Day—back to that—I was proud of those kids.

They're attacking Paul Adamian and Fred Maher. The reason why they're attacking Paul Adamian? Because President Miller knows me. I've been at his office a lot of times prior to that day, so he knew where I was. He knew what I was trying to do way before. He knew why I was

out on the field, what I was doing out there. I've been down talking to Senator Pozzi for the past six, eight months since I've been here, keeping him up on all that's been happening. Felt really good about it. He called President Miller.

Paul Adamian? He was doing exactly the same thing I was doing, but one difference. There's one thing I wasn't doing that Paul Adamian was doing, and that was making my political statement. I didn't say, "Peace now, peace now." I said it too many times already. I know what it means. I don't have to tell them. I didn't have to wear an armband; the color of my skin is the armband I can never get rid of.

Paul Adamian was the only other professor that was keeping the lid on that situation. I'm not saying it in his defense. I'm saying it because he was doing exactly as I was doing. There were two people out there that were being respected: Paul Adamian and myself. He came in the same time I did when he saw the thing blowing up and then took it. He volunteered to take it. He held the other side of my cane to hold the kids back off the ROTC. And Bob Harvey had to pull Paul Adamian out of the way because the kids are pushing so hard he was pushed into a bayonet, but he still stood there and held those kids back. At the same time he was also saying, "Peace now." He *had* to, and if he didn't, they wouldn't have listened to him, like Bob Harvey and a lot of other professors (well, not a lot of others—two other ones, three other ones in there).

Bob Harvey told one group of kids when they were out in the field, "Don't go beyond this line!" And the kids . . . I had to save him from being whipped to death. You don't tell a bomb that's already in the process of being exploded that "we can turn it down." It's *inside* of that bomb not to explode. And stick your *finger* in there to try to put it out. All you can do is scatter the sparks. He was like sticking his finger inside of a bomb where the wick had burnt down but hadn't exploded yet, and trying to find the flame causing sparks. It was too *late* to do that. That should have been taken care of when they were planning it, and he was

not there. So, I had to come behind him and say, “No, no, no, Bob. That’s not what’s happening. That’s not what’s happening.”

I pushed him aside and saved him from being whipped and said, “Use your two front toes.” I said, “Let’s not be no fools—these guys will do us with knives. We’ll, you know, let them know how you feel, but don’t touch them, because you know you’re right, OK? Just stand up there. When that guy come walking at you with a bayonet, just stand right there. They’ll walk into you, or you step aside, and walk by you, but don’t touch them.”

Because it was already exploding. All I had to do—and I know what I was doing—is take this bomb, and redirect the explosion where it would cause less damage. It’s going to explode. The flame has burned into it already. It’s already in a frustrated stage. It’s going to explode. Now, I can do one of two things: let it sit there and explode and then destroy everything around it, or direct the energy, direct the explosion where it can cause less damage. But I have to accept it as a bomb exploding before I can find out what the hell I’m going to do with it, while all these other guys—they’re panicking. They were out in the field because they were panicking. [laughter] They had to do something.

Another guy was up in the stands saying, “Let’s get them out, let’s get them out! Let’s get them all out!”

I said, “Sure, in the middle of the ceremony, now, you’re going to have three hundred, five hundred students mobbing out into the middle of that field. And do you know what those guys are going to do? Do they know that you plan to have them locked out? No, all they think is that here comes three hundred—to a thousand—hostile people coming down here on the field, and I’m down on the field. What are they going to do? Call the cops, call the police, and call everybody else in to beat them up after they come down—because you panicked. You got so scared you wanted to get them out, but didn’t think about where the hell you were leading them. You were

leading them into direct confrontation. No, you sit down. I told you—you stay right there.”

Then another student jumps up, “Let’s go down on the field.”

I said, “What the hell you want to go out on the field for? You want to go down on the field?”

“Yes, I want to go down on the field. I can’t sit up there.”

“Well, go ahead on. If you really feel like you want to go down there, you go down there. Why would it take a whole mob to back you up? Are you that insecure? Do you really believe in it? If you really believe in it, you don’t need anybody to go with you. Or you don’t want to be noticed? You want to be hidden in the crowd. See, that’s what happened at Kent. All those three kids that were killed, not a *one* of them were even in the demonstration! The odds are always for you! I’ve seen them at Berkeley. I’ve seen them shot down in the street. Not one kid was really doing it—the rock throwing, the bottle throwing—no, those guys don’t get shot. It’s all the other ones that get shot. Sure, you call the whole crowd down. Let them follow you down there, and let them get wiped out, and you get away free. Man, you go down. If you want to go down one by one, you go down.” And the tension was getting really hot then, because one of us came over to a viewpoint of support by coming over. They want to go. But I tell them not to go, and now he’s not going to let them go.

That’s when Paul Adamian left the stands and went down there. He went down at a bad time—it wasn’t bad per se, but it was bad timing. Governor Laxalt was walking across to give an award (and I didn’t notice he was going across, no more than Paul did), and at the same time Paul Adamian shot across the field, by himself. He never raised his voice. He never told anyone he was going. But he knew what was happening, and he got up, and he went down across the field saying, “Peace.” And then, one by one, they began going across.

That’s why you didn’t see a mob running across there. That’s why the ceremony wasn’t

broken up. Because they went across one at a time and never did break up the ceremony. But had they all went at one time, the dough boys, they'd have blown up the ceremony. The dummy didn't realize it. All these great professors who are for it, sitting up there scared as hell, are going to lead the kids into a massacre because they're too damn scared to use their own common sense. Yet they will condemn these kids for *not* doing it—because, in fact, they did demonstrate and they got in the stands stomping their feet. You know, you can demonstrate, but don't do it if you're going to stir folks without demonstrating anything. They stomped their feet. Now, is that the best they could do for a demonstration? Boy, I was proud of them. I was proud of them, considering all the circumstances. All the circumstances and everyone involved.

And another reflection on Governor's Day, which got these kids about riled up. You set up all the activities for the whole year (when it's set up on the calendar), they're all things that—if you want to use a political term—the right-wingers would dig. But I didn't see anything on the schedule that anyone from the left would go for. So therefore, you have Governor's Day, you got Mackay Day, you got Queen Day, you got this day—all these things in favor for one group of people.

You've done it for all these years and say, "Well, we've been doing it for all these years."

"I know, that's what the problem is, and no one's told to call you on it. But now you will."

I say you've got to have a day for these other people. The aggies, they're getting upset now because they don't have no hillbilly music for them. You have our rock music coming in, but no hillbilly music. So everyone's being screwed up some way now, because we're saying the majority. Sure, let the majority [pounds the table for emphasis] have it the majority of the time. Well, let the minority have it the minority of the time.

You run a set of offices. We have an open election, and this is a conservative town. There's nothing wrong with it. So a group of people want to be conservatives? That's cool. Nothing wrong

with that. But when you have the election of twenty officers, and they're all conservative, that's not representation. That's why people say democracy is not the best way and the right way—that they know it at this time, but they're not questioning enough to find the way to improve it.

This is what I was talking about earlier, and that is because you're all conservatives up there. But how do you make an election that will have the majority of conservatives, since this is a conservative town, and minority of it liberal? See, it's hard if the majority always rules, until the majority becomes so much aware of the other guy's point of view. And I don't give a damn if it's conservative here like in Reno or "some kind of liberal" that's supposed to be in Berkeley. Both extremes are bad and dangerous; and the middle, dead center, is bad and dangerous. The majority should be functioning within the middle area: half-way to the left, half-way to the right, and be free enough to be able to go back and forth as need be.

There's a lot of things I do you can consider ultra-conservative. There's a lot considered liberal. I don't carry titles; I don't believe in them. I believe if one does what he must do at the time he should do it, he will find he's winning that support. But when we have to holler, "I am a leftist," or, "I am a right," or, "I'm liberal," or, "I'm conservative," or, "I'm Republican," or, "I am Democrat"—or "I am an American," or, "You're not an American"—then we find ourselves trying to copy, to follow someone else's trip.

Because we can't accept ourselves as a whole thing: we feel this, but we want to be, so won't we be like that. That's what's killing Hollywood. People realize the Hollywood image is not a real image. We can no longer try to be like that. This is what's changing Hollywood. Our whole philosophy is even that way. We've been taught the Puritan philosophy, and I call it the Puritan dilemma: that Americans are this, that, and the other thing.

They talk about it in you, a human being. The laws of the church, what they've been slapping on us, have been so inhuman it's popular. That

way, you see, the older people, when they get that old where they can't be tempted by all the vices anyway, they might as well go down and do something they believe in, something that they can believe in. And religion is beautiful for them. Religion has value. It also has its hang-ups. And I'm not an atheist; I'm very religious, so I don't misinterpret that.

The reason why, some time I'm coming back and make some of these clarifications because I got an article printed in the [*San Francisco Chronicle*] yesterday about my art. And they used Reno, three situations about Reno, and the way they are compiled, I despise and hate Reno. You don't think that what's printed was true? It said like, "I despise a trip to Reno." Well, at that time I had a VW bus and I was making trips almost every weekend, and I despised driving that bus that 270, some odd miles. It's a drag, and I despised it, because the bus was too slow. So, I get a new car, so I don't despise it so much. But they didn't put the qualification. They talked about the bug. They talked about how he despised the trip back to Reno. He says quote, "Reno is no good for art. It's the worst place in the world for art." And this was after they asked me like how am I selling—because he knows I used to sell quite a bit in the Bay Area—and how am I doing in Reno?

I said, "Well, it's the worst place in the world to sell art, because people come there to make a quick buck, not to come buy art."

But he took the people who come there to say, "You come there to earn a quick buck, and it's the worst place in the world for art."

So, put them together and quote what he said, and between the two came out a little misunderstood. But it was still true, but not quite that way. So it came out and made it look like I really hated Reno. So, even my own colleagues who should know better came back last night and really were upset and said, "Well, gee, that just represents the whole Reno . . ." (blah, blah, blah). And I've gone through all kinds of hell with the faculty here.

I had the worst times in my life being in Reno. Like I had cops over at my house, and they al-

most kicked me out for no reason. My rent was supposed to be due, my term was supposed to be due in July. He had the cops in June there because I wasn't out by June 1st. I had had a house rented, so I was being with my kid. And he put a note on the door said, "You can't get in." He came over to my house saying he'd like to see me at the end of the 30th. So, I can't even go home, and I go downtown with the prejudice they have down there. So I have all kinds of . . . I could have printed loud if I really wanted to put Reno down, you see. And there's a lot of hell I've gone through. If I really want to put the place down, I can do it. But, you know, I wasn't doing that. I've begun getting adjusted to Reno. But, you know, talk about misinterpretations. When you say one thing, it means one thing to you; it'll mean something different to someone else.

So that's what's been happening, a lot of misunderstanding. In these meetings these kids have been having since that time, they were getting these kind of things ironed out, and the extremists were being wiped out. They were automatically coming up looking like the extremists and were being denounced by their own people as well as the guys on the other side, and it automatically went down.

Extremists on the campus are now nil. But gee, you got Slattery, the extremist downtown. He's allowed to do that. And there's nothing I heard to make the extreme feel upset.

All right, you say, "Mr. Paul Adamian appears to be extremist on this side, left side. Damn him, crucify him, kick him off the campus. We don't have to have professors like this on the campus."

At the same time you let Slattery come up there, and within twelve hours after he made his statement, they bombed the Hobbit Hole. But no one said anything about that man on that side, you see, but you will damn the man on the other side: "Damn them both." You prosecute this man; I mean, he's a professor; you don't want students being taught by him. OK. Paul Adamian, he can stand for, take anything you give him. Hang him if you can. I don't have to defend Paul Adamian.

I'll say at the same time, you hang the guy on the other side, too. This is how we're able to quiet this campus down. We knocked out the extremists on *both* sides. We shut their mouths up.

But downtown they're not. They're letting the extremists on one side talk and make law, and we accept it. I said I was going to go out and was going to do a dirty trick. I was going to get that statement and get twelve hours later a statement from the Hobbit Hole, the bombing there, and send it to San Francisco and then plaster it on the front of the *Chronicle*. Say yes, let one extremist talk. And this one guy who does nothing but run across the field hollering, "Peace," he's getting kicked off his job. He's prosecuted for a whole week on every channel and every television tube for running across the damn field, while the extremists on the other side can come up there and tell a whole bunch of other students, "Wipe out all those hippies and long-hairs and leftists." And then twelve hours later they bomb the building. "Now how will we smoke a few leftists and long-hairs and extremists?" While they were in it!

It wasn't any empty abandoned building. It was one that had people living in it, where people have always lived in it. And *that's* what happened when *that* extremism takes place. That bombing up there was done by probably one individual or two, or that one little clan, who said, [whispering] "Let's get this campus jumping up like in the other one. Let's get them moving. They're dead. Let's get them moving." And I don't see this on campus either, because there's no one on campus that way. And for a lot of reasons they're not that way. In fact, they just don't even know what's happening on the other campus for one thing.

Three days later my neighbor, who's a professor, didn't even know about the Kent killing. That's how, you know, blocked in they are. They don't know what's happening. So, you've got to tell them about it. They bombed that building—"Hey, this will probably agitate all these people"—and it did, yes.

You know, the same day the bombing took place at the Hobbit Hole? That same afternoon I

met with the aggies, the Sundowners, the cowboys, the long-hairs and middle-of-the-road people at the student union and discussed methods of preventing violence from taking place because of an individual act. Like if something happens like a peace demonstrator goes down there—which is fine—and a bunch of guys come beat him up, we can call them and see if it was aggies as the club, or just individuals within the aggie people. We can find these kinds of methods so we won't find ourselves fighting each other as a group rather than just resolving individual problems—and good thing, because that night the Hobbit Hole was bombed. And the next day they just kept continuing the meeting, no hostility at all. No hate towards the other guy. The aggies were having a party with the long-hairs—and that just cracked me up. So it failed.

The students found out that extremists like that, they need to have followers. And when there's no followers, they can't be a leader. And if they can't be a leader, they feel meaningless and they leave. And this is what happened. Students don't need a leader. They are their own leader. There's no leader. You can't point a finger at one individual as a leader. They have their own leaders now. There may be a spokesman of a given situation who changes with each individual's case, but that's about it. Better get yourself together.

So the regents are not finding out what's happening. They should be finding out what is happening on campus, not what's happening the way that they see out there. And now they react to just what the people downtown said, not knowing what's happening out here. They had "the right to demand a certain kind of acts." They sure do. They also have the right to know all the facts, and if you are a bunch of regents, you—to me—are supposed to be that mediator. You better go down there and find out what the hell's happening on campus. You have the president of these campuses. They are supposed to be like a mediator necessarily between the students and you. But when he is failing on his job, if he is failing in his job, you're supposed to ride over his head and

get down on it yourself and find out what's happening, not go the other damn way. Because you have acted as regent.

You've acted under what I call (excuse my French, but I can't find no nicer term for it) half-assed information. Therefore, you react that same damn way: one and one is three. So you thought it was true, and you react as if one and one is three; therefore, as you found, it became wrong. If you went back in there and said, "Well, I hear all this. I've read in . . ." I mean, if you read a newspaper, it comes from half-assed information—and you are misinterpreting it anyway. You didn't know. [knocks on table for emphasis] What regent came to this campus to find out what was happening out here? Sure, the demonstration went this way, but what happened following it? If they were in there, they would be given an award. Like they made a statement about commending McQueen, and when anyone asked him, he thought all the students loved McQueen. McQueen is the most despised person on this campus by the students, and they're going to hang him yet. But at the same time the regent doesn't know what's happening here, except from hearsay, and gave a nice award to McQueen. That's how much they know about what's happening on their campus that they're supposed to be representing, and so they wonder why the students get so upset.

Any questions?

[laughter] What kinds of actions do you feel were most effective in cooling off the violence, cooling off the situation here after the bombing?

The action was the meetings, the meetings which started immediately after. One time I made a statement, and I thought it was taken the wrong way—and I'm so shocked it wasn't—that rather than fighting about leftist point of view and rightist point of view and cowboy point of view and a long-hair point of view, rather than fighting it like in a mass room like this, put your points and issues across there. OK. Don't try to convince a guy of your point of view. Just let him know how

you feel. Then leave the room. Don't leave with the same group that you know thinks exactly the same way you do; leave with the guy from the other side, and vice versa. Try to understand why you're doing what you're doing. Then you probably could help each other.

After making that statement, some guy from the other side made a wisecrack, "Oh you sound like an immature professor, an immature person"—and blah, blah, blah. He was booed by his own people, and I left the room. About ten minutes later they all came out, and three people came to me to discuss. Then everyone else did the same thing; they went and joined other groups—some people they'd never even dealt with before. This started it, and this is what has kept the lid on the situation.

It was so great that whole week, and the regents were meeting that following weekend in Elko. The aggies and other cowboys and what-not and professors from the other departments were coming to me and saying, "What's going to happen next?" If the regents come favoring the left too strongly, it'll make a lot of right people upset, the cowboys and aggies. Come out too far to the right, a lot of long-hairs will be upset. I hope that they can get this information and be more responsible for their actions.

So, at that time I ran over to talk to Ed Olsen, and asked him if he could get a hold of Procter Hug and Edd Miller and see if sometime that following day they could speak with me, just the two of them, for about an hour. "I will fly out there or drive out there by tonight, if I know that they'll be there to meet me."

He'd say, "Well, I can't seem to get a hold of them," or what-not, and I knew it was fishy. But I ran the whole story down of what was taking place that whole week, and even point by point on individual things, and he said he'd never got a hold of President Miller. But it really cracked me up because reading the paper the next day, half the quotes that Miller said were exact quotes I had given Ed. So I knew the message got across, which is what I wanted, so that was cool, because it came out that the students were meeting and

getting these steps, and these things were being mentioned. And, to me, this is where it was: the students getting themselves together and resolving their problems together—not from the extremists coming up there and sending representatives to act like a negotiator they have to feed back. All of them are getting it firsthand. Even Hill had his ROTC people—damn near mandatory that they were there—and they were there. Some good discussion came out.

At first I got scared one day when I saw an ROTC man standing up there and about twenty students around him. I said, “Oh, gee! What’s happening here?” I ran over there, you know, trying to barge in and break it down only to find out.

“Oh, it’s OK. We had a good talk,” says the ROTC guy.

“Well, great,” you know, and I turned around and took off.

You know, it was really exciting, and then having a cowboy telling me they had a party the night before with a bunch of long-hairs, and they had a good time. First time that he’s ever been to the same party with the long-hairs, and yet he gave the party and had long-hairs there or what-not. It was really, you know, like it was a funny situation, and it’s really beautiful. People are beginning to realize.

I had some professors from the Ag Department come to me and say, “Yes, Ben, I really see how wrong I’ve been. I have been teaching just the skill of agriculture, but not how to think.” Some of his boys were making these bad statements like, “Oh, let the minorities speak,” and really downing minorities and long-hairs because they are minorities and because they have long hair—to the point where it turned most of these other people off, especially his own professors. And they came to me later realizing what they had been doing by not bringing them up-to-date with what’s happening and how their acts themselves will have to do with the world today. They were, in fact, teaching them prejudices. The prejudice is avoiding what you do not know, and you start conceiving fantasies—and by not mention-

ing these things, this would have been giving these kids this extremist point of view.

Now, the funny thing about the situation: every cowboy is still a cowboy, every aggie is still an aggie, every Sundowner is still a Sundowner—with the same basic philosophies. It’s just that their attitude towards the other guy has changed: because he’s black he’s not a dumb, ignorant degenerate; or because he has long hair he’s not a dirty, sloppy hippie. The prejudices have been wiped out because the political element has been dropped, so there’s no more of this. Right now, you have the aggies saying hi to long-hairs, not avoiding them—and vice versa. So these guys still can be considered conservative, but with much more responsibility. And the same thing with the left, with much more responsibility. That an aggie has to carry a picket sign or otherwise, he’s a dirty dog; he’s on the other guy’s side. They will not demand that because he’s not picketing in the street. It’s not saying he’s necessarily on the other side; he may believe in the other side’s motives more than ours, and that’s about the extreme of it. So he is being respected now. The aggies and the people on that side are now respecting the guys who are on the left. This is what the biggest riots have been about coast-to-coast on all levels.

These kids have come to a turn that no other campus has, and yet their regents who said, “This will not be like any other campus,” will stop and look at what the hell they’re doing. They, themselves, are the only part of this campus that’s being exactly like every other campus. The acts the regents are doing here are *exactly* like what the regents on every other campus have been doing, and that is what has been maintaining and continuing this direction these campuses have been going into. If they don’t want to be like the other campuses, better go and find out what the other campuses are like and make sure that they’re not doing the exact same thing. They are doing the same thing. You can take the course the regents and Procter Hug are making, and I got a ticket to every damn campus in the country. I bet you have the exact quote verbatim. The unique thing about

this campus? These kids come together *before* the riot. That's why there's no riot. Those other campuses? They had to riot to get together. And I know. I've been on the other campuses—I graduated with my master's from Berkeley.

How do you think events on campus affect the university's image outside? Image is a bad word. [laughter]

No, no, no. I think I know what you mean. The image is being one-sided. I think that's the problem. If the regents took more heed and came back on campus more to study what's happening The problem now is half the regents live here. How many of them hit this campus other than regents' meetings? Just walk around and see what the students are doing and talk to students. Once a week talk to a student.

They would be publicizing some of the good things that are happening on this campus, and the image would be much better. But they don't print the good things that are happening; they always print the conflicts, only. Only the conflicts. So what do you get? Downtown is thinking of all these guys as dirty, sloppy hippies or dirty bum, bum, bum, bum, or whatever. But if the regents would get more off their little ivory towers and get the heck in where they're supposed to be representing, so when they go meet the other people on the other side of the fence, they can give them some information of what's been happening, they would very well increase the community relationship just overnight. Overnight!

Do you think that issues of academic freedom are involved in participating in a demonstration?

I don't think it's an issue of academic freedom in the way that persons like Procter Hug and what-you-call-it are talking about it. I think it's an issue of academic freedom if the regents are trying to make it so—and that was like hollering wolf before the wolf appeared.

They saw a professor running across a field with his hands up hollering "Peace!" and there's

nothing bad about that. But, because he's a professor, they want to make an issue out of it, because he's doing what they don't like, that they wouldn't want to do. In other words, you're a conservative, and you don't like a liberal. So, he did a liberal move, and you don't like it. So what are you going to do? You're going to try to make a way to step on that bug, rather than just leave well enough alone. Leave him alone! His rights are just as great as yours, and that's, to me, what it amounts to. The issue of academic freedom is like The regents are pushing that kind of approach, making it an academic issue when it really wasn't. It was an individual doing an individual act.

How do you think students and faculty can be effective politically, or should they be trying to influence governmental policy?

If you're talking about people who happen to be, through employment, faculty members and through a situation, students, I would say yes, they should be politically directed—to help wipe out some of these frustrations and maybe give some meaningful directions. It took them as a force to make the politicians stop and listen to them for a change. And I hate to say it, but the system has been so screwed up that they will never listen until they're threatened. Then when they're threatened, they say, "Well gee, you didn't have to go that way to do it"—when, in fact, it happens to be that that is true. If they didn't go violent, they wouldn't listen. They won't listen before the bomb. This campus started to. The students began listening before the bomb. The faculty began listening before the bomb, but downtown won't. They still want the violence before they can listen.

Education, in most cases, is improving. Just talk to some of these people on campus that find ways to improve it. Talk to the Dean Kirkpatrick. Oh, he's talking about some good moves, good steps that would really improve the system here, improve the educational system—where there's no longer emphasis on trade school, but what to

do with those trades and how to utilize those trades, which is the academic freedom.

The frustrating part about a professor like Paul Adamian, who really believes in the educational system . . . when he teaches the difference between a black culture and a white culture through literature, he's not talking about politics. He's talking about making literature more meaningful today. We've talked about the blacks, we've talked about the whites, talked about the purple, talked about all kinds of people. This is academic, this is part of the teaching process, and this is how you will learn and learn to think. But it's frustrating when you teach them all this, and yet turn right around, and your politicians are playing like a Slattery role. How can you teach them something that they will not be able to use because you got Slatterys in there? So out of frustration, he goes in a political way. He happened to be employed as a professor, so that's the way it goes. If you get all these students pushing that way, then I think the institution should sort of bend that way. But do it in a responsible way, not one side and not the other—both sides. You may even push for one side, but let them be fully aware of the other side. Our education doesn't do that; it teaches only one side: a conservative side and then the other.

This student of Fred Maher's—I didn't hear all the case. I didn't hear part of what took place. But it was a bunch of circumstances which had him talk about the governor at that time. One instructor—the one who did the complaining that put him on the hot seat—called him in to talk to a bunch of other people and then came back into his room and carried the discussion into it. She asked him personal questions on a personal level, and when he answered her, she took it as though he was teaching this. So now his individuality was being impaired. He didn't like the governor, and he said, "I don't like the damn governor."

"Oh! Oh, wow! Let's put this down. He's teaching this kind of stuff in the classroom!"

Now, if *this* is what's happening, I don't think this comes out in the hearing clear enough. But this is academic freedom. We're not talking about

anything that . . . I cracked up when I read that article, that part where the regents are passing . . . where a professor can not teach anything in the class . . . does not play into the course. Because at this day and age everything is relevant. Every single thing—and most of all profanity because of the extremity of the situation today.

The Cambodia war has a lot to do with politics, has a lot to do with art, has a lot to do with English, has a lot to do with—you name it—nursing! You can't give me one area of any educational institution that cannot be involved with Cambodia, for instance. Just Cambodia. Never mind the Vietnam War itself, but the Cambodia situation has an effect. You have to learn your nursing about taking bullet wounds out if you decide you want to go into the medical corps. The literature that's being printed today is based upon the war, so you have to know about the war to understand why these guys are printing the way they are printing, especially if you want to be a great writer yourself—or a great artist.

My success has been based upon the fact that I am painting and do my art based upon the time I am living, and the things that I am being confronted with *today*. Yesterday is only a history of this, and a history course today is a good example. How can you make history more valuable so that we can take today's example and project on how it took place? How are we here today? [knocks on table twice for emphasis] Why I'm smoking a Viceroy cigarette right now will have an effect on what took place every day before that. So that a Viceroy cigarette today is very important if you want to know about, you know, my smoking habit of yesterday, and you can't deny it; you can't leave it out.

From the talk of the regents' point of view, they don't realize this, because they were under a trade school situation—where we didn't have the kind of situation we have today—where the demands on society were different. The demands have changed; the goals are changed, and we've got to change with it. But no, we still think like these guys downtown: this one, with the rah-rah-sis-boom-bah, driving around in the little cars they

used to have. This is the same situation that they're having today, and their parents were squawking and griping about them same way they do today. They simply can't look at it that way. They can't look at it that way. It's a shame, but it's life.

Where do you think the peace movement in this area is going?

There is no such thing. They're trying to recreate one, but it's nowhere.

Following this demonstration they had a meeting with the instructors and professors at the Center, and they talked about getting that peace program going again. Sounded like basically a good idea, but I listened to too many people thinking about doing something, but never get around to doing it. So I just avoided those completely.

But even the situation about the demonstration . . . The professors here, they're scared to even have their name mentioned in regards to supporting the candidates. And with people are that afraid, you won't have a peace movement. It's all depending on how they're concerned, and they will not do anything to help it come about because they're afraid of what people may say. At this meeting there was only a handful, about twenty professors, and of that twenty professors there were about ten of them there that were scared to even open their mouth. And when confronted, they were scared to even do that. They were scared to even go down for the peace demonstration we had that Friday, the moratorium for Kent State. They were afraid even to be responsible to get on a phone and call ministers up from downtown. Either that or afraid to get *involved*. If that's the length of it, no, forget it. They're scared. They're scared of the conservative element in this town; they're scared to speak up.

Even the left people are scared to speak out. My whole article was based upon kids, life, the existence of life, and education. Mainly education and kids, and my personal background. This is an art paper on art, about black artists' experience. Only one little paragraph, two lines talking

about Reno—the statements they took. Yet, even my own art colleagues—they've known me for the whole semester. They've known the hell I've gone through. One of them was one who helped me when the landlord told him to get out and called me a dirty name. So he knew, but yet even he, *convinced* because of that one element, one little line. I mean, I'm trying to do *good* things about Reno. I said, "I haven't talked about the bad things. There's not that much in the way of *good* things I've experienced here."

I mean, like, when you can't leave here and go home and relax because the landlord comes up there saying, "I want to see you at the end of the thirty-thirty." Another time you come up, they have two or three cops up there because the landlord's wanting to kick you out, because he just wants you out for no reason. I was going to leave July 1st; my contract was up. And June 1st, when I wasn't out, he had the cops there when I got back from San Francisco. Then he calls up, and someone else happened to be there, so he cussed him out, called him a long-hair, dirty so-and-so and so-and-so. He even called Kirkpatrick up and cussed the hell out of him (and see, he's been kept abreast of my whole situation by helping get housing for the new black instructor we have coming now). So, he knew what was happening. He cussed him out, see. So, you know, like wow.

When I did arrive here, at first, because I wore a black hat and a beard—it was an excuse they used—but they're talking about my black skin. I wore the shirt that I bought downtown, the cowboy hat I bought downtown. Just because I didn't block it . . . See, you know, that black hat that I wear? I bought it down at Parker's. It's a plain cowboy hat, but I just didn't block it the same way a cowboy blocks his. So, I'm supposed to be a dirty dog, right? Because I didn't block my hat the same way, or because I don't wear pointed cowboy boots, but I just wear flat tipped ones. And this is what the article was about. The guy who printed it wore a cowboy hat and cowboy boots. So, you know, but just because I mention two things like, "Oh, you can't sell art in Reno."

In Berkeley and when I was in San Francisco Bay Area at first, from June to January to June, I made about \$15,000 selling my art. And I've been here since September, August, and haven't sold a hundred dollars' worth. So, when he asked me how are my sales in Reno, I said, "Man, you can't sell art worth a damn in Reno. The people come up there to make a quick buck, and that's it—not to buy art." So, he printed all that, except "not to buy art" or "people." He said, "You go up to Reno and earn a quick buck." *He* misunderstood it. This guy, this art friend of mine had misunderstood it to mean I came to Reno to make a quick buck. I was being paid a thousand dollars a month teaching at Berkeley High. I'm only getting paid seven hundred dollars a month teaching here, and he knew it all.

Now, here's a man who knows it, who was up there with me when the man cussed him out, who worked with me through all this hell for the past ten months, and he couldn't see what the heck was happening when he read that article. He's a peace man, but never there when you need him for peace.

I said, "Now, if this is extreme, whew! Now, after this experience—I don't have the time for this next year. By the way, I was down in Berkeley. I just got a job offer for opening a museum for \$18,452. They want me to quit right now and take the job, which is exactly \$8,460 more than I'm getting paid right now, and I turned it down"

They said, "Why, are you scared to have a contract?"

I said, "That contract means not more than a piece of paper like this. But I'm working with some people." I didn't go and apply for the job; I was asked. "The students asked for help, and I'm giving it to them. The administration has asked for help, and I'm giving it to them. If you offer me \$100,000, I wouldn't take the job."

"If the money doesn't mean anything to you . . ."

I said, "No, I won't go as far as to say that, but that's not the first thing on my mind. The first thing is people. The second, money, OK? But only

because of this second I got to pass the first. No more than I would if I came and took this job, and I get another job offer of \$25,000. You would worry about me leaving for that \$25,000 if I left those other \$9,000 for your \$18,000."

He said, "Yes, I see your point."

I said, "If you want me bad enough, you will hold it until the end of this next academic year, which is end of your fiscal year, July 1st of next year. If you're really sincere, and you really want me for some good thing, you'll wait, and I'll get the job. And it's because any good person, you won't find them walking around without a job, and any good person will never leave in the middle of a job for another job for money. Money I don't worry about. I figure if I do my job well, whether it be art or teaching, the money will automatically be there. I don't have to worry about it; let you worry about it. If I got a job to do, I'm going to finish it. When I finish it, then . . . So, if you want me then, you better start working on me now. Get that paper and stuff written up and get it cleared now, in case someone asks me for help before you do."

I'm talking about concrete with the paper, because a lot of people asked me for help the same time I came here, but no one came across with a deal before they did here. So, I said, "Now, you ask for help. You do it first, get it in writing and get the commitment and get that price figured out, get that name on the dotted line. All right then, you're first. Now, anybody else is going have to wait while I finish it there. But if you wait until the last minute, forget it, because someone else is going to be after it, and I will not leave it."

So, after this guy really squawked and griped about this article, and how it was about Reno, I told him about that. Then, "Oh, yes, well . . ." Then he changed; he understood again. But in other words, it's like I have got to prove every step of my way before I can be accepted in this area. This is what it amounts to.

Do you have any other comments you want to make about the Governor's Day or other events?

Yes. One, in which I went and spoke to a police officer. I commended the police on their actions on Governor's Day. It was hard as hell doing what I was doing, trying to keep both sides together calmed down. I would have totally, completely failed if the police had come onto the campus. They were all lined up out there. They didn't quite make it down. They came in twice in small forces when it was too late. That's when the barricade was stopped. Paul Adamian and a few other people broke it up and let them through—Paul Adamian, Bob Harvey. I was just standing there. I wasn't doing . . . They cleared away because the general came out. So no one, including myself, knew the cops had been there, but they were.

And there were three cops on motorcycles waiting at the entrance of the park where people were filing out, and they were being harassed by a couple of students, saying, "Oh they're . . ." (blah, blah, blah, blahs). They kept their cool when they stepped on a motorcycle and didn't do anything. They took off at one point where one student was trying to get onto a car, but they didn't overreact. They kept their cool. I commended them very highly in their actions, and I don't go around commending policemen. But I told them that, and you give credit where credit is due. I'll commend them on it.

Second, I commended the governor for, immediately after making his statement in regards to the Governor's Day event, he commended the students for keeping their cool—not just the ROTC, but all of them, the people in the stands. Whereas President Miller didn't say something about it until like a week later. See, the governor did what the regents should have been doing, what the president should be doing: publicizing when something which could have been bad turns out to be better and give the credit where credit is due [knocks twice for emphasis], on the good elements. You don't talk about anything on this campus except the bad things. He does the traditional thing. But exceptional things, out-of-the-normal things that are good, they don't mention. They mention when you win a football game or whatever, but never an event like all that week

when these kids really put this problem out. Or even the fact that they didn't explode up into violence on Governor's Day, where every place else would have. If they came out with a Governor's Day at Cal or Stanford or any other campus—"We're going to have Governor's Day as usual"—oh, man, are you kidding!? Oh, my goodness!

Man, if these people only knew. If they *only* knew. All right, I saw Berkeley break up over much, much *smaller* things than that. That goes with that People's Park thing.¹ I helped, the first day, organize the people with the builders, when the people in the community came up with the money. I had experience about building parks in small communities, and they wanted to build it, and you have to help them mobilize people to do the work. They had the people. I showed them how to do it. And they had the police department there helping. The fire department was helping. Some professors from the university were there. The university gave permission to use the water for grass, and this went on for about a whole week. We had about 4,000 people working. Beautiful. The cops came and said, "Damn, damn, why don't they start at the other end there? That's where they're dumping these stolen cars." This was one of these dirty vacant lots with pit holes about that deep full of rubbish and garbage and wrecked cars. These kids flattened the whole ground out, planted trees and grass and shrubbery. Everyone loved it. So 44 people from the community who don't like long-hairs called Governor Reagan up. Now, those 4,000 people were out there for the past two weeks doing it, and these kids live in this community now. People live in the community of 4,000. Now, 44 people from that community called Governor Reagan, and he calls the National Guard out for 44 people. Damn the 4,000, including the officers and what-not. He makes it a law that they're violating, and that is what caused the People's Park riot. It's a shame. It's a shame.

We didn't come down there to negotiate and to talk and reason things out. Here's a lot that's been vacant for about five, six years. Nothing but a sore spot. I mean, a sore spot. You know, like

can you imagine torn-down buildings that stay torn down for like five years? You know that the debris is left over because they had a basement patched up. And these kids gathered money. The merchants donated money and materials and covered the whole thing. Beautiful—grassy, trees, swings for the kids, and everything. It's just beautiful. And forty-four people called Reagan on it and played that game. Reagan played that dumb game. He didn't come down to find out what was happening, find out first what it really was. No, [snaps fingers] just like that. They got a policeman, the police department there. The fire department was there. I mean it, I really do. And then see the results: death, violence, occupation. I was teaching at Berkeley High, and the cops were breaking in my rooms and what not. It was just, oh, an ugly scene. All these innocent people being wiped out and that stuff. Property destroyed, burnt down—all for stupidity and ignorance and naïveté and prejudice.

That made these Kent killings and Jackson sound so bad. We talk about when the cops are pursuing individuals, when they go where a bunch of innocent people are. If the FBI has to break into a house, you know, and there are people in there, they won't shoot until all the people are safe. But when it happened in Jackson, Mississippi, they all were black, and so they shot the whole place, killing innocent people to get one. If there was a sniper—I'll say there was a sniper; I don't know, I don't believe there was, but say there was a sniper—then you mean you can kill all the innocent people to get that one sniper? And we can go into Cambodia and destroy all the other guy's land and property, and make it easier for us in our house, and then we'll leave them and leave it messed up. We'll leave a war there now and something else.

So, I commended the [Nevada] governor, I commended the police. And from that day, there's very few other things I commend. I'll say one thing, if it wasn't for Paul Adamian, though . . . I had a harder time holding these do-good professors back, who came at the tail-end panicking, than I did with students. And, like I said, if it wasn't for Paul Adamian, myself, the level heads

of the students, the coolness of the ROTC kids for not getting scared themselves, and the police and the governor, all hell would have broke loose.

Note

1. In April 1969, a group of Berkeley residents cleared an unused lot belonging to the University of California and created a park, planting shrubs and trees in the area. Over the next months and years, the university made attempts to reclaim the property for other uses, resulting in a number of protests and riots.

BEVERLY M. HUDSON

June 10, 1970

Just for the record do you want to give your name, your hometown, and your position at the university?

Well, my name is Beverly Hudson. I claim Reno as my hometown. I've been a long-time resident here. I'm the publications director for the National College of State Trial Judges. I'm an alumna of the university and a graduate student, as well.

Why do you think you were chosen to be interviewed?

Well, that's a good question. [laughter] My initial reaction was possibly because I have been active in the alumni association on campus for a length of time. Possibly somebody got word of my reaction at the time and felt that I was very vocal on certain things. It was a question in my mind as to why I was asked—I'm very flattered.

Oh, I see. What was your reaction to President Nixon's decision to go into Cambodia, your personal reaction?

My personal reaction on that was that I was sorry to see it happening because I don't think anyone wants an extension of the war as it's going on, at all. But then I started thinking about it, and I thought, "Well, he does have advisors that we don't know about." I think it's at a time when the citizens have to stand behind the president. They need to know how they're feeling, but I did look at it and think, "Well, he must have reasons for this, because I'm certain the man is not a war-monger."

So, I was really standing behind him—wondering why, hating to see it happen, but yet felt that he had made the decision—it must be necessary for some reason. I think that the events since are seeming to prove out that maybe it was the wisest move.

In what way do you think the Cambodia decision was related to what happened next on University of Nevada, Reno campus?

Well, of course, the students reacting very violently in an emotional way. They don't like the war. Of course, no one likes the war. There's the difference that they don't stop to realize. I feel that it did have a bearing on what did hap-

pen. The students were riled. Students are concerned, but I don't think students are any more concerned today than we were at that time. I don't think they have any more pressures than we did at that time. I think they react, possibly, more openly in many cases. And I do think it had a bearing on what happened next here on the university campus. I don't think they stopped to think about it. I don't think they stopped to think how this affects others—city, state, national, or worldwide.

What was your reaction to events in other parts of the country related to the Cambodia decision, such as what happened at Kent State?

Oh, of course, it was a saddening thing. It's hard to even explain the reaction, because I feel that the students, in running rampant as they have, are really defeating their purpose. I mean, they say, "We want peace. We don't want this to happen." And yet they're reacting in a situation that will do it.

Of course, everyone was saddened by the death of anyone under these circumstances—innocent bystanders. Of course, someone says, "How can you have an innocent bystander? You know, they were there." It is too bad. But I keep thinking if the students would only think a little bit further ahead than just today, possibly, and try and work through the channels that are available to them . . .

It's sad, and I think it is going to have a tremendous effect the other way, and this is also sad. That's the thing that upsets me so about it: it is the opposite reaction to the students. It's there. I think we've seen it here.

Regarding Governor's Day's activities here on campus, what did you think of the arrangements made for the ceremony?

Oh, I felt the arrangements were very well made. They were in accordance with what the Governor's Day traditionally has been. As a university function, I felt it should be carried off. I felt that the ROTC cadets had their right for what

they felt to be right too—you know, a rights-being-right type of thing.

What was your reaction to the demonstrations?

Oh. [laughter] I reacted quite a bit to that. When the students and those supporting the particular peace movement came into the stadium, I was unaware of what had happened with the motorcade at this point. I was in the stadium. (I've traditionally tried to make Governor's Day. I thought it was a very nice ceremony.) So, I had been unaware of the motorcade. As the students marched into the stadium I kind of took a breath and thought, "Oh, boy, here we go." But they had their right. They marched around the field in front chanting, which was fine. People in the stands observed them quietly. And they marched around. I was kind of upset with them flipping the cadets' hats on the back side of the field.

As they came around the south end of the track, I kind of waited to see what they were going to do at that point. And they continued to go on again. They lost a few at that point, really a substantial number. My reaction was, "Well, maybe they had been given the permission to come in and march around the field once." But they marched around again—and it takes quite awhile to walk around the track. So they continued going around, and I thought, "Well, OK," and I waited. Up until the point of their second march around the track, I felt that was fine. They've made their point. It had been done in a very orderly fashion. They had chanted and had at times cheered, which I was somewhat sorry to see. Then they started into the stands—again, a big sigh—and I'm thinking, "Well, now maybe we can proceed," because it had delayed the ceremony somewhat. But then when they got into the stands they continued with their catcalls.

There were those who tried to say, "Come on now, fellows, cool it. You know, we've had our turn."

There were others who continued to encourage more of the calls and comments out. And with this I thought, "Oh, this is not right." They had had their say, so to speak, by their march; they

had made their point. They weren't going to change the minds of anyone in the stands, particularly at that point, but in the American process they'd had a right to have their say. But they continued these, and I continued to get more angry by the moment.

The one thing I can say is that they did allow the announcer [to speak]. I mean, you could hear who was getting what award. I felt very sorry for those parents who were getting an award in the name of their son who had been killed in Vietnam and the catcalls that went out from that. But as it went on I personally grew more and more upset. I was *just* fit to be tied—furious. As I sat there I found myself clenching my fists.

When the Sierra Guardsmen started their drill, they had come out and had fixed their bayonets, which is a standard part of the Sierra Guard's drilling. They took two steps forward with the bayonets, and they happened to be right there at the point of the protestors. I almost was to the point where I hoped they would march right through them. And I caught myself, and I thought, "This is a horrible reaction." This is what upset me. I was to the point of being so upset with what was going on that, at that point, I could hardly care less—you know, almost to the point of their lives. I mean it *really* upset me. I feel that the demonstrators, as I said, went far beyond what they had a right to do.

Someone said, "Well, you should have expected something like that because, after all, the ROTC represents the very thing that they're against." And I keep thinking, "Well, in their mind it does, but this country would be in a heck of a situation if we didn't have a military force." I mean—to me, anyway—it happens to be a necessity. I wish that no country had to have a military force, but as human nature seems to be, someone is always trying to seize power.

To sum up my general reaction on it, as I said, I was absolutely livid when I came back to my office. I was so upset. Oh, I don't know what I was willing to do. I was going to make phone calls and demand that something be done. I felt that the students had been very unfair with President Miller. I think that he probably has the most

open door of any university administrator around. It's hard for me to conceive anyone in his position on any campus being any more accessible. I think he's tried to listen to the students. I think he's tried to do many things for them. And after two pleadings by him, I felt that the students had let him down and the university down tremendously.

My reactions since have cooled some. I'm still very upset with what happened, and my initial reaction was based strictly on emotions, but to what degree I felt action should be taken, I would have been quite firm—no leeway given. Since that time I think you take it, and you have to consider everything that goes into it. And with that, of course, I have mellowed some. I feel they were very wrong in what they did.

You didn't participate. You were simply a . . . ?

Well, I participated from the standpoint that I was there to observe the ceremonies of Governor's Day. I would say, "Yes, I was a participant, but I was a participant on the other side."

I see. You were there, and you felt the administration's reaction was as it should have been in everything that they did?

Well, I felt that the university administration did all they could. I thought that they had planned well. I felt that the students let the administration down tremendously. I think that the administration and the ROTC cadets, in particular, are to be commended for what they did and how they handled themselves, because it was a keg of dynamite. One spark could have set that thing, and it could have blown sky high had the control of the cadets not been what it was. And maybe we should say, "Bless military training," on the whole thing, because I could see that whole field just totally erupting.

It was a frightening thing to witness. As I said, I was frightened by *my* reaction, and I consider it somewhat typical of those, say, sitting in the stands. I'm not a parent (obviously from how I identified myself), but I think it was very typical.

Since then, at the alumni association's meetings I have talked to several others who were in the stands, and their reactions were very much like mine. And it was frightening.

Well, I'm glad you brought that out, the possibility of an eruption—it didn't occur.

Oh, it could have, as I said, just blown.

What was your reaction to the violence that did break out right afterwards: the fire bombing at the ROTC building and then right after that over at Hobbit Hole?

Well, interestingly enough, I did overhear a statement: "While we're here to get it, we're going to get rid of the whole place." It was by . . . Well, I don't know who it was by. I don't know whether they were a student or what. And you kind of read into these things.

So when the bombing of the ROTC building happened I thought, "Wonder if that was it?" But that was supposed to have been the night of Governor's Day. This didn't take place, I believe, for two days afterwards.

Yes, it was two nights afterwards, I think. I thought, oh, don't let it be happening here—that was my initial reaction. I think mine was a prayerful thought as much as anything: don't let it happen here.

Possibly because of where I work, I'm not so prone to trying to jump to the conclusion that it was a student on either side. I'm not saying that it wasn't, but I'm not saying that it was. As I said, it's bad that it happened, and I hope nothing more of that nature happens.

You spoke to this just ever so slightly. You may want to expand. What category of participants—student or faculty or outsider—do you feel was most effective in fomenting the violence that did develop—the bombings?

As I said, I just can't say on the bombings. As far as the disruption in general is concerned, I

can't completely discount outsiders. I believe that there was a meeting the day after or within the week of Governor's Day in which there were outsiders. It was handled very well. In fact, others moved in, and more or less took over the meeting. But had they ousted them immediately, this would have again, I think, created a very nasty situation.

I feel that the students' emotions ran high, some higher than others. So consequently, they helped on the agitation. I feel that there were faculty on both sides: those who believe in the peace movement by peaceful means and those who felt that more should be done.

I think this is something that's happened, and it's unfortunately the outgrowth of these protests. When you get people riled up, they're going to go out and do all the weirdest kind of things, and, unfortunately, with very serious overtones to them. So as I said, it was a combination. I don't think that on the University of Nevada campus we have a lot of outside influence, but I don't think that we can put our heads in a hole in the ground and say that there isn't *some*.

But I don't think that this has been the prime force. I hope not. Of course, it doesn't take many outsiders if they're trained in this manner. As I said, they rile them up, and when they get riled up, you never know what's going to happen. Emotions can run high. I know how high my emotions ran and was really frightened by it.

Well, what actions do you feel were most effective in preventing further violence and cooling off the situation?

I feel that the administration policy in attempting to talk with them—allowing the meetings to be held. The lounge there in the Jot Travis Student Union was used for an open discussion. Faculty members were present to assist and see that it be done in an orderly fashion. I think they assisted greatly in this area. The memorial services that were held allowed the students to show, in a peaceful nature, their feelings in these open meetings, to talk it out. I think it cools emotions down.

As I said, after you talk about things, you hear someone else's viewpoints, and both sides were there. This is the interesting thing. But it was done in such a way, and I think that this has helped and is maybe one of the prime forces. The students did have their chance to have a say, to talk about it, to meet for their memorial under full auspices of student activities. And I think this is important. They need to participate. But they managed it in this way. And, as I said, I think the faculty and the administration must be commended greatly for their understanding in this area.

Well, how do you think events on campus affect the university's image with outsiders?

Of course, as I have said, I have been a member of the University of Nevada alumni executive committee for seven or eight years now. So, I get a certain amount of feeling from those who love the university, who have been here as students and yet are away. Working here on campus, one gets a different perspective about the campus than the downtowners or those out in the rest of the state.

Their reactions to the time when they had the N. Edd Miller Day was one of tremendous pride. Our students are handling things. They're proud of their administrator, which in itself was really quite a newsmaker. Yet, when it happened, they reacted violently. I think, even in talking with neighbors and business associates, it was one that, "Well, President Miller has got to take a stand. We cannot allow it to happen. He's going to have to discipline these people. He's going to have to do this." And then they really took a hard line.

The Board of Regents were at Governor's Day, so they weren't listening to any secondhand reports. Their general reaction the last couple of meetings (oh, I guess it's only been one, but I'm kind of looking at the June meeting, also) is very indicative of this reaction in the opposite direction. I think it's hurt the university tremendously, because the feeling is still there. It's not just the initial reaction; it's been going on. And I think that most people feel that a harder line has to be

taken, because we don't want to have happen here what's happened elsewhere. I think it's going to affect us with the legislature. I don't see how it can help.

Did you want to say any more about that particular question?

No, I don't think so, because it's a general feeling in one.

I see. OK. Do you feel that issues of academic freedom are involved in participating in demonstrations?

Yes and no. I feel that they are not involved. When we're talking academic freedom, we usually aren't speaking of the professional staff of the faculty at the university. If it's a scheduled university function, I do not see how anyone, how any person—or professor—can be there acting as an individual. I think he represents the university. I think he has a responsibility to the university. I don't see where academic freedom is in and of itself.

Well, I started out by saying yes and no, and I really don't think it does. Of course, it depends on how we define academics, but, to me, this is the classroom. And the [obscene] word was in there, and the question was used as a demonstration. Demonstrations normally do not take place within a classroom. So, therefore, I have gone on the outside. As I was saying, in the scheduled university function such as Governor's Day, I do not feel that any faculty member there could be acting totally on his own, but I don't think it affects academic freedom. This man is free to teach and is free to write. And his prime responsibility here is to teach those students that walk through the doors of his classroom in their scheduled hours. He's there to teach them the subject for which they are assigned, also.

So, as I said, I really don't think academic freedom is a question at all—I think that they have that. We went through this before. Back in about 1952, 1953, I think this question was raised in

much the same thing. But with demonstrations, no. Academic freedom is not involved at all. I think that there's a difference between academic freedom and academic license. As I said, I think they're there to teach the subject for which they are assigned. If the subject falls in the area of current events, possibly this can be discussed. But I don't think that the professor is there to subject his views on the students. I have enough faith in the student, or in the college-going person today, that you give them both sides. Let them determine; don't slant it.

There was one professor on campus when I was here—I believe he's still on campus. It was a political science course, and at the end of the course no one in the class could definitely say what politics that man was. I think that that's the highest compliment that any political science professor can be given, because he did *not* subject his views on the students. He gave them this, and from there they took it. I think that this is important. It's not that the students can't think on their own. They can. But to be constantly bombarded with one point of view agitating war is wrong.

As I said, I was a student on campus at the time before in the early 1950s when the academic freedom question came up. I know what can happen. Students were upset. Faculty was upset. This was the prime topic of conversation in the classroom. You know, you can't say, "This is entirely out of the realm of our discussion." Let it go for a few minutes and say, "But we do have a lesson for the day," and get back with it. I don't think that they do themselves, their cause, or anything else, any good by allowing it to run rampant in the classroom.

How can students or faculty—whichever you want to speak to—be effective politically? Should they attempt to influence political or governmental policies?

Oh, yes. I think that this is every citizen's not only right, but responsibility to *do* so. I guess I'll have to say I belong to the establishment, but I feel that we do have an order, channels. People

say, "Oh, all the red tape. We're sick and tired of the red tape." But yet they have red tape within their own organizations just the same. I'm one of these that says, "Get in and work within." I have been very active myself at times, and I feel that this is how they should do it. If it's within the university community, and it's changes they want affected here, there are ways of doing it. There are channels set up. There are channels for the faculty. There are channels for the students. And on this campus, with the size that it is, I don't think that they're impossible to get through. They're so much more effective that way—by working that way they get a lot of people more on their side. I don't think that you get as many people listening to you by the demonstration, by the disruption and violence, as you do if you talk in a very calm, sane manner.

Of course, they're saying this is the establishment talking, but I have to smile because it won't be long before they are, [laughter] and I think that they'll find much the same thing happening to them. But I think that they should work within established areas. Agree or disagree with them—it doesn't matter—I think it's great that students today are circulating a petition now for a particular candidate for governor to get his name on the ballot. I think it's great because they are now using one of the forms set up in this country. Our form of government may not be perfect, but it's the best one around and nobody else has shown us that there is a better way. I think the students now have really taken on something, and I think that's tremendous. I think they should be involved and go through the processes that we have, because that's the way to do it as far as I'm concerned.

And that kind of leads into the next question: Where is the peace movement in this area headed now?

Oh, I do think in this area, very definitely it is headed in that direction. At least now they have a man that they feel would at least be more favorable for their side. Of course, I said to them,

“How do you know that one of the other candidates won’t be?”

They said, “Well, the only names we’ve seen mentioned about are this, that, and the other thing.”

But they are now taking a form. I think that the leaders of the peace movement today have really been mostly the non-violent type. I don’t think that the leaders themselves, the organizers of the moratorium—they’re not the ones at Governor’s Day. They truly were hoping for a very peaceful movement. I think the moratorium projects without the additional emotional situations such as Cambodia and this type of thing demonstrated that fact. So I do think that these people, as I said, have been on the peaceful side. It’s kind of interesting to note that. (I know one of them, and he just recently graduated. I was very pleased to see him at graduation in a cap and gown going through the ceremony.)

But I think it also demonstrates that, for the most part, these people were sincere in their, “This is our way of showing you how we feel,” in a peaceful way. And as I said, I don’t think anyone really objects to that. Maybe some people would rather not see that—the mass demonstrations—no matter how peaceful they are, but that’s those people’s rights. When I say that’s their right, I think that this is another situation that’s now coming to the fore in all of this area: the fact that other people have rights, too, and this kind of goes over the whole spectrum of questions that we have been going over.

People are saying, “Well, by golly, I have my rights, and they’re stepping on my rights. Now, they can do what they want to as long as they don’t infringe on mine.” This reaction is coming out more and more, which can only bring about a confrontation if things aren’t handled properly. Of course, the peace movement of Governor’s Day is towards the end of the year. They’ve started on the petitions for their candidate for governor. Finals came along, and it’s amazing. It only goes to show that even though they may be in that movement, they’re basically on the university campuses for their education, and they did carry it through.

I think that the peace movement will be with us. I do think that with it being an election year . . . I’m very hopeful that they work within the processes. I don’t know what the reaction will be if they’re not successful. I hope it’s one that would be, “Well, we’re just going to have to continue working within.” Possibly by getting into the process they’ll become a little more aware.

Are there any other comments you’d like to make?

No, I think that that’s about it. I think, as I said, the university administration must be allowed to handle things as they see fit. I think that they have to be given a chance. I think they have done a good job. We did have an outbreak of violence. You can’t say it wasn’t, because the bombings of the ROTC building and the Hobbit Hut were a violent act.

For those who are on the outside, it’s wrong for them to say that the president must do this and must do that. He’s here. He knows the situation. I think over the number of years that the president has been here he’s demonstrated his ability to administer the university, to talk with the students, and to get along with the students. And out of all the violence that is going on all over this country—universities closing and everything of this nature—his record stands well.

It’s something that we must do at this point. We discussed this at great length at the alumni association. He came and spoke at great length to the alumni executive committee, and they were calling, saying to him, “You must do this, you must do that. Why aren’t these being prosecuted? What students will be prosecuted?”

He said, “Any names that were brought to me for violations of the university codes—I would see that they are handled. However, if it came to me on the student basis, it would go to the Student Judicial Council. But it’s important that we get the word out that you must let them handle it.” He hasn’t had a rocky career here at the university. It’s been a very smooth paved road, and just because we’ve hit a few bumps I don’t think that they should be as quick to criticize, as quick to demand. I would like to see the Board of Re-

gents move a little more slowly and give a little bit more thought to it. I can well understand their fears, but, as I said, I think they ought to have a little bit more faith in the administration. Because I think he can see it through on the whole thing as long as he has those people standing behind him.

He can't take it from both sides. One of the interesting comments made at the close of this alumni meeting that I went to was that, "Well, I saw President Miller upstairs in the dining commons, and he was being grilled up one side and down the other by the students. And tonight he's downstairs in the Pyramid Lake Room being grilled up one side and down the other by the alumni and the citizens at large in the community." It's kind of hard to be taking it from both sides. But he fielded them well, and I think that we have to stand behind him. There are times, possibly, that someone loses sight of where they should be going, but I don't think he's been that way.

Good.

Thank you.

PROCTER HUG JR.

June 22, 1970

Now, for the record if you'll say your name and your residence and your position.

My name is Procter Hug Jr. I reside in Reno, Nevada. I am chairman of the Board of Regents.

And this is why you think you were chosen to be interviewed, right?

[laughter] I believe.

This is the next question, and sometimes it's kind of a silly question. What was your reaction to President Nixon's decision to go into Cambodia?

My reaction was that I thought that it probably was a mistake. I felt that the president had to have more knowledge about the situation than I did, or that any of the general public did. But I was concerned that the national unrest, which it was bound to cause, would not be worth the military advantage that was going to be gained by going into Cambodia. I also wondered whether it was not a mistake in any event, even taking the fact for granted that there would be, say, some

military advantage. I also feel that it was widening the war and had severe peril as far as further involvement in a war that has proven to be a great mistake.

In what way do you think the Cambodia decision was related to what happened next on this campus?

I think it was very closely related to it.

What was your reaction to events in other parts of the country related to the Cambodia decision?

Well, I was not surprised that it occurred. I expected it to occur after President Nixon's announcement. I was sorry that it occurred in the violent way in which it did in many areas of the country, because I feel that's never justified. I regretted it a great deal, but I was not surprised in view of the developments in recent years.

Turning now to the Governor's Day activities here on campus: what did you think of the arrangements made for the observance of Governor's Day—the formal arrangements for the ceremonial observance of Governor's Day?

Well, this is an event that has been held for probably twenty or thirty years. It has always been held at the stadium as long as I recall, even from the time I was a student here. It is a regular classroom activity—all military students are required to attend. It's the ceremony that is designed to present the honors and is sort of the fulfillment of the year of ROTC training. I felt the arrangements were just the same as they had been for many years.

There was one difference, and that difference was that there was a reception beforehand at the Travis lounge and a motorcade going from the Travis lounge to the stadium. In the past there has been a motorcade, but there was no reception ahead of time. It was a meeting at the administration building in which all the officials met, got in cars, and drove to the stadium. There might have been one difference in that there, perhaps, was more time for counter-movements to develop than there had been in other years.

Now, what was your reaction to the demonstration?

Well, I was quite upset by it, because I felt that it interrupted a regular university function. The events on the field were very distasteful. There were some portions of it that were more so than others. The worst thing to me was the playing of taps and the mockery that took place when Mr. and Mrs. Wisham came up from Bakersfield to award a five-hundred dollar scholarship in memory of their son who was killed in Vietnam. They marched onto the field to give the award, and someone in the stands played taps. I thought that was about as tasteless as I could imagine.

I was distressed by the whole event in the catcalls from the audience, and the participation of some of the faculty members in encouraging that sort of disruption—after the president had twice asked the assembled group of demonstrators to be quiet. I was extremely disappointed, because I had made an arrangement with one of the faculty members [James Hulse] when I could see this large group marching toward the stadium: that they would march around the field three times

and then march out. I felt that would avert what happened and would also give an opportunity for those people to express their views, which were related to the war and opposed to the war. (As I've noted, I'm also opposed to the war.) I thought that that would have given them an opportunity to do that, and yet not disrupt the regular university function of ROTC day, Governor's Day.

What did you think was the most effective part of the demonstration and of the Governor's Day ceremony?

Well, the most effective part of the demonstration is a hard question to answer because it got out of hand. If the objective were that of encouraging the general public to adhere to the view of those who were demonstrating, it was not only *not* achieved, but it was alienated. So, I don't think the demonstration was effective at all in that respect. I would say that to have been effective, the demonstration could have occurred—the group could have marched around the track and marched out—and that would have done the trick. It would have shown to the public that this is the type of thing that can be handled peacefully without disruption, and I think that would have gotten considerable support.

Even more effective than that would have been if they held a counter-demonstration in the other area of the campus as it was originally designed and not marched at all. That would have been better yet, because even the marching around the track was kind of a last-minute thing to avert what could have been a rather violent confrontation.

In retrospect about the conflict that developed up there at the stadium, what do you think the various factions should have done, in terms of the ROTC? You've indicated what you thought about the demonstration and the university administration.

Well, I think the ROTC handled it beautifully. I don't think they could have done it better. It was a very trying situation. Colonel Hill and his

staff were, of course, quite angry and upset, but they didn't let it show when they were speaking, and proceeded with the ceremony as it would normally have been done. The general that was here from the Sixth Army understood and felt that it was proceeding correctly.

I thought that the ROTC students handled it magnificently. There they were assembled. Some of the demonstrators knocked off hats and did little annoying things that could have really made some tempers flare. They did not. The students did not break ranks. I thought they did very well.

I'd say the tensest moment was when the drill team was marching with fixed bayonets, and there was a group of demonstrators assembled on the field. The area where the drill took place took this marching group about fifteen or twenty feet into the group of demonstrators. And I thought that it wouldn't have taken much to have had a real serious incident with somebody injured.

I noted at that time, and it was interesting to me, that the danger of that kind of situation is that there can be hotheads on either side. There were those in the audience who were shouting things like, "Stick one of them," or something like that. You could see with that kind of an attitude, something like Kent State could happen easily, just from someone making a first move. And that's where I was, sitting in the stands living in horror that *someone* was going to lose his temper on either side, and then it could have been a real *mêlée*.

What do you think the administration should have done?

I suppose that one suggestion was to have called off Governor's Day. I think that would have been a mistake. As long as ROTC is a recognized function of the University of Nevada, I think it should proceed in the manner in which it has in the past, and in the manner in which it was scheduled to proceed by the faculty in charge. I think the administration had talked to and warned the demonstrators that there should be no interference with the ROTC program, and I believe the

administration thought that this would be what would happen.

That's what had happened the previous year. The counter-demonstration or ceremony was held on the lawn there in front of Manzanita Lake, and this is what the administration believed was going to happen again. Unfortunately, there were those who talked the students and other people involved in the demonstration into doing something more.

I think maybe, having had that experience, that in another time the administration could take steps. But having the history that we've had, I don't think that they've made a mistake in relying on those in charge of the demonstration to keep it where it would not be disruptive. I think in another year it should be made very clear that sanctions will be imposed under our rules and regulations for any of those who do disrupt the event. And I think that should probably be pointed out sometime before the Governor's Day next year. There was a third part to your question. What should . . . ?

Well, the three factions: the ROTC, the demonstrators, and the university administration. And I think you indicated what you thought the demonstrators should have done there. If you'd like to expand, do.

Well, maybe I'll just add that particularly some of the faculty members that were there tried to really keep it within bounds, and tried to have the students leave after they marched around the track. Other faculty members led the students into the stands and kept them there. It's very hard to control a mob in any way—so, if a group moves into the stands, it was too late then to do much about that.

I thought that some of the faculty members did a great deal to keep the demonstration within confines, particularly during that tense situation when they were on the field. I observed a number of them. I could mention names if you like or not, but . . .

Suit yourself.

Well, I noticed Professors Backman, Hulse, and Harvey all were trying to keep the students confined and trying to keep them from spreading out on the field where there would be more danger of an incident. They tried to talk the students out of doing such things as running through the ranks or tearing down the flag, which was suggested by some of them. So I think those faculty members, and others that were with them that I just might not know about, did a great deal to keeping it confined to what it was.

There were other faculty members, such as Adamian and Maher, who tried to keep the thing going and keep the disruption continuing. The president asked them to be quiet: "We've seen your demonstration; we've heard your point of view. Now, let's proceed with the scheduled function." After that, Adamian in particular was leading cheers and encouraging the students to disrupt, whereas most of the students did not and observed what the president asked.

What was your reaction to the violence that followed Governor's Day—the fire bombings?

Well, that's often an unfortunate by-product of something like this that, of course, cannot be attributed to any particular group or to these demonstrators. As a matter of fact, we don't know that they were Nevada students. I would suspect they weren't. I think it's just one of the unfortunate after-consequences of this type of disruption. It's kind of a heady thing. People get together and talk and get ideas and say, "In order to really get attention, we must do something more."

That's why it's my feeling that first you got to have the rules clear. And when they're clear, and if they're broken, they've got to be enforced—there have to be sanctions imposed. Because if you don't impose it at the lower level when something less significant takes place—like the disruption and the catcalls and the blowing of taps and that sort of thing—if you don't do it at that stage, then the people get together and say, "Well, what do we really have to do to shake up the troops? What do we have to do to get some attention?"

Well, if you give them attention by enforcing some sanctions at a lower level, then they don't have to do the fire bombing and the destroying of computer centers and those things that have occurred on other campuses in order to get attention. It also, I think, is important from the aspect of the type of people who are attracted to it. If no sanctions are imposed and students and faculty can proceed with immunity from any type of sanction, it's kind of fun; it's exciting to do things that disrupt people. And it's particularly appealing to this age group. Therefore, if you encourage that by granting immunity or amnesty and not enforcing the minor regulations, then I think you're really asking for some more severe trouble.

In my opinion, that's the mistake that's been made on so many other campuses throughout the country. This isn't any great wisdom on our part, because we have the advantage of watching what has happened elsewhere as a result of the courses of action that they have chosen. But I would say that we would be making a great mistake if we don't benefit by watching it and take a different course.

It's interesting to me that right after the Berkeley incident, I had the opportunity of consulting with the university attorney for University of California, who was very upset by the fact that the administration did not enforce the regulations and did deal directly with the students, did not require them to go through student government. They didn't enforce the rules and regulations, but sort of waived them in their case. He really predicted that it would lead to this sort of thing. I've kept that in the back of my mind and have seen that work out, and it's caused me to think that it's very important that rules be established and be enforced.

What category of participant involved in the affair—the students, the faculty, or outside influences—do you think was most important in fomenting violence on the campus?

The faculty. I think the faculty have a great deal of influence on students of this age. It's natural that they should, because they have had a great

deal more experience, they're very bright and full of ideas, and they challenge the students—and it's natural for the students to seek to emulate their instructor. I think that this is true, not only on this campus, but throughout the country. I think the faculty have been the ones that have really incited the students into the actions that have been taken.

Do you think outsiders are important?

Yes, very important, and I think there were a number of outsiders involved. I think that with the California schools being out—the colleges and universities having been recessed during this time—there were, I know, students here from California. They had experienced the excitement of their strikes and demonstrations there, and they made the students here feel like they were going to some little isolated Podunk university if they didn't get in the mainstream and get involved with this type of activity and make their opinions felt.

A month or two before, I particularly noticed when [Harry] Edwards from [Berkeley] came up and spoke. He had quite an influence on quite a number of students and made them feel that way: that if you really believe that there exists social injustice, and you want to do something about it, you've got to make your opinions felt by doing something disruptive or violent. That's what he thinks, and he really instills this in people, makes the student feel like, "Well, I really want to do something—and the only way I'm going to do it is by striking out at the 'establishment.'"

What kinds of actions do you feel were most important in cooling off the situation after the fire bombings?

Well, I thought that the noon ceremony and that candlelight ceremony were excellent in doing that. It gave an opportunity to those who were violently opposed to the war to express their views, to make their feelings known, and to point this out to the community. I thought both of those were very good. It gave them an alternative to disruptive tactics.

How do you think events on campus affect the university's image outside?

Oh, I think they affect it very adversely. I think the community is concerned, not so much with what happened, but with what could happen and what has happened elsewhere. I think there were a great many of the people—individuals who were at Governor's Day or read about it or saw it on TV—who were extremely upset that this occurred. But, by far, a greater number were not so concerned, and sort of considered this a mild type of disruption in comparison to what had occurred elsewhere, but were very concerned that we not follow the same trend. I think that the vast majority of people are worried about that—that it not escalate. They feel that unless something is done at this stage, it will escalate as it has in other colleges and universities.

I think that the image of higher education throughout the nation is at a very, very low ebb because of these activities of campus violence. And I think that the general public in Nevada, which is really rather conservative, feel that this is not the type of thing that we in Nevada have to tolerate. We're an independent group of people and an independent state (and always have been), and I think they feel if the rest of the country wants to go this outlandish route, Nevada doesn't have to take that same path. I think it would very seriously have affected the university, insofar as legislative support and gifts to the university, if the university didn't do something to make known that it was going to take a strong stand and was not going to allow the university to follow the same path as some of the California and the Ivy League schools.

What can the university do to focus public opinion, and to explain any situation that might arise?

Well, of course, I thought that it was essential that something be done very quickly to have the community feel that their elected officials and the university administration were going to take this thing in hand and see that this type of activity didn't occur in the future—that we didn't fol-

low the series of escalations that had been followed elsewhere. My own view was that it was important that regents right away seek to invoke sanctions against those who had participated disruptively, violently, and that this be done, of course, according to the code.

I felt that we obviously were not going to be able to identify everyone who yelled out at Governor's Day. But I felt that it was important that those who were obviously involved in disrupting and stopping the motorcade, and inciting others to continue after the president asked them to quit, should have firm sanctions imposed. That's one thing.

The second thing, of course you've read in the papers, was the proposing of a code. We'd asked for a code of conduct to be developed. Well, it'd been over a year, but specifically it was referred to in the minutes of last July, and none had been developed by the faculty or students or administration. And I felt enough time had elapsed. You see, you can get a lot of interest in someone developing a bill of rights—like the student bill of rights—because the students are anxious to protect their rights, and they can be really enthused about developing that. It's less appealing to be developing a code of conduct, so I think that no one really took it in tow or took it in hand. I can understand how it was put off, but the fact was that it was put off.

We had now reached a situation when it was important that we have a code of conduct, that the rules be very clear, that they be in a form that they could be given in a little pamphlet to each student—so that he knew very well that these are the rules for this campus, and if this isn't appealing to the student, then perhaps he should go to another school. The same with the faculty: it was important that each faculty on each campus realize that these were the rules for the two campuses (the university here in Reno and the one in Las Vegas) and that these were going to be enforced.

It's interesting that actually, probably, mostly all of the rules would have been understood to have been the rules in any event—but they were generalized, they were scattered throughout vari-

ous publications, and you couldn't really point to a section very easily. I think one of the really important things in any type of enforcement is that the rules be very clearly defined and available, that everyone understand them, and then that they be enforced. I felt it was also important that the public realize that the regents were concerned, and that we intended to see that we did have a code, that it was clear, and that it was enforced. And I feel that *that* did a lot toward getting the public behind the university—feeling that the university was solving its own problems—rather than taking their ire to the legislature.

It was particularly important that it be done right away, right in the June meeting, because we are now going into an election campaign time, where the next several months people campaigning for the legislature or other offices are going to be finding issues and discussing them. The university would have been a prime target for potshots from all directions from those who were opposed to the disruption and the violence that took place on the Reno campus, and indeed to the disruption that took place on the Las Vegas campus. (It was less publicized, but there was blocking of doorways during class hours. These were cleared, but it was a situation where it was kind of borderline all along there as to whether there was going to be real prevention for people going to classes. And there was fervent implied intimidation against anyone going into a class with all the people standing in front of the doorway and leaving a two-foot passage.)

I think these things were very important. I think the enforcement and the code were very important in getting this community support back *behind* the university. And I think we've got the support for the state and the community behind the university, so long as we pursue this course. But I don't think that the people at large will tolerate disruption as it occurred elsewhere without some sort of punitive action—and that will take place through the legislators, because the people would call their assemblymen or senators to inform them that they wanted some sort of action taken. And, indeed, the assemblymen and sena-

tors themselves feel this way. If no direct punitive action were taken, I think we would find that we would have very few new programs approved; that the faculty raises would have a very difficult time being passed; that benefits such as pension or fringe benefits would be very hard to come by. I think that we would find that our building requests . . . they wouldn't be entirely turned down, but we would be penalized in some way by not getting the request. I think the argument would be made: "Well, if you can't keep them from being defaced and burned, then we're not going to build you buildings."

I think it's a very, very serious problem. I see it being faced in other states right now—there have been significant punitive actions taken by legislators. And I can't say really that it's a bad thing. I can't really feel badly from a university standpoint, but it's too bad to penalize the students who are *not* disrupting for the action of a few, which, in effect, it does. On the other hand, unless the people can get their regents to act, the only other course they have is through the legislature.

The people are very upset, and they should be. I think that if they wish to have their feelings felt, and if they want to call a halt to this kind of campus violence that is occurring throughout the nation, then the people will find a way by doing it through the purse strings of the legislature—and really, it's their only course. I think that the university community—faculty and students—have been given perhaps too free a hand. Maybe I ought to phrase that another way: maybe they haven't been given too free a hand, but the free hand that they have been given has been abused, and therefore, I think it's going to suffer some restriction. I'm not referring necessarily to the University of Nevada, at all, but I'm referring nationally. Responsibility that's been given to faculty and students has not been borne or carried out well, and therefore, I think they'll find that there will be restrictions imposed. This is certainly much less applicable at the University of Nevada on either campus than elsewhere in the nation, but the possible trend is there.

Do you think issues of academic freedom are involved in participating in a demonstration?

I think that's a bogus issue. I think it's something that's immediately said, but is not true. Our university code, which has been recently referred to and quoted in the conduct code, has an excellent definition of academic freedom, which was developed by the faculty here. Academic freedom really applies to the freedom to explore ideas in the classroom freely without having the opinions of the administrators or regents or university officials forced upon them.

But as the code defines it, academic freedom really is a right to present both sides of an issue *judicially*. It is not the right to use the classroom as a platform for advocating one's own particular political philosophy. It's a way of exploring ideas. The faculty member has a duty to present his ideas, perhaps—certainly to present them—but also to present the contrary view. I think the very best faculty member is the one who, when you leave the class, you don't really know how he feels. Because otherwise you're not teaching the students how to think, as much as you're filling them full of your ideas. And I don't think that's the idea of a university. So, if we consider academic freedom being the right to freely teach your subject, to explore it in a truly scholarly manner, and to teach it in a scholarly manner, then this isn't being infringed at all by restrictions on disruptive tactics.

Then, I think academic freedom sometimes is used in a broader sense—that is, the freedom to speak as a citizen. Well, I don't think that's really academic freedom. I think that's the freedom that a faculty member has that is equivalent to any other citizen in this country—and that is to express his opinion on the issues of the day, and he certainly should not be restricted in this regard. I think that the quotations in the university code are very good, though, in calling to mind that the faculty member is viewed with particular respect, and he is viewed as a professional man. Therefore, his actions and expressions are going to receive greater notice and attention than

the average person, and his affiliation with the university is always going to be apparent. And therefore, I think it's vital that he express his views in a scholarly manner, in a way that corresponds with the dignity of the position that he holds. I think that no one would object to his expressing an opinion that's contrary to an administrator or a regent or any university official.

If the faculty member expresses it in a manner that is undignified, that is beneath the position that he holds in the community, that is not scholarly or not well thought out (and evidences the fact that he's talking off the top of his head), then what I think he will find is that he's not going to be thought well of, and the university, consequently, is not going to be thought well of.

For example, a person who was very controversial in expressing his views and did not, in my opinion, ever violate academic freedom was Erling Skorpen, who was here in the Philosophy Department. He held views that were contrary to a great majority of the community at that time. He was very much opposed to the Vietnam War at the time of the Bay of Tonkin. He expressed these views. There was a great deal of public reaction. The regents and the administration were very protective of him and of his rights to express his view—although I must add, with some sadness, that the general public did not realize he was right. He called this into question and did it in a very professional manner and made speeches about it. Now, that's the kind of thing where it was a very unpopular political view at that time, and we had all sorts of John Birch letters and so forth wanting the university to fire this man. Now, that would have made a real infringement of this man's right as a citizen to speak—I wouldn't say of academic freedom. To my knowledge, he always presented both sides of issues in his classes, so he was really following the principle of academic freedom. And even though there was a great public outcry, the administration backed him to the hilt.

How can students and faculty be effective politically? Or should they try to influence governmental policies?

They should be trying to influence governmental policies as citizens, just the same way as we all should. But I heartily disagree with the concept that the university should be a base for political action. That's not its function. There should be other organizations to accomplish this. The university is an organization for education and for learning—to explore truth, to seek knowledge, to impart knowledge to students, and to teach students how to think. It is not to achieve action.

That's one of the great mistakes, I think, that higher education is making in this country: creating the university as being an organization that should achieve action. It's the organization that should calmly deliberate. It's the type of organization that should write the critical history after the facts are all in. It's not the type of organization that should be achieving action. Now, this isn't to say that the same group of people, under a different organizational base, shouldn't be seeking to achieve action by petitions, by demonstrations, by contacting legislators, by trips to Washington, D.C., or by drafting proposed rules. All of these things are vital to all of us as citizens, but it's not the function of the university to lead this front. It's the function of the university to coolly and dispassionately explore the vast knowledge that seems to be immersing all of us and to impart this to students.

Where do you think the peace movement in this area is headed now—in the Reno campus area?

Well, I really sense that it's headed in the right direction. I think that the reaction has been such that those thinking members of the peace movement are certainly trying to hold it within appropriate bounds—both from the standpoint of trying to avert violence, but also from the standpoint of being effective, of trying to win converts to their point of view. They're trying to get the people in positions of power to be well aware of the fact that the feeling of the people in this area is toward peace, and trying to get out of Vietnam and not to have this type of involvement in the future.

I think that the peace movement in this area, at least the thinking members of it, is taking a turn that is also occurring nationally. I see, for example, groups of lawyers that have made the trip to Washington, D.C., to consult. The same sort of thing is occurring among students and groups elsewhere—to take time out to do legal research at law schools to see what could be done, and to organize to back candidates that feel as they do about the war. This is the way to be truly politically effective, and I think that's the turn it's taking here. I think, actually, it's the direction that had been taken by the great majority in any event, but I think that's the turn here.

Do you have other comments you'd like to make now about this whole situation?

Well, I think I've commented long on each of your questions and probably gone afield. I would think that maybe only this as a conclusion: that it's vital to the university that it continue to have the respect of the general public, of the state, because if it doesn't, it will not be an effective educational institution. I think that if violence or disruption is allowed to be tolerated in the future, it will greatly damage the overall objectives of the university. For that reason, I think it's essential that those of us who have anything to say about the administration be sure to invoke those rules and enforce those rules so that it does not occur.

I think it's important that faculty and students be made aware of the fact, not even from an enforcement standpoint, but from a desire to get the right thing done, that they must do the best they can for mankind and the people of our own state, and to preserve the image and the effectiveness of the university. For this reason, I hope, and I'm quite confident, that other avenues of political expression will take place and that the violence and disruption will not.

JAMES HULSE

June 12, 1970

So now, for the record, if you'll say your name, and your residence, and your position.

James Hulse, and Reno, and professor of history in the local History Department.

Why do you think you were chosen to be interviewed?

Well, I suppose I was chosen to be interviewed because I was involved in several of the events that occurred here last month, Governor's Day and subsequently. I've been quite active in talking to a lot of students. I think everybody knows that I had quite an involvement in the tension that was existing here.

What was your own reaction to President Nixon's decision to go into Cambodia with troops?

Well, maybe I should say I've been opposed to the war in Vietnam. I thought it was a terrible error for a long time. I thought the enlargement of the war into Cambodia was a serious error,

and I think it depressed a lot of us—I for one, who felt that Nixon was withdrawing from the war. The Cambodian operation seemed to be a thrust in the opposite direction.

In what way do you think the Cambodia decision was related to what happened next on our campus?

Well, in my opinion, the Cambodia decision frustrated many people who felt that we were on the road toward disengagement. And coming on the heels of that, the Kent State affair—in which the four students were killed—just frustrated and inflamed many people who might otherwise have remained very quiet. So that those two episodes coming together had a great deal to do with the attitude that existed not only here, but on campuses all across the country.

What was your reaction to events in other parts of the country related to the Cambodia decision?

Well, I, like many people in the academic community, was frustrated and appalled. I sent wires to the president immediately, and I'm sure



Jim Hulse, 1970s.

many others did too. It seemed to me not really surprising—even the president said it was not surprising—that there were protests against that action after they occurred. The fact that the protest was so great was surprising. The fact that there was violence associated with them was deplorable, but given the tension that existed, I suppose one shouldn't even be surprised by that, although we always are.

Turning now to the Governor's Day activities here: what did you think of the arrangements made for the observance of Governor's Day?

I think the arrangements were completely logical, and there was nothing unusual about them. I, for one, do not feel that Governor's Day should have been canceled. I have wished for many years that Governor's Day were more than just a ceremony to honor the Military Department

and its students. But certainly because it has become a tradition, and because the governor has performed this function for many years, it's not surprising that this function should have been performed. I think had I been a member of the administration, I would have been disinclined to cancel it. I don't think the ceremony should have been canceled because of these events.

It would have been nice, and I think it would have obviated some trouble, if there had been brief remarks in which the tension had been acknowledged, and some sort of regret had been expressed for those who have died as a result of violence. I think if that had happened, we might well have avoided some of our difficulties. I know the administration was encouraged to do that sort of thing, to allow just a few minutes in which the protesters could have had their symbolic statement.

What was your reaction to the demonstration?

I was not aware there was going to be a demonstration. I think I had seen that morning, or the day before, an indication that there was going to be a rally in the bowl, down at the Manzanita Bowl. I chose to go down there at the time classes were dismissed. There had been a statement, I think, in the *Sagebrush* (I'm not quite sure, it seems to me it was in the *Sagebrush*), but I saw a printed or a mimeographed statement saying that there would be a march, a symbolic march, from the bowl up around Mackay School of Mines and back to the bowl. I had fully expected that kind of thing as an alternative to Governor's Day, which was going on at the stadium.

When we reached the bowl, it was at about 11:00 that morning, the morning of Governor's Day. There was obviously a great deal of tension, and a great deal of excitement that I had not anticipated. A few remarks were made that were very indiscreet in my opinion, and some remarks were made that were very rational, but in short order, the crowd was moving toward the stadium, encouraged by a few of the louder voices in the group, and it became very frightening at that point.

I walked along, and when the crowd reached the plaza in front of the student union building where the military cars were parked, it was quite clear that a mob of people had stopped the cars—not a mob of people, but a few in the advance of it. A crowd was moving up that was in effect a mob because it was out of control, and there was no leadership that was evidently managing things.

Through good luck, two or three members of the faculty—I remember Bob Harvey, I think Jim Richardson was there, and a couple of students—cleared the crowd away from the first car, and it moved on. I happened to be up on the library steps at the time. I was not in the front group, where the cars were stopped, and I came upon the scene after the cars were stopped. And just by luck the crowd was dispersed at that point, and the cars moved on. But at that point I became very frightened because this seemed to be a crowd out of control.

Shortly thereafter, by the gymnasium, I saw Procter Hug, who is chairman of the board of regents, and I said to him, “I think this is a dangerous situation. I believe this situation’s out of control, and I’m frightened.”

I subsequently learned that apparently he had been in one of the cars that was stopped, and he said, “What do you think should be done?” And I had no answer. [laughter]

I didn’t have any plan, but I said to him, “I’ll run to the head of the group and see if we can persuade them to get it stopped.” When I got to the head of the group, Paul Adamian and others were there, and I asked three or four people—Paul was one of them—if there was not some way to stop the group, and to decide what was going to happen. There had been some talk in the bowl of walking into the stadium and making noises, and it seemed to me at the very least there should be a plan as to what form the protest would take. Some people had made reference to the idea of disrupting the ceremony, although I was convinced from the remarks that most people did not want to disrupt.

Well, as we walked along, one of the people said to me, “What do you suggest? Do *you* have

a plan?” And I didn’t, except to try to get them stopped. So finally I think I suggested, or someone suggested . . . I participated in the suggestion that we go once around the stadium and out, as a means of registering the protest, and there seemed to be some consensus for that (although when three or four people are talking at once, and when the crowd is moving, it’s hard to get a consensus).

Finally, one of the people said, “Let’s go three times around the field and out.” (Again, it’s hard to remember which one said it, but it may have been Paul Adamian—I did most of my talking with him, but I’m not certain it was he.) There seemed to be a consensus to that idea as we got toward the parking lot up there south of the stadium.

I ran back to Procter Hug and said, “I think if you let them go around three times, we can get them out.” Although, this was only a guess, I suppose. I believe on that basis, the group was allowed to go into the stadium, but not stop at the gate. I don’t think they could have been stopped at the gates with the number of police who were there, and it was very wise to let the group go in.

It became clear to me along the way that there were a number of faculty members, maybe as many as eight or ten, who were there for the purpose of trying to keep things quiet. And there was no prearrangement to that, but certainly Bob Harvey and people like Carl Backman, Jim Richardson, and others were trying to talk to students. Most of the students were not angry. There were a few people being very noisy and very provocative, most of whom I don’t know, but there were a number of faculty members in effect saying “keep it cool.”

As we started around the stadium, odd things were happening. There were a few students, basically of good intention, who wanted to be far more rambunctious. As we went around the first time, the young men, the ROTC cadets were standing in ranks. One or two men wanted to break ranks, and go through their ranks, as a way of disrupting things. I heard Bob Harvey say on a couple of occasions, “Stay on the track. Don’t leave the track.”

As we went around, I think the second time, one of the young men saw the American flag and said, "Let's take it down, tear down the flag." And one of my colleagues said, "Stop it! Don't! You stay on the track." If he had taken down the flag, obviously we'd have had another confrontation of some kind. There were a few odd things like that. So the situation was basically out of the control of any individual, although Paul Adamian was marching at the head and was very excited. He was not really in control of the situation, and he wasn't leading most of us, although something was operating that was very frightening.

(Maybe I should interrupt just a minute. When some of the students to whom I've talked, and I've talked to quite a number who were excited, and a number interested in peace, and a number who call themselves members of the revolution . . . one of them urged me to read, two or three months ago, Abbie Hoffman's book, *Revolution for the Hell of It*, which is a very provocative manual on how to make a revolution. I don't know whether there were any Abbie Hoffmans in that crowd, or any intentional troublemakers, but certainly the kind of thing that he described was working. There were a few people in there who, either intentionally or unintentionally, were trying to provoke and create the kind of excitement and hysteria that can lead to confrontation. And it was *that* that was most frightening, and I'm sure most of the young people who were there were not participants in that kind of thing, but they may well have been victims of it, if hysteria had prevailed. This is the reason some of us, I think, were trying to calm it, because if you're going to fight the Abbie Hoffman syndrome, you've got to be right where the action is; you can't do it by a plea from the platform, I don't think. At least when that was tried it didn't work.)

OK. The second time around the field, the crowd began to spill into the stands. This was shortly after one of them had talked about taking down the flag, and that little episode had delayed two or three of us. I was halfway back in the column, and the first thing I knew, the students were spilling into the stands, not by previous design, but as far as I know, it just happened that way.

There had been some comment down in the bowl, about, "Let's go into the stands and make noise," but this was a suggestion of individuals, and not the plan of any group as far as I know. Of course, as they were going into the stands, Procter Hug appeared and asked me, he said, "I thought they were going around three times and out." I said, "I did too." But there was nothing that any individual could do at that point, it seemed to me.

President Miller did make an appeal over the loudspeaker to people to take their seats and to observe the ceremony, and most people—even among the protestors—did. There were those who were noisy, who yelled insults of various kinds, and who generally tried to behave in a manner that would detract from the ceremony. I was embarrassed for that kind of thing, but again several faculty members were on the scene, trying to talk to the most belligerent—the most noisy anyway—of the people.

I should mention also Ben Hazard, of the Art Department—black art professor—was splendid in being where the trouble was, trying to talk the hottest of the heads down to a cooler position. I think I mentioned Carl Backman was there, and Dave Harvey, of the Sociology Department. There must have been others that don't now come to mind, but there were several in the group. (Am I preempting your questions?)

No, this is fine.

At one point, we were in the stands, and Dan Teglia came to me—the only student with a megaphone sort of arrangement, and who was in a sense a student leader, but I'm sure a voice for moderation. He came to me and asked me if I would be willing to speak over the microphone from the platform if the protestors were given the right to speak. They wanted—at least he wanted, and a number of others did want—a moment of silence and respect for those who had died at Kent State. And I agreed that I would speak, and I would have. I said I was willing to ask for a moment of silence in respect for *all* those who were victims of unnecessary violence, at Kent State and elsewhere.

He also wanted just a few remarks by way of protest against the president's incursion into Cambodia, and I would have been willing to try to do that in a respectful way and then to ask for quiet, as President Miller had done. It seemed to me that the point that President Miller made was that this was a function of the university, and if we had any respect for freedom of expression, we should respect it there as well as demand that the rights of peace groups should be honored. We had every bit as much of an obligation to honor these peoples' rights as they had to honor ours when we or others had a peace rally.

So, I would have tried to say something like that, and Dan Teglia and I agreed that this would be a good effort to make for the purposes of quieting the crowd. Dan Teglia went back down in front to the platform. I was left with the impression that permission had already been granted, and that at some point this would happen.

Dan Teglia came back to me and said, "Edd Miller says he wants to hear it from you—from Jim Hulse."

So I went down, and Edd Miller was apparently under the impression that I had *asked* for permission to speak, which I had not. I was *willing* to do it. He said, "We cannot interrupt the ceremony at this point, for you."

I said, "Well, I don't want to interrupt the ceremony. I don't want to do it unless it will serve the purpose of quieting the group." But it was logical, of course, that he could not interrupt it at that time. It didn't seem appropriate then: part of the ceremony had already gone on. So, I and others who were standing there with me said that we would go back into the stands and try to keep the group as quiet as possible. Most of them were doing well, I think, although there were a few times when they got too noisy—and as Governor Laxalt himself said, in most cases the conduct was not offensive.

Now, during a good part of this, there were a number of black students sitting out on the field, not far from where the soldiers were—where the ROTC cadets were assembled. I don't know at what point they went there. I think they must have been marching around the field and just stayed

on the field when the rest of the crowd moved into the stands, but I'm not certain of the sequence of events—there were so many things happening that I can't recall.

At any rate, when we got back up into the stands, after the conversation with President Miller, there was more discontent, more noise. People have subsequently told me that because the peace group was denied the right to speak, they decided to go on the field. I don't know about that. All I know is that I was talking to two or three people, and at one point we talked about trying to get them out of the stadium, go out way out the back way, but before I knew what was happening, large numbers of our group were spilling over onto the field and going out there to join the black group.

And by the time you got a couple of hundred out there, and the cadets are beginning to march, there is obviously the possibility of new trouble. I did not go onto the field immediately. I was sitting in the stands with only a half dozen people. I can remember sitting next to Rick Chiarito of the library, and Mrs. Marian Rendall, who's a graduate student of history. Three or four of us were there—I can't remember, but there were a few people still in the stands, but by far the largest number of the so-called protestors were on the field.

I had thought that there may still be an occasion for me to speak over the loudspeaker and to make a plea for order. After four or five minutes out on the field, when there was obviously the danger of some kind of trouble between the ROTC cadets and the people who were milling about out there, I could see some of my colleagues trying to prevent confrontation. I walked out onto the field to ask two or three people whether they thought a plea over the microphone at that time—to leave the stadium—would work. I remember talking to Ben Hazard, and he said, "We could never move them out of here now." He didn't think there was any possibility. I was only on the field a couple of minutes, long enough to talk to two or three of my colleagues. I then walked back toward the platform, wanting to remain there in case President Miller should decide it would be

desirable for me to speak, and I stayed right near the platform until the drill of the ROTC cadets was finished, and they started to march out. Then, of course, the protestors followed them out, and I then rushed across the field to join the protestors once again.

As we went out of the stadium, there were quite a number of policemen—I think they were University Police—down near the entrance, the south entrance. And it seemed to me there was great danger there of somebody doing a very foolish thing. As a matter of fact, I was near the back of the column, and some four motorcycles were lined up together with policemen on them. I don't know whether they were university or city police, but one could see them as the column was moving. Some girl stepped into the middle of the four of them. I saw this girl among the four policemen, and there was some kind of activity that looked a little dangerous—one could get the impression that she was in incarceration there, and I think three or four students started to run for those motorcycles. [laughter] It was a frighten-

ing moment, and to me one of the most frightening, because I thought we might have a confrontation with the police right there. As it turned out, this girl was just laughing and giggling, or something, as we approached. It was clear that it was all in fun; I don't know what was happening, but there, just for a dangerous moment, a few people started to converge on those motorcycles, from what was obviously a mistaken assumption.

The only thing that we could do at that point—the thing I tried to do, as in other cases—was just to keep the crowd moving, keep going, keep going. Well, it was small, little episodes like that that seemed to be so dangerous that it seemed to have the potential for mistake, but I think it was possible to obviate because there were quite a number of cool-headed students and a few faculty members who were in the middle of things, you see, when the tension existed.

Well, that's a quick summary of the Governor's Day activity; of course, many other activities occurred later in the day, but that's the episode that occurred in the stadium.



"Now, during a good part of this, there were a number of black students sitting out on the field, not far from where the soldiers were—where the ROTC cadets were assembled."

What do you think was the most effective part of the demonstration?

The most effective part of the demonstration? Well, I don't think the demonstration as a whole was very effective. I don't like that form of protest. It is not the form of protest that I would choose, even though I believe in protest. I think it's a mistake to interrupt a ceremony of that kind if what you're trying to do is to protest against the war. It was not effective from that point of view. And many don't share that view, but as a protest against the war, that was not an effective device.

What do you think was the most effective part of the Governor's Day observance—the ceremonies?

Well, it's difficult for me to answer that. I confess that I didn't hear much of the ceremony. I spent most of my time talking to people about one thing—either talking to people who were excited, or talking to students and others about what we would do. I'm afraid in that sense I was not terribly courteous. The people told me that taps were played at one point; I don't remember having heard that. And I know that when they were awarding the medals on the field, I was listening more often to people in the stands beside me than I was to what was going on in the field.

I don't have any notion about the effectiveness. I suppose the most effective thing that happened was that violence was avoided, and so that's a negative kind of effectiveness, I suppose.

What do you think should have been the reaction of the various factions involved with the demonstrators—the ROTC, and the university administration—when this situation developed?

Well, my basic reaction came to be, and is, I think, to try to keep things cool. It seems to me it was a wise judgment for the president and Procter Hug to abide a token protest. If you cut off the possibility of protest completely, you invite vio-

lence. If you call down the authorities too quickly, you invite violence, and this is exactly what the Abbie Hoffman kind wants. It seems to me the reaction has to be to allow token protest to exist, to carry on the ceremony as much as possible, as they did.

In retrospect, I think it might have been wise if the administration had made it possible for some kind representative of the peace movement to speak—probably more effective as a speaker would have been a student. That is, he could have done a good deal more than a faculty member perhaps, but it might have been wise to have allowed a representative of that movement to speak. Or, it would have been very desirable if a member of the establishment itself—either the president, the governor, or the chairman of the board of regents—had made a symbolic recognition of the tragedy at Kent State and had acknowledged that there were people who were not in support of the Cambodian operation. If something like that had happened, I think it would have cooled 90, 95 percent of those who were there in protest. That's my own hunch.

What was your reaction to the violence that followed Governor's Day? The fire bombings?

Oh, I think they must have been the acts of madmen. I don't think there was any necessary connection between the events of Governor's Day and those fire bombings. There may have been a madman or a provocateur in the crowd; there may have been someone who wanted violence. Conceivably, later in the week, there *were* people on the campus for reasons other than the peace movement, and there are some anecdotes I could offer on that.

But whoever threw the two firebombs was trying to provoke trouble, trying to create bloodshed and difficulty, and trying to revolutionize many of the students on the campus. These people are madmen. And well, there's nothing that I, or many of us, can do about those people.

I was mainly concerned on the field at Governor's Day to prevent the kids who are ex-

cited and upset from being radicalized. That was the obligation that I felt, and that was the danger that we faced. If the police had moved in at the wrong time, if the violence had occurred, many of the people who were most excited, who are basically good, young people, might well have become the victims of the Abbie Hoffmans. And that was the great danger. The fire bombers, whoever they were, were either madmen or they wanted that kind of thing to happen.

What category of participants in these various affairs—the students, the faculty, or outsiders—do you think was most important in fomenting violence?

Well, first of all, Governor's Day was not violent. We avoided violence on that day. The only violence that I know about were the two fire bombings, and I don't know who did that. I don't believe it was any of our students or faculty, but I don't know. If I knew, [laughter] I would file charges tomorrow—today! I don't know. It was some of the members of this community, of course, who helped create the climate in which the march on the stadium occurred, but again, that was not a violent confrontation.

I think to the extent that the media represented it as violence, that's an oversimplification, because no one was hurt, no one was arrested, and the ceremony went on to its conclusion, even though it was delayed.

Do you think outsiders were important?

I don't know. In that episode I just don't know. Two days later there were outsiders on the campus. If they were there on Tuesday, they could have. I'm not aware of it.

What kinds of actions do you think were the most important in cooling off the situation that followed the fire bombing?

Well, there were two or three tense days right after Governor's Day, and by the end of the week,

there was a large number of faculty members, members of the student body, and so on, who were attending meetings and were talking to one another for the purpose of keeping it cool. I think there came to be a kind of community commitment to the idea of keeping it cool.

So, a lot of meetings were organized—you see, they didn't just happen. When a meeting was going to happen, faculty members would appear, and students would appear, and some ground rules emerged which kept people talking to one another. And the fact that people could talk in situations that were controlled—even though sometimes there was great hostility—allowed steam to be released, somewhat slowly, somewhat mildly. We avoided, I think, direct confrontation, more bloody situations. We avoided the conditions in which the radicals could operate most effectively by having a large number of discussions. And a lot of petition-passing went on; a lot of arguing went on. All of that, given the climate we had, was very healthy.

When there was some talk of a strike, a nationwide student strike on Friday, a few students got at the head of that movement and organized the strike. That was a very good move. The fact that the administration said, "Friday each person should follow his own conscience; there should be no penalty invoked against those who do strike"—that was a very good move. It helped create the kind of climate, I think, in which token protests could be had: no punitive action was to be the result. That was all very healthy. In a climate like that, one has to find a way to diffuse the tension in a peaceful way, and that was done because many faculty members and many students by the end of the week were committed to that kind of conduct.

How do you think events on campus affect the university's so-called image with outsiders?

Oh, I gather—and this is all second hand—that the university's image was hurt with the community and with the state at large, partly because some of the people who were there in the stands

were very angry, and the press of course was basically not very pleased. While one could understand that by the demonstration, I think in the wake of all the other trouble on campuses across the country, many Nevadans came to the conclusion that trouble is reaching here, and this is a very bad thing—we better do something about it right away.

So the university's image was certainly hurt. I think some unwise things were said in many places. Some of the least wise things were said by the people who made immediate reactions to the situation. I talked to many people during the week, and I talked to revolutionaries (or people who call themselves revolutionaries, but they really are not deserving of that epithet). In all of the speeches that I heard, and in all the arguments that I had, only on one occasion did I hear someone clearly incite to violence, and that was a state senator. He was the only one, in my opinion, who clearly and categorically incited to violence. Others did unwise things, but I think that's the only act that was truly in that category.

What function can the university have in focusing public opinion?

A university's a very big, multi-phase thing. Each unit of the university has to do its own thing, I suppose—as long as it does its own thing in a peaceful way that doesn't disrupt somebody else's activity. The university certainly is a place to raise the provocative questions, and the university has to make a place for this kind of peaceful protest to exist. There are many segments of the university that don't want to have that kind of a role, and those segments should not be disturbed.

We shouldn't force the College of Agriculture or College of Engineering or Department of Journalism or anyone else to perform a role in this situation, and yet there should be a place in which a person of conscience can carry out the kind of investigation and can make the kind of judgments that he feels are most appropriate. In other words, I see the university as being an institution of every color and every faith. It has no

one rule, except to be open to everybody's interests and conviction—with the exception that you cannot tolerate violence in any segment of it, or you jeopardize the whole structure.

Do you think issues of academic freedom are involved in participating in a demonstration?

Not unless it's unreasonably restricted. We should assume we have the freedom to carry on token demonstrations, token protests. The point at which it begins to disrupt some other university function is the point at which somebody's freedom is being violated.

It's true that those of us who marched on the field came very near to violating the freedoms of the people who were participating in the ROTC ceremony, and many of us were there to try to prevent that from happening. The point is, the ceremony did go on, the ceremony was concluded, and the protest was had, too. There were some unfortunate things involved; we were very lucky that nobody's freedom was jeopardized because of that. If the outside reaction to that episode, and to the things that followed, is too great, then it jeopardizes the academic freedom of all of us. So academic freedom is certainly a delicate thing that must be guided in every case.

How can students and faculty be effective politically? Or should they be trying to influence governmental policies?

Well, each of us as a citizen has a right to try to influence the government, and there are plenty of ways to try to do it. Basically, I think most of us are committed to the idea that we should do it through the system. If you don't like a candidate, get rid of him in the next election. If you disagree with a court judgment, try to achieve either the legislative changes or the constitutional changes through the system that will do what you want.

Those students, or those people who argue that the whole system is collapsing—and therefore, we should disrupt the whole thing and start

from scratch—are, in effect, saying what the anarchists have been saying for a hundred years. Most of us can't subscribe to that. I shall not sacrifice any rights that already exist because somebody feels other rights are being jeopardized.

I think the way to change the system is by getting into a political party, or running for office, or electing candidates who meet the point of view that you represent. Now there are many of the young people, and some of the bright ones, who are not quite convinced that it works that way anymore. These are the people that I'm most worried about. These are the people who might well be radicalized, and whom we might lose to the system if we make a mistake.

One of my colleagues from Stanford was Anatole Mazour, who was one of my professors there and who taught on this campus many years ago, and more recently in the substitute basis. He said something like this that was very impressive, "At Stanford last year there were about fifty radicals. This year there are some eight hundred people who are truly radicals in the most militant sense of the word." In the course of a year, quite a number of bright young people who were disturbed became radicalized; that is, they joined the revolution in a militant way, and they're now ready to burn and bomb. I think that must be what's happening in Santa Barbara—I don't know.

This is exactly what Abbie Hoffman says must happen to make the revolution: that the handful of radicals must create climates in which larger numbers can be radicalized. That was exactly the danger through which we passed, I think, during the week following Governor's Day. And there were some people, I'm convinced, on the campus at least a couple of days later, who were trying to achieve that objective.

On Thursday of that week, two days after Governor's Day, there was a call that came out from the dean's office. I didn't get it directly, but I was told that the dean's office asked that a number of people, students and faculty, go over to the Jot Travis Union, where a meeting was getting underway. When some of us got there, I talked to

several of my colleagues who didn't know why—some people thought it was a faculty meeting.

As a few of us went into the lounge there, there were five people sitting at a head table—a sort of a head table—and there were more than a hundred students in the room at that time, and already quite a severe argument was going on. People were shouting back and forth. These five at the head table were quite clearly from off our campus. They had come in from somewhere else—I don't know where—but our students spotted them as being outsiders.

I became convinced rather quickly that they were indeed from off-campus, and they were playing Abbie Hoffman's game. So John Dodson (of the Campus Christian Center) and I talked quickly, and we decided that we had better run the meeting. There didn't seem to be any leadership. We sat there for ten minutes with nothing more than shouting going on. So, a microphone was brought in. John Dodson began to chair the meeting, and I filled in for a short time. For some two to three hours, we in effect presided over that meeting, seeing to it that everybody had a chance—everybody who wanted to speak—had a chance to speak, that the five at the head table did not dominate things. And by and large, it was my tactic to keep other people speaking, people whom we know in the university community, students of our own. Once in a while we would recognize people at this head table, because we were standing higher than they were, behind them. Well, a lot of steam was released in that case.

There were some who wanted to throw those five out, bodily. There were some people who were ready to call the police and expel those five from the campus. In my opinion, that would have been exactly what they wanted. If the police had come in, or if some effort had been made to throw them out, there would have been a fight. There would have been blood shed, possibly. We would have run the risk of radicalizing another fifty students or whatever—it depends on how bad it would have gotten. These were the dangers we were trying to obviate.

I did see a couple of those people around on the campus later, and they had on flashy clothes saying "Strike," and they had banners, and they were talking about setting up medical aid centers to help the wounded on the campus. When they were planning the strike for Friday, there was a strike headquarters over across the street, I guess in the Hobbit Hole. I stopped in there for one moment, although I did not want to strike; I went over there briefly to see what was happening. Some of the students were planning the strike, and I heard one of these fellows. One of these young men was there, saying, "Let's set up medical aid centers, so that if anybody is hurt tomorrow, he'll have help right away." This is what the radicals did, you see, to create the climate in which you come to expect violence. Very wisely, Dan Teglia and, I think, Dave Harvey was there at that time, saying, "Cool it. We're going to have a strike, but not a violent one." There are many devices that these people could use if they wanted, you see, to create the climate for violence. If you create the expectation of it, you create the reality. (I answered your question in a rather long-winded way.)

Where's the peace movement going now, here?

Oh, I really don't know. The peace movement isn't really a movement, I think. At one point during the week, I thought what we should do to handle some of this energy was to set up the Northern Nevada Peace Center, the old peace movement like the one we had two years ago that organized support for Senator McCarthy and Senator Kennedy. That was sort of ineffective, but it seemed to me that it would be far better to try to use this energy and this frustration in political action than in some of the damaging ways that seemed to be threatening us then.

I don't know. The students have scattered for the summer. Some of them, I gather, are going to work for their favorite political candidates. I've talked to a couple of students who are going to try to get involved, who are going to try to go to Saigon, to Vietnam, to perform humanitarian ser-

vices for Vietnamese people. I don't know where the movement is going. I hope it goes into political action, in favor of peace candidates. And this is happening in some parts of the country. But as for our young people, I couldn't generalize. I think most of them are going to try to do something constructive. I'm an optimist about that.

What other comments would you like to make about the whole situation?

I don't think I have any right now. I have a lot of ideas, but I just . . .

This comes to mind: we did become aware, I think, that the university system, the whole structure of the university, and the kind of freedoms that make it worthwhile, are very delicate things. They could very easily be destroyed, and not only by the radicals and the Abbie Hoffmans who could burn our buildings. They could be destroyed, of course, by the overreaction of public opinion to that sort of point of view.

We heard some rather unwise things said about punishing the entire university for the conduct of a few students, or the conduct of a few faculty members—or even for the conduct of the 300 of us, if that's how many there were walking around the field. To punish the whole university or to damage it, or to impose restrictions on the university community because of that episode, would be a serious mistake. These revolutionary movements never get crushed, never get destroyed by severe repression. If the lessons of history teach us anything, it's that you don't quell a revolution by becoming tougher, and that's all. They certainly didn't quiet the American colonies by the restrictive legislation of the Townsend Acts and the Stamp Act and that sort of thing. And the Russian government didn't quiet its revolutionaries by the repressive enactments of the 1890s.

The board of regents will not end the revolution, or end the embarrassing statements in the *Sagebrush* by imposing some sort of restrictions on university publications. There's some consideration of that, I gather, going on right now. If the

board of regents passes restrictions that in some way restrain the rights of those who publish on the campus, they will only create an underground press that will be far more dangerous, far harder to control than what they're dealing with now.

These things can be managed, I think, by sanity—by the kind of open debate that universities are established for. If we get a chance to answer the filthy speech people, if we get a chance to answer the Abbie Hoffmans, I think we can do it. If we try to repress them, we're inviting more and more trouble. If they violate law, and if they create violence, we punish the people who are responsible for the violence. You cannot guarantee the absence of violence in advance by the kind of restrictions that we've been hearing so much about.

LAURANCE M. HYDE JR.

May 29, 1970

So, just to start this tape, why don't you give your name, your position at the university, and your hometown, if you wish.

Laurance Hyde, National College of State Trial Judges. And my hometown is Princeton, Missouri, a town of 1,000 people on the Iowa border of Missouri.

Yes, and you've lived here for several years.

Lived here for five years.

Why do you think you were chosen to be interviewed?

I was a participant. I spoke at the rally, or rather the memorial service, that was given on Friday during the week, and I assume that's the reason. Also, I've been asked about some of the legal aspects of the oral history project in relation to this particular incident.

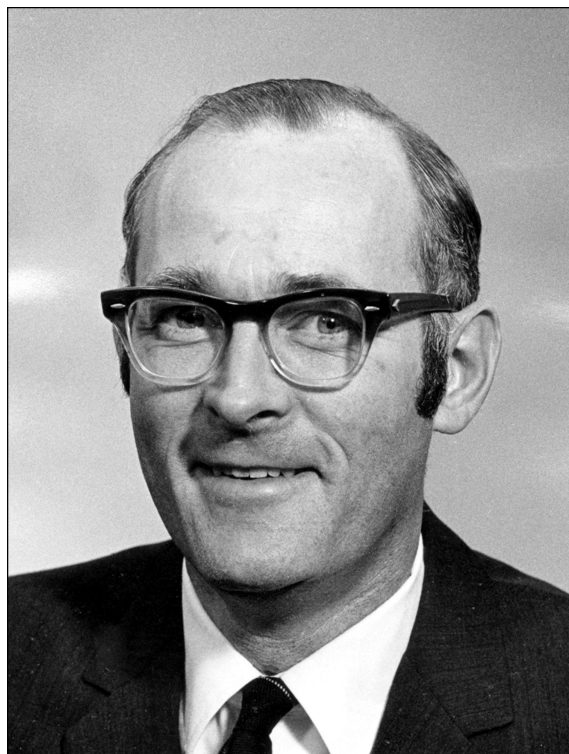
OK, now what was your own reaction to President Nixon's decision to move troops into Cambodia?

I was in Washington when he made the announcement, when he made his speech. I watched it on television, and I thought his explanation made a great deal of sense to me. And I thought that it was a step toward narrowing, and not widening, the war, and I was satisfied with the reasons he gave for making the move.

Well then, in what way do you think this Cambodia decision was related to what happened next on this campus?

Clearly it was a move geographically widening the war and putting troops in a place where they had not previously been. I think that the reaction to that was that we're getting deeper into Indochina, and that therefore, we're taking a step that's a direct violation of Nixon's campaign promises and everything he said since the election. The reaction was violent on the Kent campus and other campuses throughout the country.

I was going to ask you about your reaction to what happened on other campuses. What was your reaction to events in other parts of the country related to this Cambodia decision? I mean, do you think there's any connection between what happened here or what happened in Kent State?



Laurance Hyde, 1970s.

Was it the University of Louisiana where some youngsters . . . ?

Jackson? Wasn't it Jackson, Mississippi? A black campus where . . .

Yes, yes.

Well, yes, I think they're all directly related. I think that with my understanding from the newspapers and what I've heard, on the Kent campus it was a confrontation arising directly out of opposition to Nixon's move into Cambodia. It also was an example of untrained National guardsmen being put in a position that they were not prepared for and doing exactly the thing that would not have occurred with a well-trained force in the problem of a civil disturbance.

Because I think it's clear that the cardinal rule is that you lead force in gradual steps. And, as I understand it, somewhere along the line you give

the order to fix bayonets still in scabbards, and then you give the order to remove the scabbards. Then, finally, after some other intermediate steps, you give the order to place one round of ammunition in the rifles, and that may only be in one line of rifles. If that kind of a practice had been followed, there would not have been loaded rifles in the hands of those untrained National guardsmen at that stage.

Oh, and the other step, as I understand it, is the order to fire if there were snipers—it would be given not as a general volley from a mass of troops, but it would have been given to a specific marksman to fire at a specific target and not to fire a volley into the crowd.

The reason I asked your reaction to these things in relation to the Cambodia news was that I just wondered if you thought there was anything else causing the unrest that erupted, other than the Cambodian war. It might be; it might not be. I didn't know how you felt about this.

Yes, I do think that the Cambodian thing was a spark that triggered it, but I think there are certainly other things that are involved. I think one thing that's involved is the fact that it's spring. [laughter] And I think this is traditionally the time we've had all kinds of . . .

A burst of energy maybe? [laughter]

Bursts of energy [laughter] and campus high jinks of various kinds—in the days when high jinks meant seeing how many people you could put in a telephone booth, or now, when it means a political confrontation.

Yes.

I think that's part of it. I think there comes a time when a campus, as a status symbol, has to have a riot. And if you don't have one, there must be something wrong with your campus. I think that, also, there are quite legitimate complaints in this student body about the very slow way in

which authority reacts to legitimate demands that the students make. I think all those things are involved. And of course, now we've gone on to see people making political capital of it and demanding repressive laws. So, in Oregon they turned down the nineteen-year-old vote. I think we're not going to learn any lessons from what's happened this spring throughout the country. We're going to continue to try to contain it by repression, and that's going to cause more bloodshed, probably.

Well, now regarding the Governor's Day activities on this campus, the University of Nevada, Reno. What did you think about the arrangements for the observances that went on? And what was your reaction to the demonstrations, or did you feel it was necessary to participate in any of this?

I would like to have gone. I had intended to go as a participant in the Governor's Day celebration *itself*, not the demonstration against it.

I think it might have been foreseeable after Kent and the Cambodian incident that a military-oriented ceremony might have caused trouble. And by hindsight, maybe it should have been canceled and avoided the possibility of that kind of confrontation. But even by hindsight, I'm not sure that it should have.

You didn't actually see what happened?

I didn't go. I had other commitments, so I didn't see it. The people in our office who had attended came back describing it. And one girl who's a loyal alum of the university was in tears at having seen what had happened on the campus that she loves and so forth. I have very close friends who were participating on both sides of the scene and have gotten their views of it. [laughter]

My reaction, basically, is that in the name of peace, violence makes very little sense, and in the name of liberty, interfering with other people's right to hold some kind of a ceremony makes very little sense. I think that the whole thing is very illiberal to interfere with other people's rights to

make yourself heard, if you are in a society where you have a right to be heard, and you're given an opportunity to express your viewpoint.

If you're in a society—which we are not—where you must do something overt in order to be heard, well, then I think it's a different thing. I also am well aware that some great strides have been made by these tactics in this country. I think that the sit-ins in the South, the freedom march on Washington, and some of these other things—I really do approve of those things. I think they accomplished something; they were needed and they've stirred people to examine their views and to change their views. So, they were an important contribution to liberal progress and to well-deserved freedoms. But that doesn't, to me, justify the use in all situations, and that seems to me to be the position that is now being taken: they were an effective tool in certain circumstances; therefore, we will use them in all circumstances.

I think the question really isn't whether it's illiberal or not; it's whether it's effective or not. And I object now on the grounds that I don't believe that these tactics are effective. Witness Governor Reagan's election: I think he was largely elected by the University of California disturbances. And we witnessed the strong vote in Oregon against the nineteen-year-old vote.

Reactions, yes. OK. Want to go ahead?

Well, the other thing that I see occurring on this campus and other places among the youth (and not just the youth, but I'm reacting to a specific circumstance, and I'm mentioning youth for that reason) is that everybody gets so convinced of the rightness of his own cause that he finds it difficult to conceive that he might be mistaken. And as a lawyer and a judge, this is something that I've been commenting on for a number of years. It's a very rare thing, really, to find a person who is capable of saying, "Well, by golly, maybe I was wrong about that," and to back off from a position that he has taken.

So it shouldn't surprise anybody that this is now a problem because it always has been a problem. It's just that now it's a problem that people

are using these positions that they've gotten themselves entrenched in, in a different way, because now the current confrontation kind of politics calls for a different kind of use of your views. We used to simply either argue about it or walk away from the other person who was arguing with us; but that isn't what we're doing now. So we're seeing the result of this thing that's always existed of the inability of people to admit or even entertain the notion that they might be mistaken about something that they've taken a position on.

I think this is what we saw when we had the sessions over in the Travis lounge where people took turns as moderator and everybody got up and talked. There was a lot of talking, but I don't really think there was an awful lot of listening. And I wonder if we couldn't handle this kind of thing better

We also tried a small group tactic where groups were placed in the center of the circle, and then they could talk. I didn't attend that one. Only the people in the center could talk, and you took your turn in the center. I think that was a very effective thing, but I'd like to see us try something else. That is, I wonder what would happen if we divided people up in those same kinds of groups, and then, at random, picked one from each of the four or five groups of the right-wing and the center and the left-wing and the administration—whatever the groups are. And we picked, say, three people from each of those groups, so you ended up with a group of somewhere between twelve and fifteen. And you had however many of those small groups was necessary to take care of all the people who wanted to participate—that's the 200 people on the campus, or however many it is.

You'd end up with that many of these small groups, and they would then first go into a large assembly, perhaps, and hear some input information, some speeches, for a short time—twenty minutes. Then they would divide into the small groups, and they would try to *handle* that information. There would be a chairman, but only as a moderator. Then, you would have to react in what you said to what the others around were

saying, and then maybe you could get people to try to find the point of the areas in which they agree first, and narrow the areas of disagreement.

There still would be areas of disagreement, but I don't think they're as great as they seem when the thing to do is to make as radical a statement as you can make, as far-out a statement as you can make. I think we are a small campus, and maybe there is a way to really communicate on this campus. And that's one thought of the way that it might be tried.

Well, that's a way, a beginning, of trying to communicate, so they can't complain that nobody listens. OK, right? Then do you want to work on this some more, or would you rather go on to what happened next after this Cambodia thing?

No, no. I think the efforts that were made were excellent, and it was a real experience to observe it. I think they made progress, but my fear is that there's a limit to what you can do in that big group. I thought we'd reached it. I think maybe we need another mechanism, and a small group might be it.

OK. Well, then this is taking just the opposite tack. What was your reaction to the violence that erupted right after Governor's Day? No talking, no arguing, but suddenly bombing at the ROTC building and then the bombing of the Hobbit Hole. What was your reaction to all that?

Unjustified by any stretch of the imagination, and so out of place. I forgot who said it, but I think our fearless vice president said, "The sign of rifles on a college campus is a contradiction," or something like this. And I don't agree with very much that the vice president says, but that's true.

[laughter] That struck a note, right?

And that's what we were seeing here. There weren't rifles, but we were seeing Molotov cocktails on a campus where, by no stretch of the

imagination, was that kind of thing justified. And, of course, we saw absolute unanimity of the people—at least who were heard from—opposing that thing that had no support on this campus, although it has had support on other campuses.

Yes. Well, that leads to the next question then. What category of participant—student, faculty, or outsider—was most effective in fomenting this disorder, this disruption, or the violence? Do you think there is an outside influence here, or is this just fear talk?

Well, I think there's outside influence, but I'm not sure that that's necessarily bad.

By outside I meant non-student or out-of-state person.

Yes, I think there was outside influence. I think that clearly we had some visitors who were here hoping to cause trouble; and again, I don't think that's necessarily so bad. They were heard, and people listened to them. And by "causing trouble" I *don't* mean to imply that I think they were here to cause violence. They were here to cause trouble, which I include among the good things that you have on campuses. It is *that* kind of trouble, which is an examining of what's going on. I can't really see—from what I saw—that the non-students who were on the campus were advocating anything that was any further out than some of the things that our own students were advocating.

Yes. Well, once an idea has been tossed in the ring, you know . . . (It's just part of the question.) [laughter]

Unless someone had some reason to think that they were advocates of violence, I think we ought to welcome them on campus, and we ought to listen to what they say. And then we ought to decide what we think about what they say.

Yes, all right. Well, you've spoken to this somewhat, but I'll ask it again, just in case you have

something more to say: what actions do you feel were most effective in preventing more violence, or in cooling off the situation that developed after the bombings?

Well, I think the sessions at Travis lounge where people got a chance to talk were good. I think the idea of having a memorial service in the Manzanita Bowl was a good thing. Putting the flag at half-mast was responding to what students were asking and was a perfectly reasonable request, and the administration should have responded to it, even though it wasn't a request of a unanimous group. I think to have a planned memorial was a fine idea, and I think it was effective and a wise thing to do.

There were a couple of things about it that did bother me. I participated in it. I made it to one of the three or four talks that were made there. And those of us who were asked to make those talks were told that they would be non-political, and I think I was the only one who followed that instruction. The result was that to me—and I think to other observers—it sounded as though the purpose of the memorial was against Cambodia, and that was not the intention of it, although that was the view of some of the people that participated.

It left the people who went there, the so-called cowboys or the people who supported the president's move into Cambodia, feeling that they had not had a voice, and that they should have had a voice—that since one view was voiced, the other view should have been, too. And I agree with that; I think it should have been kept non-political, or there should have been two voices.

I think, also, one minor incident that occurred there was when we heard a police radio. During the ceremony—and it was kind of a solemn, quiet occasion—the city police cruised back and forth quite in evidence, and I think that was a mistake. The city police also parked one of their vehicles—and I think it was a motorcycle—behind the trees on Virginia just to the west of the bowl, and the officer left the motorcycle and turned his radio up so that he could hear calls while he was some distance away, which is standard police practice. But it was a disruptive and quite obnoxious po-

lice-type noise coming in the middle of the ceremony, which was associated with National Guard type of noises, and it was simply a mistake. And it, again, caused the police to be a focal point of 200 students who could again say, "Well, there are the damn, dumb cops again."

It was just an unfortunate incident.

Well, you've talked about this somewhat, too, but I'll ask it again. How do you think events on campus affect the university's image with outsiders?

Well, I think it does very much affect the university's image, and I think it does very unfairly affect the image. Here are certainly two groups of people, two widely divergent viewpoints on the campus. And the university is not a hotbed of radicalism (although, of course, there are some ultra-radicals, as there are some ultra-conservatives on the campus).

I think we clearly are not at all communicating with the community at large, and I don't know what can be done about it. Some of the suggestions that were made in the Travis lounge sessions were hopelessly inadequate. People were suggesting that students can use the labels, a team of one long-hair and one cowboy, and send out a group of teams who should go just knock on doors and stop businessmen on the street and talk—rap—about how we feel. Well, I think we need to find ways to communicate, and I don't think that's it.

But I wish that the people at large could see how intent and serious these kids are. I think they're a great bunch, and it's been a privilege to me to have had a chance to work with them. I think they're just fabulous. My generation ought to be taking its collective hat off to them. I think they're great kids. Even if I violently disagree with some of the things they come up with and some of the things they do, I think they're on the right track, and I'm all for them.

I think it's just, again, labeling people that the community is doing. They're labeling people who are connected with the university in an unfair way. I don't how we could even start to make a dent in it. I've seen the same thing with many

other kinds of issues, where if you can talk with the man on the street, if you can get him to listen to you about something, if you've got something that makes some sense, you can turn him around on it. But you can't really get enough people to seriously listen. And that's the problem with what to do about the fact that we have students whose ideas are different from the average voter's. So I don't know. I think it's a serious problem, and I don't know what the answer is.

How can a student or faculty, whichever you want to speak of, be effective politically? Should they attempt to influence political or government policy?

I think they certainly should. That's what democracy is all about, and I think basically both faculty and students certainly should. The question is, how?

Well, I could have asked you that. [laughter] How can they be effective politically?

Well, I think they can be very effective politically by rioting. I think they can win all the votes for the opposition that they need.

Win votes for the opposition by a riot?

Yes, I think they can be very negatively effective by throwing a Molotov cocktail. I think that's a very, very fine way to be *negatively* effective.

Now, how can they be effective then? [laughter]

If the voters had a chance in some way to hear some of these youngsters that I worked with—either through television or through other kinds of public gatherings—I think they'd be just as impressed with them as I am. They're responsible and reasonable and, yet, are making demands for change.

The ones who believe that the only way we can change society is to tear it down and start over, who believe that this society is so bad that

it's got to be destroyed, and who don't even suggest one substitute for it, I think to send those people out is totally ineffective. But, to send out some of the ones who are rational, I think, can be very effective.

Wow, well, this is the end of the tape. Do you have any other comments you'd like to make?

No.

Yes, and do you work with, or are you aware of the peace movement in this area? You must be talking to young people. Can you see it headed anywhere particularly? An organized peace movement or an unorganized one? [laughter] I don't know how to put it.

I guess I would have to simply include that in the business about restructuring society. I don't know what the peace movement's goal is. Other than the ultimate goal, I don't think there's any unanimity in the peace movement as to how you actually achieve the goal.

The peace movement's goal two years ago was to elect Eugene McCarthy. And I would suggest that it's at least possible that had we elected Eugene McCarthy, he might still be trying to get out of Vietnam, and he might not have found it all that easy. Maybe that's not true, but I don't think it's enough to say, "Let's have peace." I think you have to say how you're going to accomplish it.

So, I would say that if their goal is to get out of Vietnam, then maybe the most effective way they could achieve that goal would be to support the people they hate the most—the ones who have expanded the war into Cambodia. I don't know. I don't think their policy is very clear-cut. But I don't think it's clear enough to me, at least, for me to have any strong sense of whether it's likely to be successful. If they simply scream, "Peace now," I don't think that's going to accomplish very much.

On the other hand, in a way, I think maybe it has accomplished something, as did the Alabama sit-ins. I don't think the president was listening. Maybe he is now listening. It seems likely to me that the President of the United States has been made aware of the depth of feeling that exists. Impossible as it seems to me, he apparently was not aware of it until that week.

DAVID KELLER

May 28, 1970

I'm David Keller. I'm from Sparks, Nevada. My major is civil engineering, and I'm a senior.

Why do you think you were chosen to be interviewed?

I don't know. Tell you the truth, I received a letter in the mail, and I wondered at the time. I don't know. [laughter]

Well, what was your reaction to President Nixon's decision to move troops into Cambodia?

My personal reaction was I felt that it was a good move. I think that it should have been done earlier, actually. The idea of playing war where you draw a circle and say, "OK, don't come into our circle," kind of annoys me. They stand on the outside and throw rocks, and we don't do anything about it. I think we should go out and stop it, really. So, I think moving into Cambodia, as far as to destroy enemy base camps and hideaways where they've just been in seclusion, was a perfectly logical, valid move—something that probably should have been done earlier.

As far as staying in Cambodia, we now have the government asking that American troops stay in there. I don't think that this is right; I think that we should come out. But, as far as protecting our own men and matériel in Vietnam, I think it's a logical movement.

Very good. Can you draw any connection now of why you might have been chosen, now that you know more about the nature of the interview?

I'm a member of the ROTC brigade; that might have been why.

In what way do you think the Cambodia decision was related to what happened next on the UNR campus?

That's a difficult question. I'm not sure. I think that probably what occurred would have occurred, but not with as great a support had the troops not moved into Cambodia—not all that occurred. The demonstration at Governor's Day, I feel, probably would have gone off with less support. The fire bombings subsequent to that, I don't think, would have occurred without the moving into Cambodia.

Can you draw any direct connection between the two? Do you feel that the demonstrations were a direct result of that?

Well, I think the demonstration against the ROTC brigade, as I said, would have occurred anyway, but with less support. The fact that President Nixon moved into Cambodia and stirred up people—well, people say, “It’s a minority.” Well, it doesn’t really matter. Because it’s such a large number of people that are angered against the movement, whether they’re a minority or majority doesn’t matter.

So, when these people became involved in the Governor’s Day action, I think that it subsequently had to lead to the violence that occurred, because they had more people—many non-students—who were involved in it. I knew quite a few personally who were not students who came out and demonstrated, who would not have demonstrated had it not been for Cambodia—because they could care less about ROTC on the university campus, truthfully.

You feel, then, that there were outsiders on the campus.

Yes, there were. I know some of them personally.

What kind of people were these outsiders? Can you generalize about them? You may be reluctant to mention names, but what about these people? Do you know that much about them?

I really don’t think that you can generalize them and categorize them, really. By looking at two individuals that I know, they are two complete individuals—one is completely different, really. One of them had just returned about six months ago from the service. He had been for two years in the army as a draftee. When he came back he began to associate with the long-hair type picture, using drugs and things. And he decided, “Well, I’ve been to war. I know what it’s about. I don’t like it. I think it’s wrong.”

Now, the other individual that I know was not associated at all—I mean, he’d never been in the service. He was a missionary for a church organization. He was just a returned missionary; he’d been back for about a year, and he just came out. I mean, he wasn’t really associated with the long-hair group. In fact, he was, at one time, working with the university police department. I don’t know if he still is or not.

Oh, I see. What about the events in the other parts of the country? Can you discuss this a little—how these might have been related to the Cambodia decision?

I don’t know. I think the Cambodian decision definitely did set off a wave of reaction that demonstrated across the campuses. And you can take it from the campus into the streets of New York with the construction workers, too.

I mean, going in the opposite direction, because here are, I guess, people that . . . A construction worker, he lives off the nation, and his buildings are the things that the students are tearing down, and his ideal is of the American principle, “Here I am uneducated, essentially, but I can make good money.” And he sees these people, and he says, “Well, you know, you students are destroying our country.” So they counter-reacted against the students—and the students, being in the prime age group, are the group that is responsible for the fighting in these countries and the disenchantment that relates to it.

For ten years the American people have been fighting a war, and President Nixon says, “Well, we can’t pull out because we haven’t won it.” Well, if you can’t win in ten years, when are you going to win? Military victory, I think, is ridiculous. We’ve already been defeated, so the fact that he prolongs this defeat and increases the number of people killed I think directly touched off the violence that was spread across there.

Now, the killings at Kent State—I think that this is something that had to occur sooner or later. It probably will occur again in the future. Because looking at it from the standpoint of the students,

even if I were not demonstrating it (my feelings were not grossly against the war), I know I would probably be out in the crowd just watching, if nothing else, because it's something that is of interest.

The national policy is being formed, truthfully, and you like to see what's going on. I attended the memorial services that were held here on campus for it. Not because I'm against the war per se; I'm against the way we are handling the war. But I felt that it was important in national interest. What was occurring, I felt, was important that I should be there. And I did feel sorrow for the fact that people had to be killed over this kind of thing. So, I think that the killings were something that would occur because of the National guardsmen.

Looking at it from the other point of view, you have people throwing rocks and bricks at you, and you have a group of students moving toward you. The first thing you're going to think about is, "Well, number one, me. I'm in danger." It's just logical to return fire, I mean, even if they are not shooting at you. If I were in a line of guardsmen, and I heard a shot—regardless of where that shot came from—I'd figure it was directed at me and start shooting back.

OK, now let's talk a minute about the Governor's Day activities here. What did you think of the arrangements that were made for the observances? Is there anything that perhaps should have been changed?

OK. Looking specifically at the Governor's Day, it came at a bad time with the Kent State killings, though—just previously there was the move into Cambodia. However, it was a university function which had been scheduled for a great length of time. And so, going ahead and carrying on with the Governor's Day activities, I think, was appropriate. Allowing the students for peace to march, I think, was very appropriate.

I think that where it got out-of-hand is when the students, after they marched, continued to disrupt the ceremony. I think they have to have a

respect for the rights of others. I mean, their rights were respected; their right to dissent was respected. They were allowed to march around the field. And I think that if they would have done that and then sat in the stands, that it would have been a fantastic demonstration that would have added greatly to their cause, because it would have showed they were mature and thinking individuals, and they had a cause, and they felt strongly about it. However, when they continued to disrupt the ceremonies after the marching, I think this kind of related to an immaturity on their part. It was more of a disgrace to them, actually, than a build for their cause.

Now, during the Governor's Day activities itself, I think that the Military Department actually went wrong a little bit, too, when the Sierra Guardsmen marched with fixed bayonets doing their memorized drills. It was a drill without any cadence, and they had to go a certain number of steps and then perform the movement. Now, with the fixed bayonets, if someone in the lead part of the platoon were not to take the proper number of steps, he was bound to get chopped in the back with a bayonet. So, they had a kind of a responsibility to take the number of steps they had, and then with the demonstrators on the field, they were marching into the crowd, and it would have been so easy for something to happen. I was quite surprised something didn't happen, you know.

So, I think maybe that portion of the program should have been changed. Maybe the bayonets should not have been attached to the rifles, or the Sierra Guard should have moved to another location on the field so as not to be in a direct conflict with the crowd. So, I think that things were handled poorly on both sides. But it was such a spur-of-the-moment thing, there really wasn't too much, I guess, they could do about it. I don't think they expected the demonstration that they had, really. [laughter]

Right. Yes, I don't think so either. What about the caravan—the students who stopped the caravan? How do you feel about this? Could this have been handled any differently than it was?

I was not there at the time that the caravan was stopped, and so I don't know really what happened, other than what I heard happened. I really don't know what they could have done about it. Maybe the students should not have stopped the caravan. But once the caravan was stopped, there wasn't anything really they could do about it, other than what they did: get out and try to talk with the students.

Right, right. OK. What do you think was the most effective part of both the Governor's Day observance and the demonstration? What did you feel was the most effective part of those?

I think the most effective part, as far as the peace demonstration was concerned, was when they marched into the field, really—when they started coming up over the hill. I was standing down at the field at the time being a member of the brigade. It was very impressive to see four or five abreast, a column, coming up through the gates, and it just seemed to come and come and come. They outnumbered the cadets, I'd say, at least two-to-one, maybe three-to-one. And it was very impressive to realize that this much interest could be stirred up on the University of Nevada campus, because this has never happened before. So, that was impressive.

But then, as far as the Governor's Day celebrations themselves, I think that the impressive part was the fact that the cadets did not lose control. Because when people are marching behind you and making obscene gestures and comments, your individual reaction is, you know, "You dirty . . ." [laughter] You want to get out there and clobber them because, you know, "I'm doing my thing. You go ahead and do your thing, and don't interfere with me when I do it."

Right, right. Do you think the reaction of both the demonstrators and the ROTC and the administration was correct at the time? Do you think that the administration or someone else could have reacted any differently there while the thing was happening?

As far as the reaction on the official part of the administration and Dr. N. Edd Miller and the gathering and the ROTC Department there, I don't think they could have done anything differently, really. They appealed to the students not to disrupt the ceremonies, and there was not much else they could do.

Had police officers been brought in, tried to move the people off the field, it would have been all over. I mean, mass rioting, essentially, would have broken out, in my opinion, which is not at all what a university campus is all about. And so, they appealed for logic and reason, and I think that's all they could have done.

Now, as far as certain members of the faculty that were a portion of the peace movement, I think that they handled themselves very improperly, actually. My wife was in the stands at the time sitting near where Professor Adamian was, and he was encouraging the students. They were sitting in the stands. He encouraged them to move from the stands onto the field. He also was encouraging them to remove pieces of the uniform or hats and things, knock off the hats of the cadets. And he was just trying to cause trouble, really. Now, this was entirely inappropriate. As a faculty member, I think that he should have a little sense of responsibility toward the university community. And an occurrence like this is nothing that will build the respect of the university in the eyes of the community.

So, as far as select faculty members such as Professor Adamian, I don't think they handled themselves at all properly. The students in the demonstration and the students in the ROTC brigade, I think, handled themselves quite well. Because when you have someone encouraging you to move down on the field, it's a natural reaction—two or three are going to go. And then, since you are a part of the demonstration, you feel an obligation to go down with them. So I can't really blame the students for moving onto the field. Once they were there, when confronted with the bayonets of Sierra Guardsmen and such, I think that they handled themselves quite well—you know, they didn't get out of the way, but they

moved aside enough so that trouble did not start. I think that they handled themselves well there, and then the ROTC brigade did, also.

Why do you feel that some of the demonstrators in the stands kept disrupting the ceremony? Can you give any reasons why you think they might have?

My personal opinion would be that it is more or less just a group reaction. When you're a part of a group, you feel a little bigger than you do when you're all by yourself, and so there are things that you can do. I think they were just trying to build their image in the presence of the group, really. If you had taken most of those individuals and placed them in the stands by themselves, I don't think it would have ever occurred, that it was a group reaction.

Yes, that's a good point—a very good point. What was your reaction to the violence that followed the Governor's Day thing—the bombing of the ROTC building and the Hobbit Hole—and do you have any ideas about who might have done both of them?

I do not know at all who did them. I think that it was entirely inappropriate. I mean, it's just absolutely ridiculous, both the bombing of the Hobbit Hole and the bombing of Hartman Hall. Because what purpose does it serve? I mean, there is no purpose served by destroying. I imagine Hartman Hall is probably federal property—that's a lot of trouble. [laughter] You get the FBI in on a thing like that, and you can get in all kinds of trouble, and it's not worth what you get from it.

You're right.

I mean, it doesn't demonstrate anything, really. Now, destroying the private property located adjacent to the university, the Hobbit Hole, is absolutely ridiculous—especially the time that it was chosen to be destroyed, two or three o'clock in the morning. People live there; it's a private

residence. Now, death could have resulted easily from that. And so it was a completely asinine movement, really. I mean, it's ridiculous. The person who did it, I don't think, really thought about what he was doing. Because no one deserves to die for that—not even the Kent State students. I mean, there is really no purpose in their dying. And there would be no purpose in someone dying in the Hobbit Hole fire bombing either. Maybe it was the same person that did both things. It could very easily have been. Whoever did them, I think if they are ever caught, they should be strung up. [laughter]

There was sort of a polarization on the campus at that time. You know, somebody was trying to fit people into "the cowboys" and what-have-you and "the hippies." Do you feel that this polarization may have had an effect on what happened then?

I think definitely that it did have an effect. I think that the responsibility really lies with a few elected officials in our state, such as Senator Slattery. I heard his comment as reported on the TV, and it was entirely inappropriate. He said, "OK, we have a lot of long-haired hippies up here stirring up trouble." And he said, "If the administration can't handle these people, then we ought to turn the cowboys loose on them."

Now, no way should that have ever been said, because that's asking for trouble, because there are extremists in both groups, if you want to polarize the people into two groups and make long-hairs and cowboys. Now, there are extremists in both groups which are going to be offended by that and are going to say, "You know, wait, Slattery's right. We should be out there and wipe those people out." And the bombing of the Hobbit Hole could have definitely been a direct result of that. I'm not saying that it was, but it could very easily have been.

You know, they say, "OK, cowboys are aggies, engineers are the Sundowners." I think the way that they characterized the people—well, I don't really think that they had any business at

all saying that. I was personally offended by the fact that I am an engineering student and being associated with the Sundowners (OK, not with the aggies—that doesn't matter—but the Sundowners are a group that's on social probation or has been kicked off campus; I'm not sure which). Really, I was quite offended by being associated with them.

When they were pulled into court, in the news media it said, "The Sundowners, a University of Nevada organization," which I don't think they are. I don't think they represent the University of Nevada, and I don't think they should have been included at all. [laughter]

Yes, right. As an engineering student, what was sort of the feeling over there? Did many of them feel the same way you did, offended by this, or how did the bulk of the engineering students feel? I know it's hard for you to characterize now, but can you give an idea of how they might have felt?

Well, from their reaction the next day in my classes, I'd say that the majority of them didn't really appreciate being classified as cowboys. Now, most of them were not offended by being classified as against long-hairs, or against the radical element on campus associated with fire bombings and the destruction of Hartman Hall. They were not offended by that. I guess an engineer, really, is kind of a conservative fellow. And so most of them agree with the policy of the president. So, as far as being associated in that manner, they weren't offended. But to be considered a cowboy, along with aggies and Sundowners, really bothered them. [laughter]

Right, right. OK. Do you think that all of this hurt the image of the university or helped it with the community and with the students, themselves?

With the community of Reno essentially being very conservative (kind of backwards, actually), it was a tremendous damage to the image with the fire bombings that occurred and the disruption of the Governor's Day ceremony. I think it was not good for the university, really.

As far as student opinion, I really couldn't classify the student opinion. I can classify my own opinion, and I'd say that, as far as I'm concerned, it kind of built the image of the university in my mind, the fact that people would get off their duffs. I've been here for four years, and people have just been sitting around. Really nothing has ever bothered them. Well, finally something has come to bother enough people that they're willing to get out and do something about it, actively participate in a movement, either for or against. And in that way, it built my opinion of the university, that maybe it is becoming more of an educational experience, I mean, where people are moved by what they know. Well then, I feel that that's education. If they just sit around and never do anything, never act on the knowledge they have, never act with the beliefs they have, they aren't really educated. They may have a doctorate degree, but if they never do anything with it, it's a waste, useless.

That's a very good point. What do you feel an educational institution should be?

OK, most people will disagree with me, probably, but I feel that there should be a political awareness on the campus, because these are the people in the country who are most educated, have the greatest amount of knowledge, and are the most competent for running the country, truthfully. In a democracy you have to have an educated electorate, and here's where the educated electorate lies. So, I feel that it is the responsibility of the university to be politically aware.

As far as going out and engaging in political activity—and I mean, you know, sponsoring candidates and such—I really don't think that this is a part of the university function. The fact that a student in the university worked for a candidate is, I think, part of the university function. The university itself cannot sponsor these things, but they have to be politically aware like that. The knowledge that they *have* has to be used for something. I think that everyone at the completion of a bachelor's or, at maximum, at the completion of a master's, should be required to go out and

make use of this—practice with it in some manner—before they go on and get their Ph.D. We have quite a few professors at the university who, you know, just stayed in the ivory tower all along. And so they can talk and tell you an awful lot, true, but they’ve never been outside to find out if it works. And I think that for the university to be successful, it also has to work, and the people in it have to know how they can apply their knowledge and use their knowledge.

That’s a really good point. Then what function could the university have—or should it have one—in shaping public opinion? And it’s sort of related to what you’ve already been saying.

Right. The university, itself, has no responsibility to shape public opinion, but the members of the university community have a responsibility to be politically aware, to go out and work for their candidates, to work for their ideals, and to express the ideas that they believe in.

What actions? You already mentioned two, about the Sierra Guardsmen. What actions do you think were most helpful in preventing further violence, let’s say, after the demonstrations on the Governor’s Day? Could there have been further violence, and who or what actions were most effective in preventing more?

After the demonstrations? I’m not sure I really understand, because it was after the Governor’s Day that the major violence occurred: the fire bombings at the Hobbit Hole and Hartman Hall. Now, I don’t know. [laughter]

Could there have been more after that? After the Hobbit Hole, you know . . . ?

Oh, you mean further violence after what was done? I really don’t know. I think that the administration’s action by allowing the memorial service to be held for the Kent State students was proper. I think that, really, this kind of toned down the violence on the campus, because it

brought to light the fact that the violence really isn’t accomplishing anything.

I mean, OK, we have four people dead. What did the violence accomplish there? It didn’t accomplish anything; it shut off the lives of four people. The talks that were given at the memorial service—most of them were not politically biased talks. It was talk of, you know, “Look, this is what’s happening in the country. Somewhere we’ve got to straighten things out. There’s a problem here.” I think it was Judge Hyde from the College of State Trial Judges who spoke there, and his talk was just fantastic. I mean, if we can get together and really do as he admonished us to do, the logical reasoning and working for these things, then we’re going to accomplish something.

We had the group of aggies and the Sundowners, engineers—cowboys—that came into the memorial service after it started. They moved en masse around behind the speaker and sat down to one side, and I thought for sure that we were going to have violence at this point. But I guess when they heard what was being said and realized, you know, these people know what they’re talking about, they have a little bit of logic and sensibility on their side, too—and we aren’t the only smart people on campus—I think that this kind of allayed a lot of the violence that could have occurred.

Good. If you had to characterize the various groups on campus (it’s bad to label, I’m sure, but if you had to characterize them) do you feel that the long-hairs on this campus tend to be sort of anti-educational, here to stir up trouble? Or do you feel that they are amongst the ones interested in an education? Or can’t they be characterized?

I do not think the majority of long-hairs can be characterized as being against education. I know quite a few of the leaders in the protest movement—Dave Slemmons, Dan Teglia. These people, I know them personally, and I don’t think their purpose is to disrupt. Their purpose is only to cause a political awareness among their fellow students: an awareness of what is occurring

in the country and, when possible, reactions to it and ways to change what is happening. I don't think that they are against education at all. I think they realize the need of education, and they are here to be educated, really. They're not here to stir up trouble.

There are a few individuals who I've come in contact with that I don't think really are at the university as far as to learn and to promote learning. I think they're here to stir up trouble and make themselves feel big in their own eyes. I refer specifically, actually, to Jesse Sattwhite, and he's been a very controversial figure on campus. I've had personal run-ins with him.

At the meetings prior to all the Governor's Day activities, we had black-white meetings where you'd get together and find out what is occurring. And I sat at a table with Jesse Sattwhite and listened to him and what he says—and truthfully, I did not get the opinion that these were things that he had thought about and decided were important. I get the opinion that these were things someone has told him, who may be in associations with other groups. He'd heard these ideas, and they sound good, and they impress people, and so he's going to use these things. He's going to say them to impress people. But then his actions do not agree at all with what he says.

He's employed here as a student at the university, and paychecks come out every two weeks. (I have a friend who works in the payroll office.) He goes down always two or three days before the paychecks are done and threatens and physically abuses the ladies who work as secretaries in this office. He says, "I want my paycheck *now*!" And one day Johnny Gonzales and [Henry] Hattori were both out of the office, and Jesse Sattwhite came up to the cashier's cage. And the ladies working the cashier's cage just walked away; they weren't going to have anything to do with him. My friend [Mark] was the only male in the office at the time, and they said, "Mark, why don't you go answer the cage."

So he went out there, and Jesse said, "I want my check now."

Mark said, "Checks come out on Friday."

Jesse Sattwhite reached through the cages—the bars of the cage—and pulled him up against the bar and said, "Look it, Buddy, I want my check *now*."

Mark said, "Sorry, fella, I haven't got the checks. There's not a thing I can do for you."

So Jesse let him down, and the next day a bruise appeared all along the side of Mark's face where he pulled him into the bars. Now, this, in my opinion, is entirely uncalled for. I mean, he is not practicing what he preaches, where, you know, people should be treated as human beings, and there should be fair and equal rights for all people and such. He's not demonstrating that he really believes that in his actions.

Well, what do you think the university should do about people who tend to be troublemakers on either side of the spectrum?

I think that they should be removed from the university environment. Unless they show themselves qualified and mature enough to hold the responsibility that a university entails, I don't think that they should be allowed to go to the university. I think that's probably a major problem with the American university system today, that there are too many people here who really are not qualified for a university education.

I think that there should be a greater emphasis probably on technical education, vocational education, really. Many of the people such as Jesse—who has the intelligence and has the ability to go to a vocational or a technical training school and learn something—become productive for society in that manner.

But on a university campus where he has the responsibility . . . Well, I mean, see, they fall back to my idea that the university should slate public opinion, should be a politically aware institution. Now, he does not demonstrate the competence to go along with his political awareness. He says, "OK, I'm at the university. I should be politically aware." But his actions are not politically aware—only his words.

These types of people are dangerous, like Professor Adamian. OK, he's very politically

aware, and he's very vehemently opposed to what is occurring in Indochina. OK, now that's good, and I'm very happy that he has an opinion, and that he goes and holds to it. But when he calls for violence to change people's opinions, to try to cause other people to have his opinion, this is not the way it works. And it can't work. It degrades the movement in the eyes of that individual.

So these types of people, Professor Adamian and Jesse Sattwhite, should be removed from the university environment, because they are troublemakers. They aren't adding to the educational experience or educational awareness and political awareness that the students should have.

Who should have that responsibility, do you feel, to remove, say, a faculty member or a student?

Now, that's a very good question, because students are calling for more involvement in the university environment and more involvement in determining a curriculum and choosing instructors. I *really* don't think that the student is qualified for this type of activity. I mean, if I knew what I should be taught in the class, I wouldn't have to take that class, because I already know it. So I think that the instructor should be really the one who determines a curriculum, because he, supposedly, is the one who knows what it's all about and what you need.

If I knew what I needed, I wouldn't have to come to the university, so to speak. So I don't think that this responsibility should be in the hands of a student as far as their curriculum is concerned, as far as determining who their teachers are. However, a student should have some sort of say, because a student is the one who is intimately involved with the instructor, who knows whether the instructor is able to present material to them and knows what kind of material the instructor presents. So they should be involved: the administration should be open to comment from the students and accept what they have to say at face value, I mean, because the student is involved with the instructor.

Now, as far as the actual removal of the instructor, I think that this could only be left really

in the hands of the administration, the president of the university, and directors of personnel for the university—the Board of Regents, or whoever this may be. I think it would have to be left in their hands, but they would have to be responsive to student requests in this, too. Because even though they have a man who's definitely a qualified Ph.D., I think that they should look at student response and realize that if this individual is not qualified as an instructor, if he's not presenting the educational material his classes are to contain, he should be removed. He should be removed even if they think he's very conservative, doesn't stir up any trouble on campus, and is the greatest man in the world because he's not a troublemaker.

What about the removal of a student that you feel is out-of-line? On whose shoulders should that responsibility fall?

Again, I would have to say the administration, the president of the university, the dean of men or women, or whoever is involved—because they have talked with the student, they know what he has done, and they see these things.

Well, the handling of the Jesse Sattwhite case, I think, was entirely inappropriate: the fact that they went ahead and tried to prosecute, proffer charges through the state attorney and such. This was entirely inappropriate, because I don't think it is the university's responsibility, actually, to incur a criminal-type punishment or to deal out a criminal punishment, to see that this is done. Although, it is the university's responsibility to see that the individual who is guilty of these things is removed from the university environment and placed outside. Now, as soon as he's a non-student, if he were to come in and cause these disruptions, well, then it's the local law authorities that have authority over this individual now.

So, I think the administration should have suspended a student like Jesse right now. Just say, "OK, you are no longer a student at the university. You don't conduct yourself in the proper manner to be classified as a student." So, the ad-

ministration should have the responsibility, I guess. [laughter]

Do you think there is a pretty good interplay here at this university between the administration and the students? Do you think that they communicate pretty well together?

I feel that there's excellent interplay between Dr. Miller and the students. I have a tremendous respect for Dr. Miller simply because if you ask him something, he's going to give you a straight answer. He's not going to beat around the bush or try to give you an answer that will appeal to you. He's going to tell you what he knows and what is occurring. Now, this is what we need: honesty, forthrightness on the part of both students and administration. So, I have tremendous respect for Dr. Miller. I think that he's an excellent administrator, and there's excellent communication between him and the students.

Other members of the faculty or the administration—well, Dean Sam Basta—I'm not sure that there's really that much communication there. I mean, he's open to communication, you can go in and see him, but I don't think he really listens to you, to tell you the truth. [laughter] And you can't really rely a lot on what he says either. I mean, he says something more to appease the crowd or what he wants to hear rather than what really is happening. So, I think maybe there is a lack of communication on the lower echelons, but right at the top I think that communication is excellent as far as the University of Nevada is concerned.

Where do you think the peace movement in this particular area is headed? Or is it?

Well, that's a very difficult question. I don't know. Wow. [laughter] I think as far as a university function, the peace movement now is established, and will continue moving until either their ends are met, or something drastic—of national significance—occurs which would change the entire outlook as it is today. I think that it is es-

tablished on campus and will continue to be active on campus. As far as being active in the community, the community of Reno is really kind of strange, and most of the people in it are . . . Well, it's an older type community. I mean, the ideas are more conservative and more towards the past rather than looking toward the future, coming up with new ideas, new solutions to problems. I don't think Reno, as a community, has this outlook at all.

I think, in fact, the entire state of Nevada is kind of backward on this, which is not really the state's fault. I mean, there are not very many people here. Most of the people here have been here all their life. There's not a great amount of new people coming in. In the northern part of the state it's kind of static, really. And so I think as far as a community involvement peace movement, I don't think it's going to go anywhere at present. In a few years this could drastically change. But a university movement is established, I think, and it's serving a good purpose. It is bringing this issue before the community, letting the community be involved in it. And so, I think it is good. Actually, it's a necessary part of the university environment.

Do you think the university has been a force, and is going to be a force, for progress in the community? Do you think they have a real influence on how the people in the state feel?

I think that they do on the general public, if they can continue to maintain support within the legislative authority. But, I mean, we've had some really ridiculous comments made from our legislators. Gibson (I think is his name, from the southern part of the state) and Church (another senator) brought up the fact that they believe that funds to the university should be shut off until the university can show that it's able to handle itself, that the violence and the demonstrations that we've had are not proper.

I think these people are really playing right into the hands of the small minority in this country who want to shut down the institution, be-

cause the universities are where people are educated, prepared, made politically aware, and made capable voters—a capable electorate—in the society. And I think that there are individuals who would like to see the society, as such, destroyed, so their first purpose is, “Well, let’s close down the university. Let’s stop this educational process.”

People like Church and Gibson are playing right into the hands of these people. They’re shutting off funds because maybe there are four or five students in the University of Nevada, Reno campus who could be classified as those desiring to disrupt the educational process. And they’re playing into their hands. They say, “OK, we’ll cut off funds,” and the other 4,996 people at the University of Nevada, Reno campus will no longer be educated. With people like this in the senate, we have a definite problem in our state legislative branches because they don’t realize what they’re doing, and I don’t think that they’re qualified to be senators. So we have an impact, I think, on the general people of the community, but this impact is going to be lessened by the legislature because of what they are saying—the ideas that were prevalent then.

Are there any other comments that you’d like to make generally about the situation, the university, the community, or the issues that we’ve been talking about? Remember that after this, if you feel that you remember something that you’d like to come back and add, you may do so. I mean, this isn’t it, you know, if you think of other things that you’d like to add.

Let’s see. Right now I think I’ve vented my opinion on everything.

LAWRENCE M. KIRK

June 12, 1970

OK. If you'll say your name and your residence and your position.

My name is Larry Kirk. Position: I'm the broadcast editor for the College of Agriculture, which is radio and TV. You want my hometown or home address?

Yes.

I live at 2630 Appollo Way, in Reno. It's always misspelled. [laughter]

OK. Why do you think you were chosen to be interviewed?

Let's put it this way: I am the faculty advisor to the Aggie Club. Now, the Aggie Club took quite an active reaction to what went on, so I would suspect that that's probably why, because I was with the students, for better or for worse.

Yes. What was your own reaction to President Nixon's decision to go into Cambodia?

Speaking personally, the Cambodian move makes as much sense as anything in Southeast Asia. It's my own opinion, to tell the whole story, that we ought not to have been there in the first place, because it was an internal civil war which had communist overtones to it. But the fact is that we are there, and you have to do things to protect American troops. And so, my own reaction was it's as smart as anything that's happened there in a very bad situation.

In what way do you think the Cambodian decision was related to what happened next on our campus?

Well, I think to answer this I'd have to go back to last fall. The university sent me to school in San Francisco for nine weeks. I spent most of September, October, and November in San Francisco, and I was there during the two moratoriums, where they marched from the Ferry Building to Golden Gate Park, et cetera. So, what happened there, I think, was what happened here in a smaller sense of the word. The students are completely appalled by what's going on in Southeast Asia. They don't understand it from a mili-

tary or a civilian point of view. And I think this is the only way they feel that they can react to it, quite frankly. Whether it's a smart move or not, it's an involvement of a widening of the Indochina war, and that's the only way you can react to it, I think. They felt this was the only thing they could do to be heard.

Yes. What was your reaction to events in other parts of the country related to the Cambodia decision?

Well, I feel that the thing at Kent State, for example, was a complete comedy of errors—a very *tragic* comedy of errors, but nevertheless a comedy of errors. If they wanted the national guard on the campus, to have well-trained national guardsmen there, well-equipped, and under good leadership, is one thing. With the Kent State situation, according to a report I read, which was labeled official—at least, I have to believe it was official—the guardsmen who were there were new in the guard. They weren't as well-trained in riot control, for one must have great patience if, perhaps, they could have been. They did not have the proper leadership at the proper time, and they reacted, I suppose, in the way a lot of us would under this circumstance. But it was a very tragic thing.

The things that happened all over the country, I think, relate to the fact that students today simply don't understand the war in Southeast Asia; I'm not sure any of us do. I went through the tail-end of World War II and to Korea, and it wasn't very *nice*, but at least it gives you a broader perspective. Let's put it that way. They don't have that perspective.

Yes. Turning now to the Governor's Day activities here on our campus, what did you think of the arrangements made for the observance of Governor's Day?

Oh, I think they were no better or no worse than, perhaps, they've ever had. I am very impressed with the colonel who is the professor of

military science at the present time, and it's Colonel Hill, a gentleman whom I've watched with great admiration, quite frankly. He is a professional military man, but he is willing to *explain* his viewpoints, not just to say, "This is it, and you'll take it or leave it." So, really, perhaps, the arrangements were a little *better* as a result of Colonel Hill than they might have been otherwise. But as an outsider looking into the Military Science Department, it looked no better or no worse than the memory, really.

Yes. What was your reaction to the demonstrations that took place on Governor's Day?

Oh, I think the demonstrations that took place up there were unfortunate. Not so much as to what happened on the campus, but Nevada is a basically rural state yet, and with the exception of Las Vegas and the Reno area, basically conservative. And those people out in the state, we did great harm to our image with them, something that I'm afraid we're going to find out about with great clarity in the legislature next January. They simply don't understand it. The aggie club students, some of them went home on weekends after that and came back and said, "I tried to explain to my parents that I wasn't involved in this,"—this is towns like Fallon and what have you—"and we didn't believe in the demonstration."

And they simply weren't listening. They simply said, "Well, there was a riot at the university, and now, why did you let it happen?"

So, I think that the adults in the state who have something to say about voting in the legislature will tell us about this next January. We may not like it either. [laughter]

Did you feel it was necessary to participate in the Governor's Day activities or in any of the demonstrations?

Personally speaking?

Yes.

No, I never have. Let me put it this way: the College of Agriculture is not involved per se. I have helped in past years arranging the public address system, but as far as standing up and participating one way or the other, I really don't feel that I could have contributed anything, really.

Yes. What do you think was the most effective part of the demonstration or of the Governor's Day observance, or both?

Well, in terms of the students and the administration and everyone, I think it was the *non-reaction*, if you will call it that, of the ROTC to what took place. Here were a group of people out on the field acting not unlike the Chicago things of last fall—not nearly as severe—but a group of people nevertheless out on the field catcalling and that sort of thing, and the ROTC never broke rank or anything. Now, if the ROTC students had broken rank and used their rifle butts on them, let's say, I think this would have been a very bad thing. So, let's give them credit for keeping their cool under a very difficult situation.

Yes. What do you think should have been the reaction of the various people involved up there at the stadium—the ROTC, the demonstrators, and the university administration?

I think people have a right to express their viewpoints. I would prefer that they do it through the established channels rather than this. But if they're going to do it at a place like Governor's Day, the only thing that I wish would have not happened was that they'd gone out on the field or blocked the procession. That if the activists had gone up there with picket signs and had picketed the entrance, made a point at the entrance, and had gone in and sat in one section, had been quiet during the proceedings and perhaps after the proceedings, then they could have had a little cheering section, this sort of thing. Without going out on the field and without disrupting the events as they took place, they would have made

their point much better. I think they hurt themselves more than they hurt anybody else.

The university administration is in a very difficult place. When I was a kid, I lived in Louisiana for awhile. And they had a saying down there that you either fished or cut bait, which meant that anything you did really was wrong. I think the administration from this point . . . [laughter] What do you do? If you overreact with force . . . Now, as a result of the students sitting in front of the car, some Reno policemen were called by the campus police, which didn't help anything. So, there was a tendency to overreact. What do you do? You can't overreact; you can't underreact. Anything you do is wrong. The administration has my sympathies. [laughter] I don't have the answers for them.

What was your reaction to the violence that followed Governor's Day, the fire bombing?

Well, two things. Let me interject now what some of the students from the College of Agriculture did. As a result of the Governor's Day activity and as a result of the word around the campus that at the next meeting of the ASUN Senate there was going to be a petition asking for a strike and to shut down the school, shut down the university, by certain people, the conservative students, the aggie club members, the rodeo club members, most of the letterman club, the Sundowners (who are supposed to be non-persona, but they are), the engineering students started meeting together to say, "What about this?"

And they determined that they wanted the university to run. They went to the senate meeting on that particular Wednesday night and made their point. And, as a result, the petition for a strike on Friday was a very watered-down one—a voluntary situation that you could or could not go to class as you felt. There would be a memorial service, et cetera. After the ASUN meeting the aggie students stayed there. The two coalitions were there.

I was in the building there until about 1:00 in the morning, from 1:00 to 1:30 when this took place. Most of the students were there. Now, it's my feeling that . . . There were four people at the senate meeting who tried to arouse both sides against each other; they were non-students, well identified, I'm sure, by other people, by name and everything else. The students recognized them in the senate meeting for what they were, that they were trying to pit the two sides against each other. Even though the students didn't agree with each other, they agreed that these four guys were no good, really, and these four people left the senate meeting. They said, in some very interesting four-letter words, what they thought of the senate and whose senate it was. One could conclude from this that they felt they had not accomplished what they wanted to at the senate and had gone out and done this as a desperation act. So, the students, however, did not overreact to it.

I thought one of the things that probably will happen after we'd heard of the fire bombing is that there would be a great overreaction, but it seemed to me to mold the student body more together. Whoever did the fire bombing really did us kind of a favor—a backhanded favor, if you will, in doing this—because it seemed to bring them closer together from my point of view.

The Hobbit Hole was another thing. Doug Sherman, who has been in charge of the Hobbit Hole this last year, and Roberta, who was there before, are friends of mine. I have an ironic situation, I suppose. I hang around the Center for Religion and Life. I helped put the thing together in a very minor way, but I represent the Episcopal Church in helping put it together, and I knew those guys. The Hobbit Hole thing *again* served in a backhanded way to bring the students together, because if Doug and those other two fellows hadn't been in the kitchen awake, there would have been some people badly hurt that night. There's no doubt about it. And fate, or whatever you want to call it, was with us. Again, the student body realized what a terrible thing violence is, so I think their reaction, from my

point of view, to this violence, was that it helped put the student body back together.

Yes. That's very interesting. What category of participant in all of the various affairs—the students, the faculty, or outsiders—do you think was most important in fomenting the violence on the campus?

Well, there are two faculty members who have been named by the Board of Regents as the bad guys. It's interesting. This is an aside, but Dr. Adamian and Fred Maher and Dave Phoenix from the English Department teach English classes in the College of Agriculture building during the spring semester at eleven o'clock on Monday, Wednesday, and Friday. Everybody used to stand out in the hall and listen to their English classes because they taught a *lot* of things, really. [laughter] I don't know if they're all that good or they're all that bad, but our aggie students who went to their classes said they were terribly interesting. They may not have learned all the English in the world, though. Well, they did learn a lot of English. They learned a lot of other things about people's attitudes and what have you. So I'm not here to judge Dr. Adamian or Mr. Maher or anything like that. That was merely an observation on the side.

Perhaps under the university code—well, undoubtedly under the university code—those two gentlemen are in violation of the university code, and the new process of the faculty senate will determine their punishment, if any, for this. I don't think they had, however, as much influence on the students as perhaps they'd like to think they had. Gunter Hiller, another faculty member who's been in some difficulty, has been active working with the students. Ben Hazard has been active working with the students. I don't think that any of those people, however, really created the violence. On the other side, we've got some students who are so violently against the draft that they would do literally anything to evade the draft and yet not leave the country. And they've got a point. Under today's society, how

does one really justify the draft in certain terms, particularly to go to Southeast Asia?

But to come down to what *I* think, I really think that these four outsiders who were on the campus and others who came in . . . and I'll include a state senator with this who made a comment that what really ought to happen up here was that the cowboys ought to get out their horses and become a vigilante group like in the 1880s or 1860s and clean out everybody. The aggie club and others sent him a letter and said, "Thanks for nothing. You just made us look ten times worse than we ever thought of being." And he was really on the conservative point of view. But the students who represent that view, he didn't serve. So, I would say the outsiders outside the university community created more havoc, taken in the light of what I've just said.

Yes. What actions do you feel were most effective in preventing more violence in the situation following the fire bombing?

Well, from the, perhaps, conservative point of view—the student conservative point of view—those students had met before the Wednesday night ASUN Senate meeting and had determined that they didn't want the university shut down. They probably would tolerate a voluntary thing, which they did. Well, at any rate, on Friday following the ASUN Senate meeting, we had the strike. Some of the pickets came to the College of Agriculture building, and they picketed our breezeway and our walkway, which was fine, and they had girls there, which was interesting to note. And then they decided, well, they weren't really getting the job done, because nobody was paying any attention to them. So, they changed the girl pickets to boy-type pickets and they went inside the building. Well, promptly some of our big-type people—I thought it rather kind of interesting—just picked them up like children and carried them back outside and said, "You picket out here, or we'll have something to say about this."

Really, they could have hit them right alongside the jaw, and there would have been a great

deal of trouble. Everybody, I think, showed some restraint. They were exercising their point of view, but they showed some restraint. After the Kent State memorial at noon on that Friday, we invited everybody on the campus to come to the conference room at the College of Agriculture building and see if we couldn't talk this thing out. We'd been talking at the senate meeting, and we'd been talking at other meetings at college and in the center and such places. But we really felt after the Kent State thing, because all of the aggies and the cowboys coalition marched into the memorial and restrained themselves from saying one word . . . I think, with great effort, but they did. [laughter] They really didn't appreciate the whole thing. They thought it was useless and all of this sort of thing, but they didn't say anything. And afterwards they said, "Well, let's talk about it some more and see if we really can't come to some conclusion."

So, we had probably 200 to 400 people, depending on how you count the noses, in the conference room that afternoon. And we had all the known leaders. John Dodson from the center moderated it. He sat on a table in the center of it. On one side of the room, or one end of the room, were the conservatives. At the other end we had various people: Dr. Adamian was there; Fred Maher was there; Gunter Hiller was there; Ben Hazard was there, just to name some of those—and I don't mean to single them out by naming them—and a great many students. The one who is violently anti-draft, Jack Curtis—he has an anti-draft committee going on the campus—was there and was quite a spokesman. On our side a student by the name of John Lesag of Basque descent from Cedarville, California. And I don't mean to say "our side"—on the conservative side—but he was quite a spokesman.

Another student by the name of Steve Maya, who is from Tucson and was on the football team as well as being an aggie, was there. In spite of the fact that they had violent differences of philosophy, they soon discovered to their satisfaction, in talking, that they had more in common than they had in dissent, and violence wasn't going to cure anything. And I think if we'd have

really had some violence on the campus that both sides would have gone together to put it down.

I think our students are smarter than we give them credit for. Certainly smarter than certain members of the Reno Police Department give them credit for. One member of the Reno Police Department scares me to death. He told me quite frankly that if he was ever called on the campus to put out a riot, how he would do it, and we would all look like swiss cheeses if he did it. [laughter]. And that doesn't excite me too much. Well, it excites me, but it doesn't impress me too much. So, I think our students are smarter than we give them credit for.

And under the leadership of President Miller, we are creating a more active student government that has more responsibility. I think that the fruits of this were borne out at least in part in this, that the students are more responsible than most people think they are.

Yes. How do you think events on campus affect the university's image outside? We touched on this earlier.

In so far as the College of Agriculture is concerned, we're in great trouble. And this is not an opinion of the college. I will put a disclaimer on this—this is my own particular opinion. But we deal with people . . . Well, let me put it another way; let me start over again. There are 130 communities in Nevada, roughly, of *any* size that you can say this is a community or this is a township. It's an organized thing. One hundred and three of those are of less than 1,000 population. So we're only talking about 27 towns in the state that go over 1,000 in population. They're very rural. They're very conservative. Irrespective of whether they registered as a Democrat or Republican, they're still conservative, for better or for worse, and I don't criticize them for it. But these people simply can't understand why this happened.

During this I had to go to the board meeting of the Nevada State Cattle Association, which is one of the more influential and outspoken agricultural groups in the state. And a rancher who

is about as big as a door accosted me during that meeting and says, "You do something about that."

So during the process of the meeting, I was asked to talk to him about it. I hesitated, because we've had some problems with people from the college expressing opinions publicly that have gotten us into some difficulty. And so, I put disclaimers on it, and I talked in non-innuendos as much as possible. But really the point of the whole thing was at the end they weren't listening. They just came right back and said, "You clean that mess up, and you clean it up right now."

They didn't listen to a thing I said, really. I wasted thirty minutes trying to explain patiently to them using chronological events as to why these things happened. I think we've hurt ourselves very badly. I think in Las Vegas and Reno, while not as conservative as the cow counties, we've hurt ourselves. And I've touched on this before: I think we'll find out how bad we hurt ourselves next January, unfortunately. We all may have to tighten our belt a little bit, unless the university can prove to the satisfaction of these people that we are capable of handling our own affairs.

Well, two results of this have already come out. Procter Hug Jr. of the Board of Regents has issued a code of conduct, which, in effect, says that the Board of Regents will run certain aspects of the university, namely the *Sagebrush*. It hasn't been adopted at the time we're doing this, but I don't see much chance that it will not be adopted. Our people, our county agent staff, our cooperative extension staff, and other people throughout the state tell us that this . . . And we've counseled with them to not try this—because in their own communities they are the university—not to express a big thing like, "We'll go in and clean this up," but to use some common sense. The replies were mailed and this sort of thing. At least the College of Agriculture has not been very faithful on this thing.

Another thing that they simply can't understand in the state is the fact that Dr. Adamian and Mr. Maher led that protest at the Governor's Day rally, and it was documented in photographs. Why didn't we immediately suspend them? They

simply don't understand the university code. They said, "If that had been us, those guys would have been at least suspended until they were proven either innocent or guilty. Now, why didn't you do it?"

I, quite frankly, support President Miller, because, among other things, these gentlemen had quite a teaching load. And to suddenly suspend them and try and finish out the semester with another instructor would have been very difficult on a lot of students; they wouldn't have gotten the semester hours that they paid for in English. Perhaps they didn't get as much English as they should and a lot of other things, but the fact remains that there was a continuity of the courses for about ninety students, for better or for worse. I concur with the president's action, but the people in the state don't see it; they simply can't understand it.

Yes. What function can the university have in focusing public opinion?

It's obvious that the university can do a great deal in focusing public opinion, good or bad. Now, thus far, we've managed to do it badly very successfully. But Johnny Cash wrote a song awhile back that's entitled *What is Truth?*, and that, in a nutshell, is the university. We're searching for what is truth in a variety of fields, either scientific or in the arts and sciences. I think if they would let the student government, for example, this fall when the schools are back in session, go to the various high school assemblies and just talk to them, that the students in the high school and their parents . . . because this word would get back to their parents. Or let them go to meetings with their parents or at the student government, the leaders of the student government, *both* the activists and the conservatives. I don't mean to say just to send the good guys in the white hats out, so to speak. Send everybody out, and let them talk.

And the center is doing some of this, too. The center is having some formal sit-ins where everybody is getting together. It *will* focus public opinion on "what is truth." The university can

do a great deal to sway public opinion for better or for worse.

Yes. Do you think issues of academic freedom were involved in participating in a demonstration?

Yes, I do. Well, making this interview an issue of academic freedom came, and I would be very honest and say so, that there are people who feel that we ought to very quietly close the lid on this and screw it down tight and throw the can in the river and hope it floats into Pyramid Lake and is never heard from again, you know. [laughter]

And I think we can abuse it. Perhaps this is one of the reasons that the issue of academic freedom has come up, because some people feel that Dr. Adamian and Mr. Maher have abused that intimate freedom. I don't say that their conduct was the most gentlemanly I ever saw in the world, but on the other hand, I give them credit for having the courage of their convictions to stand up and say what they think, knowing full well that the wrath of certain people is going to fall right flat on their head and they're going to get it right between the eyes. And they knew what they were doing when they did it. I don't know whether they're married or not, but I'm sure that their families will feel the financial bind of this in due time. Because if they're dismissed here, they're going to find it difficult to get a job somewhere else. If they stay here, they're probably going to score a big flat zero on professional excellence in their evaluation, and that means no pay raise, in so many words. There are many ways of tightening the screws; financially is just one of them. So, I think that an issue of academic freedom was certainly involved.

There are groups of people who have gone to Dr. Barmettler, who is now president of the faculty senate—he is in the College of Agriculture—and asked for a readout on this. The American Association of University Professors are doing this, and I applaud their efforts, quite frankly. I think the time has come and gone when we could categorically say, "Yes, you can say this," and,

"No, you can't say this." It's another thing. I have parents who bring students in the fall, freshman, who are going to the College of Agriculture, and they say, "Now, you watch after little John."

Well, hell, I don't see him until December, you know, and by then he's been in three fights and everything else. [laughter] The university is no longer a babysitting function. At one time a university was a babysitting function. You took the child, and you had all the hours in the dorm, and they did things, and they did not do certain things.

When I went to school, I was a maverick. I will be honest and say so. I was a veteran, although there were a lot of GIs in school then. But I wouldn't belong to a fraternity or a sorority for obvious reasons, or I wouldn't belong to even the independents, because I just felt like doing my own thing. My mother called me a beatnik, and I suppose I was, but I made it through in spite of this. [laughter]

But academic freedom, I think, has to be very carefully spelled out. And the old concept is gone. People are not going to admit to it, I suppose, but it's gone.

Yes. How can students and faculty be effective politically, or should they be trying to influence governmental policies?

Yes, I think they should. For better or for worse, I think everybody in these troubled times has an obligation to express his or her view. Let me back up and explain that. The College of Agriculture used to be in the middle of the campus right down here on the mall, quad, call it what you will. Some ten years ago, roughly, it was moved over to Skunk Hollow, which is in the southeast corner of the campus. The students there are different in that they come mostly from small towns, rural areas, the border counties of California, rural Nevada, rural Utah, rural Idaho, and there they found their own people, and there they found their own interest. And a great deal of apathy suddenly existed towards the student government and still exists. In fact, the student government reapportioned itself—the senate—

some three years ago, and they cut the College of Agriculture from three senators to one, and nobody protested from the College of Agriculture. Not a word was heard. And the one senator . . . You see, we include the School of Home Economics in the College of Agriculture. The one senator for the last two years has been a girl from the School of Home Economics, who have been very talented young ladies. But *they* have more interest than the rest of the aggie students in student government.

Well, when this thing came about, everybody down there said, "Why?" And suddenly it dawned on them that they'd gotten just about what they'd paid for. They'd had a great deal of apathy toward student government, so that the political science majors and the drama majors and the speech majors and the philosophy majors from the College of Arts and Science had taken over student government for all practical purposes, even though, I think, probably, Frankie Sue Del Papa is somewhat of a conservative. That's a guess on my part. And Louie Test who is the president of the senate is also somewhat of a conservative, but nevertheless the voting power was with the activists. And the aggie students said, "Geez, what happened?"

Well, when they figured out what happened, then they set about doing something about it. They had meetings, and they decided who was best qualified to serve on what board, and they got those appointed to those boards, so that they put some balance back into the student government. They found out what five years of apathy will get them. It'll get them kicked in the side of the head is what it'll really get, from their point of view.

I think that the others really welcomed the engineers and the aggies and even the Sundowners coming back in the student government, once they discovered they had more in common and were getting along quite well. And I'll be very surprised if we have any difficulties in the fall if we continue with this approach. So, I think, yes, they'd have to.

A beautiful example of this—of course, this is a law school—but a certain law school had

dismissed classes for all of the students who will become actively involved in the political campaign as well as a worker for a candidate or a candidates of their choice, and this will be a special project for them.

In fact, it's interesting to note some of the students I know who have gone out to P.T.A. meetings and what have you—and this includes aggies to an extent, too. Well, the aggies discovered that an old smelly pair of Levis wasn't going to get them very many friends at a P.T.A. meeting. And the other students discovered that a long hairdo or a very short, short miniskirt was not going to get them any influence at a P.T.A. meeting or Rotary or anywhere else. And these students have gone down and gotten a hair cut. They're still very much in fashion, but they've lengthened their dress a little bit to where the men will think about something besides some girl sitting there with her knees showing. [laughter] And they are talking to these groups and they're listening. So, I really hope that the students get very much involved in the political campaign.

We, the staff members at the College of Agriculture, because we're part federal, are prohibited by the Smith-Lever law from participating as committee members in the election—actively participating. And I deplore this, quite frankly. I think it's a disenfranchisement of our role, but I knew this when I went to work here.

When I was in commercial radio and TV, I really had great fun with this. Why, I learned how to shut up. [laughter] But I full well knew this. This was very carefully explained to me before I came to work here. So, if I have anybody to blame, I have myself to blame. I think the advantages of working at the university and with the students far outweigh this, perhaps, disadvantage.

Yes. Where do you think the peace movement in this area is going now?

Depends on who you're talking to. [laughter] Down the sewer or out . . . Let's see. I want to collect my thoughts. The peace movement here is so much affected by what happens over the hill in Berkeley, particularly, or San Francisco,

that the students here take their leadership from this particular thing. I wish they didn't. I wish the students here, rather than reading in the *Berkeley Barb* what they're going to do over there and then promptly doing it over here, would show more initiative on their own, whether you agree with the peace movement or not. I wish they'd do their own thinking a little more than they are, although they're doing a lot of it.

The peace movement here in Nevada will never really gather the momentum that they want it to because of the conservative nature of the state. And I'm not being critical of the state; I'm very fond of Nevada. I wish I was born and raised here, as a matter of fact. But in these little communities, change comes hard and slow, and the peace movement will gather momentum in Las Vegas and in Reno on the campuses, but it won't go much further than that.

If the peace movement was to go down, let's say, into Wingfield Park, now they'll tolerate a lot of people going through town who are the hippie type who stay there, as long as they don't do anything else. But the minute they have a rally there or at the California Building [at Idlewild Park], why I don't think they'll tolerate it very long. No, they'll deal with it very forcibly. They'll overreact, which will, in the end-run, serve the militant purpose more than anything else. That's what I was scared of here.

This is off the subject, but the one thing I was scared of was that the reaction of the aggie students to the other students would be such a reaction that they would overreact and end up serving the militants' cause rather than their own. Now, these students are smarter than I give them credit for. [laughter] They didn't overreact. I think they handled it beautifully. And I will admit there were times when it was going on and I thought we were going to hell in a handbasket. [laughter] We didn't.

Do you have some other comments you'd like to add?

Oh, I think that the university community is not perfect. I'm very fond of President Miller. I

think as a president he's par excellence. I'd say he's tremendous. He does not overreact to these things. Let me start at the top. There are people who said the Board of Regents ought to be appointed rather than elected, and I say no. For better or for worse, when the Board of Regents are elected, they reflect the opinions of the general public in the state, and this is what they ought to do. We may not agree with them, and we may say that they're going to take things away from us, but still, the system is sound. Board of Regents reflect the state, and they've been very responsible.

Then the chancellor with the two campuses, I think, was a happy solution out of what could have become two universities a few years back, with Las Vegas being on one end of the state and Reno on the other. I came from a state where every college was on its own, and when they went to the legislature, it was like a bunch of tom cats fighting for money. Nobody had any dignity. [laughter] You got into the scrap for . . . And here we do our washing of our dirty clothes in private, and we present the finished product to the legislature, which I think is a good deal more intelligent.

Well, as I said, I'm very firmly in support of President Miller and the fact that he is putting more emphasis on the student government. My only complaint with the student bill of rights that was recently enacted is that the *Sagebrush*, in effect, does not have to be responsible to anyone. I think this is really what Procter Hug is saying, although he's saying it differently. I've never seen a paper—and I've worked on newspapers—or a radio station or a television station, that the news department did not have to answer to someone, which is a check and balance system. An editor, irrespective of how radical he may be, still has to answer to his publisher. And the publisher may be radical, too, but they still represent a check and balance system. Here, for all practical purposes up until this point right now, the *Sagebrush* doesn't have to answer to anybody.

We tried to talk to the *Sagebrush* staff during this last semester. And we know them all by their first names; we know who they are. We

know they're students. They're not bad kids, really. But they *know* they don't have to answer to anybody. [laughter] And the *Sagebrush* printed a lot of stuff about Berkeley and Kent State which you could read in the *Reno Evening Gazette* or the *Journal*. And we said to them, "Why don't you print what's on the campus here?"

They told us, in effect, what we could do with ourselves. So, I would say I feel the *Sagebrush* ought to answer to somebody. Unfortunately the regents are going to overreact, perhaps, on this, and the *Sagebrush* is going to answer directly to the Board of Regents, who are not going to tell them what to print, but if they don't like what they see, they're going to cut off the money. [laughter] So, it's the same effect.

It's not censorship. Well, it's a very refined sort of censorship of the thing. This thing of academic freedoms . . . The university code under President Miller has been brought up-to-date, but every college has bylaws. Every department has bylaws that go with this. Well, every college school and department has bylaws. A lot of these are perhaps rather ancient, and it's simply because they've had no need of them until recently. Nobody's particular fault. I'd like to see those brought up-to-date.

I think that the faculty senate, hopefully, will take up some of these things. I don't agree entirely with the American Association of University Professors on their stands on academic freedom, but I think somewhere in between is where we ought to be. Well, if they've got enough confidence in you to hire you as a teaching faculty, or in my case as a professional staff member—I don't teach—but they ought to have enough confidence and let you speak to a certain extent. And there are people who are going to violate this, as I've said.

One of the problems that happened recently, some of the people from the university have gone into the counties and have made some very radical statements. And this comes back and, unfortunately, ends up in the dean's office, and then the dean gets pretty unhappy. [laughter] I can't blame him, because the people say, "You let this clown loose. What are you going to do about it?"

So, I don't know. I think we can't look back, except to review, perhaps, what happened in terms of the university, in terms of what happened this spring semester, and say that we're smart enough that we won't go that route again. On the other hand, I think we can say with some pride that the students did not overreact—most of them did not—and that the administration handled the situation admirably.

I can't say enough good things for the center, because the center forms a kind of a demilitarized zone across Virginia Street from the campus where everybody can go and talk. And there's something about the center. I'm very fond of the place, so I'm perhaps prejudiced, but there's something about the atmosphere there that when you go in Maybe it's the holy spirit, I don't know. Maybe from the real basis the center was founded on. But you really can't get mad at anybody in that place. At least I've never seen anybody who had the ability, and I've seen some people go in there so mad they couldn't stand it and come out of there and, you know, it's like the March lamb. [laughter] He was all calmed down.

So, I think the center had a great deal to do with it. There's an interesting thing about the center, which is a sidelight on this. Fortunately, I had something to do with putting it together. Fortunate from my point of view, because I could see what makes it go, with the Catholics and the Episcopal Church and all the Protestant churches, including the Quakers who are the Friends Society. There's *all* types of philosophies involved. And yet, it all goes ahead very nicely. The beautiful thing about it is that, somehow or other, they put together such a beautiful thing that it's being exported all over the United States, and centers are popping up in lots of places based on this one here. So, even the aggie students who really aren't too religious, [laughter] go over there to functions once in awhile and say, "Gee, you know, that's a great place." So, it must be doing something.

FRED MAHER

June 15, 1970

Now, for the record if you'll say your name, your residence, and your position.

Yes, my name is Fred Maher, and I don't have any residence. I guess, wherever I live is, you know, my residence. I can't get residence in Reno, for instance, in order to get out-of-state tuition, though I would like to. I'm a graduate student, and I was a teaching assistant up until a couple of weeks ago when I was fired for participating in peace group activities. I guess I'm a graduate student still, yes.

OK. Why do you think you were chosen to be interviewed?

For one of two reasons: either that the persons who want this information are aware that I'm one of the main organizers of all the peace group activities we've had here since September, or else because of the terrible press I've been getting since May 5—mendacious vilification in the press, radio, and TV that's unsubstantiated.

What was your reaction to President Nixon's decision to go into Cambodia?

The immediate initial reaction was the guy is expanding the war, going into another country, and at this we can go be hypocritical because he contended when he ran for the presidency that he'd try to end that war. Are we doing this right?

That's fine. You can say whatever you want. In what way do you think the Cambodian decision was related to what happened next on our campus?

I think it provided the initial impetus for the students and other concerned persons here to react to Nixon's hypocrisy.

What was your reaction to events in other parts of the country related to the Cambodia decision?

Oh! Particularly Kent State, yes. It was an awareness that the military has become so powerful in this country that they can go anywhere—for instance, on college campuses—and kill a person, and that young persons have to be made increasingly aware that that's what the function of the military is—to kill persons. And if any young persons go into the military service and are told, "Pick up a gun and point it at someone, anyone," (their own mother even) they'd do it.



"I think [the Cambodian decision] provided the initial impetus for the students and other concerned persons here to react to Nixon's hypocrisy." Antiwar graffiti on the campus from around the time of Governor's Day, 1970.

And if they're told, "Pull the trigger and shoot," they would. That was my reaction to Kent State and other places across country, and why our emphasis was on organizing some form of non-violent peaceful protest here at Reno.

Turning now to the Governor's Day activities here: what did you think of the arrangements made for observing Governor's Day?

The arrangements made for Governor's Day The persons in the peace group (mainly, in this particular instance, me) were printed in the same day's issue of the college newspaper, the *Sagebrush*, which indicated that the coordinator for the peace group activities for Governor's Day—me, Fred Maher—had planned a peaceful, non-violent Governor's Day demonstration beginning in the Manzanita Bowl at 10:00, a march around the lake behind the library and back to the Bowl, and that would be our form of a sort of counter-Governor's Day protest.

However, it didn't work out that way. When I got down to the Bowl at about 10:15 with the microphones and the other equipment, I was about half-way there when, in front of Frandsen Humanities, I met a large crowd of persons going in the opposite direction. That is, they were going toward the Jot Travis Student Union lounge—in that direction. So, rather than go through with the original non-violent, peaceful—separate, even—demonstration down in the Bowl, the organizers: Tommy Myers, [Dan] Clayton, [Dave] Slemmons, and myself deposited the electronic equipment down at my office in Frandsen Humanities. We joined the protest group, the marchers, who, when we caught up with them, were to the left of the library in that alley between the library and whatever that dorm is. And when we got there, some of them (I guess it was the entire group) had stopped whatever car that was. I couldn't tell which car it was; they seemed to be all soldiers in there.

But in the charge that Paul Adamian was accused of, the charge is that he stopped the

governor's car. Now, I didn't see the governor in there, so I don't know if it was the governor's car or not. In the following day's Reno newspaper it said the governor's car wasn't stopped, that it went right on, and it was another car where the generals were. (Was there something else about that? Oh, yes, there was something about that.) When I got there, the car had been stopped for a few moments; I don't know how long. And one of the guys in the peace group, Tommy Myers, climbed up on top of the car, and he was telling the persons who were crowded all around the car to skip the car, let it go, because it's more important to go for the football field.

However, one of the generals (or colonel, I don't know what his rank was) got out of the car and made what almost was a horrible mistake. He physically grabbed Tommy and pulled him off the car, insisting that Tommy and the others let the car go on. Tommy, I'm positive, would have belted him back, [laughter] would have physically returned the physical assault on this person, except that Dr. Robert Harvey stepped in between the two, and the only thing that came of that then was a loud shouting match: the military guy telling Tommy, "I demand that you let this car go on," and Tommy saying, "I'm not a private in your army," and that kind of thing and got rather silly. But, in any event, then the marchers decided that they wanted to go to the football field, and if the car wanted to go, fine. So they did.

From there we decided to just march over to the football field, and there was no longer any decision-making person or even guru person. The peace movement had sort of lost control of its original planned activity, and we decided that we would just flow along with it, go with it and feel our way along and do our best to keep the thing peaceful and non-violent. On the way to the football field a couple of persons in the front of the group suggested that when we got there, we'd walk around the track two or three times in the form of a march and then march into the stands, and that was done. And I don't know who started that idea, but we wound up doing that.

We walked around the track two or three times, and then there was a lot of discussion at the front about where to sit: on the opposite side of the football field from where the rest of the audience was, or to sit in the same place there where President Miller and the others were. And while the persons were hassling back and forth, whoever was at the front of the line just decided to go right up into the stands where the rest of the audience was. And that's how that turned out.

Then, as each person got up to speak, the protestors would shout and make catcalls and holler, and there was a little singing of television songs that I don't know about, because I hadn't heard them before. Every time someone would say in a microphone, "ROTC," a group of the protestors would sing a little ditty about Mickey Mouse, "M-I-C-K-E-Y-M-O-U-S-E," which I didn't know about.

OK, after shouting and hollering down at the speakers for awhile, President Miller got up and asked the protestors to please let the ceremony proceed and stop being so discourteous. I'm not sure those were his exact words. However, the persons in the stands shouted and applauded while he was trying to talk, so that he couldn't talk, couldn't make himself heard for two or three minutes. And then I got up and asked the protestors to please knock it off for a couple of minutes and see what Miller had to say. And they quieted down, and we heard what he had to say—a request to be more respectful of the proceedings—and the protestors were for awhile.

After fifteen or twenty minutes some persons decided it would be a more effective way to influence the organization by leaving the stands and going down on the football field, where the ROTC drill team was going through its movements to demonstrate to the audience how well they'd learned their marches. And it started out with a handful of people. Eventually, all the protestors went down there.

Those of us who organized the thing originally and who had been in the peace group for a long time (and some teachers who were there—Harvey and Hulse are two I know by name—but

I don't know all the other guys by name) reluctantly went down there because we saw that some responsible person should try to prevent any clash between the protestors and the ROTC guys, because they had bayonets and stuff. So, we went down on the field. I was about the last one to leave the stands, in fact. We went down to the field and tried to get the protestors to sit down on the lawn, and that was effective for a little while, but they were restless and wanted to do something, I imagine, more dramatic.

Ultimately, the campus patrolman that was down there, Doug Sherman, and Dr. Harvey, Ben Hazard, and I, and some of the more mature persons who were opposed to that war in Vietnam, put ourselves between the protestors and the ROTC drill team so that we could make sure that there wouldn't be a clash. There were a couple of close calls down there, but fortunately—good luck—nothing came of it. They finished their drill, the thing ended, and then they started. The ROTC marched around the football field once with the peace group following them and marched out the gates of the football field and down toward that parking lot—I don't know what the name of it is; it's a big parking lot that you come to before you get to the gym—and the protestors were marching in the same march right on the end of the line.

At that point, the ROTC guys disbanded, and the peace group continued from there back to the Manzanita Bowl. There were three or four attempts at speeches to discuss and analyze what had occurred, but they pretty much fell apart, and I took the microphone and mentioned that that's all. In the event of some other peace group activity in the future, we'd appreciate the same persons showing up and acting as peacefully and non-violently as they had that time. And that was the end of that.

What do you think should have been the reaction there of the ROTC and the demonstrators and the university administration?

Good. I'm glad I didn't skip that one—you reminded me that it's there. It seems to me that in

light of the obvious unhappiness across the nation, mainly on college campuses (but not necessarily only there), over Cambodia and the Kent State killing of those four kids by National Guardsmen, the intelligent thing to do for the administration of this university regarding Governor's Day was to cancel it. They didn't do it. It was an awful mistake. I think it would have been a very intelligent move on the part of whoever is responsible for setting up Governor's Day. They couldn't possibly have deferred it, postponed it? At the time when student passions were extremely high—high, or whatever term—it was a mistake to have continued with a military ceremony on a college campus any place in America.

The reaction of ROTC guys down on the field was commendable. They really took care of themselves like mature, responsible persons. I know several guys in ROTC, and one of them, Jim West, was on the field during all that, and he explained to me that the ROTC guys on the field felt pretty much as we did: they were opposed to the war in Vietnam, to expansion into Cambodia, and they were very unhappy about the Kent State thing. They sympathized with us, but they were in a position of not being able to do much about it, and that there was a pretty big split among the cadets. There are about half totally opposed to what was going on and half partially, and the Governor's Day ceremony divided and clarified for the ROTC cadets how they felt. No longer were they neutral: they were either for or against, and it turned out to be about half and half. That takes care of ROTC.

Since the demonstration was peaceful, non-violent, and was, I think, an intelligent public display of unhappiness about a horrendous war that's going on, the demonstrators acted fine. They acted in a tradition that this country was born on. And they acted opposite to the way persons acted in Germany in the 1930s when they should have been doing something resisting fascism, instead of passively sitting back and letting it happen. The persons in this country right now who are taking a peaceful, non-violent method of protest about the atrocities and the napalming that is going on in a foreign country where we have no

business, I think, are acting in a very humane and intelligent manner and in a manner that perhaps will have some influence on the course of American history. Is there another one?

Yes, very good. What was your reaction to the violence that followed Governor's Day—the fire bombings?

OK, good. I'm a pacifist; I'm against violence of all kinds. I'm opposed to destruction; I'm in favor of creation. I'm opposed to death and in favor of life. I'm opposed to hatred and in favor of love. So, I do not dig hearing about the bombing of the ROTC building. But it only mildly bothered me because there was no chance of anyone getting hurt—it was just damage to property. However, when I heard about the bombing of the Hobbit Hole, which happened at a time when four (I believe there were four) persons were inside sleeping, and a person threw a bomb in there knowing that there were persons in there at the time, I was horrified and shocked that somebody would do that.

I would really like to see caught whoever bombed the Hobbit Hole and the ROTC building, too. I would guess it's probably the same person, but who knows? If there's any way that any guys in the peace group knew, we would have cooperated with the FBI. We talked to them, those of us who were interviewed by them, and offered our assistance in any way, but there's not anything we can do right now. And they've been investigating. They said they'd keep in touch.

What category of participants—the students, faculty, or outsiders—do you think was most important in fomenting violence on the campus?

Let's see. Well, I'm not sure I can do a good job on this question, because I don't think there was any violence on the campus other than a couple hundred dollars worth of damage to a building, the ROTC building, and the Hobbit House. I don't know. If that's considered campus, yes, that's a different story. What category of participant? It certainly wasn't faculty. I doubt

if it was student. So, I guess I'm left with the other choice of outsider.

I know that there were four or five crazies around here, because I pointed them out to the dean and Edd [Miller] and Sam Basta and those guys (well, I don't know what their jobs are—they're administrative persons). They said that they also had been observing them and keeping their eye on them, and I pointed them out to the campus police. And I suspect, without any good solid foundation for it, that those four or five crazies were the ones responsible for the bombings. Everyone I know in the peace group disclaims anything about it, so I would guess it's those four or five. That's the end of that.

What actions do you think were most effective in preventing violence or cooling off the situation after the fire bombings?

The most efficacious actions of all in preventing more violence and in cooling off the situations were actions such as mine. When interviewed by newspaper reporters, I'd say, "No comment," and I refused, at the rate of about ten a day, requests from the TV and the radio. I think that's what more persons should have done. Persons such as Slattery, for instance, would be one example. Mr. Agnew would be another example. And some of these persons in the peace group, too, who felt that we should have been more active. But I don't really see it as an unfortunate demonstration, except for the physical bombing of ROTC and the Hobbit House. Other than that, there wasn't any violence. I think at the football field, appropriate terms might be discourtesy, impoliteness, rudeness, but there wasn't violence or any physical encounters. The demonstrators probably should be condemned for being impolite, discourteous, rude, if those are censorious actions.

How do you think events on campus affect the university's image with outsiders?

Well, these particular events seem to affect the university's image with outsiders—that is,

non-student, faculty, or staff in Reno or in all of Nevada. They seem to think that the university was bombed, blew up, shut down, and came to a staggering halt, which has no basis in truth or fact at all. Anyone who's on campus knows better.

Given the fact that this is a political year, the mean effect seems to be that some persons downtown are using the university, and they're also using me, as a political football to help get themselves elected. Outsiders? I guess the regents are outsiders. They're acting as bad-tempered old men, and their grandfather image of kindly, paternal human beings has gone down the drain entirely since Governor's Day. And students are well aware now that these tiresome fellows are attempting to prohibit any form of protest. They seem to feel that, "If you don't like it, keep quiet."

What can the university do to focus public opinion? What functions does the university have in focusing public opinion?

Oh, I think the university ought to just have persons here acting as individuals saying what they want about the war or about anything else. I believe that there are attempts being made at the Board of Regents meeting this week, and I know during the summer, to stifle the right of protest and dissent on campus and I think endangering the constitutionally time-honored right of freedom of speech. So the university, I think, ought to act not as an entire group having someone speak for the university, though I do admire Kingman Brewster, the president of Yale, who came out publicly in opposition to the war in Vietnam.

I think it should be an individual gesture of, "I say what I think. You and everyone else, anyone who has anything to say about war or racism or whatever they want to talk about, ought to speak out." Given the facts of the second half of the twentieth century, I think the greatest crime is silence, making believe that everything is fine. And if not now, it will be pretty soon if we just keep quiet and sit back passively, unconcerned.

Do you think issues of academic freedom are involved in participating in a demonstration?

Well, since I've just been fired, yes. It seems to me that's the way my status with the university reads now. All the other persons in the English Department (including the person who a lot was written about in the paper, Paul Adamian) got their contracts for next year, a contract which I signed and submitted in good faith *before* Governor's Day. However, it was not returned in good faith, and since I don't have it back now, I guess I don't have a job for the forthcoming academic year. And I would say, that yes, academic freedom, I would think, has been violated here and that possibly I'm being used as a good example to be held up to other members of the faculty here of what will happen if they become involved in participation in demonstrations.

How can students and faculty be effective politically, or should they be trying to influence governmental policy?

I think students and faculty, before being students and faculty, are human beings. And as human beings, they should be concerned about issues that concern them and their fellow men. And one way of being effective politically—I think it's the best one—is to work through the electoral system: try to get congressmen, senators, mayors, treasurers, or anyone elected who will publicly come out and take stands that are comparable, or similar to those of a person involved in peace, antiwar activities. So through the electoral process, I think, is the most effective way.

Should they attempt? Sure, students and faculty should attempt to influence political or governmental policies. Somebody's got to try to influence the persons who are in power in this country, other than those who are influencing them now: that is the generals and admirals and colonels and those people. If we want to survive as a nation, I think it's incumbent upon each of us to remember that it's not possible to remain passive

and neutral now, because by remaining passive, by remaining neutral, and by keeping quiet, you're supporting the generals. That's the way I see it.

in favor of life, and opposed to hatred, in favor of love.

Where is the peace movement here headed now?

I think that in the coming school year the peace movement may be without me, since I've been fired. I and Tommy and the guys who have organized the peace group activities on this campus have been adamantly opposed to any kind of violence, and we're pacific persons. We've all been either subtly or blatantly encouraged to leave the campus in Reno, Nevada. And I think there's a very real danger that some less mature, more crazy persons will be running whatever peace group activities will be on this campus next year, and there's a greater possibility of some form of unpleasant, unfortunate action, perhaps even violence against buildings or lock-ins. The things that young, impressionable students read about going on in other areas may be done here.

What other comments would you like to make about this whole situation?

I should have thought about this before I came in here, but I didn't, so I'll just find my own thing, reiterate something I mentioned earlier: that I'm a pacific person, a peaceful guy. I'm opposed to violence of any kind. I don't even think it's right for parents to hit their babies; the only reason they can get away with it is because they're bigger than them and stronger than them. Maybe they ought to try it when those babies are twenty-eight years old and see what happens. I mean, if they're committed to teaching their child that sort of thing, perhaps the other hand would come back on them later on in life.

I guess the comment I want to make mainly is that I think all men of good will in this country or any other, and at this time or any other time, are (to repeat something I said earlier) opposed to destruction and in favor of construction or creation. As far as possible they're opposed to death,

BOB MALONE

June 1, 1970

Why do you think you were chosen to be interviewed?

Well, I assume that you're gathering facts regarding the recent disruptions that occurred on Governor's Day. [Note: Bob Malone was chief of university police in 1970.]

What was your reaction to President Nixon's decision to go into Cambodia?

Well, I can see the reasoning behind it, based on my military service myself. I'm sure that his reasoning was based on intelligence information that was gathered that this was the right time to go into Cambodia, in an attempt to destroy a lot of military supplies and destroy the enemy's . . . probably the main supply route into Vietnam.

In what way do you think the Cambodia decision was related to what happened next on our campus?

Well, I think that the war itself is getting very, very upsetting to most people. And it just so hap-

pened that at that time, the decision made to go into Cambodia caused even more problems with the students around the nation, as well as the shootings that occurred at Kent State University. This was a culmination of several reasons.

You want to say any more on that?

No. I think I answered it probably as to the reasoning: a culmination of things, no one factor.

What was your reaction to events in other parts of the country related to the Cambodia decision?

In which respect, now?

Well, I was thinking about the demonstrations that took place, the Kent State affair, the things that seemed to affect people here.

Well, I deplore the use of violence—the burning of buildings, the disruption of records, destruction of computer centers, and such as this. I feel that there is no place in the American society for action such as this, and those persons who were responsible for destruction of buildings, property, computer centers, and such should be

prosecuted. I just can't see the reasoning behind their thinking that the destruction justifies the means.

Regarding the Governor's Day activities here at our campus now, what did you think of the arrangements for the observances?

The arrangements for . . . Would you go into that a little more so I understand this?

Well, some people have mentioned the logistical problems of getting people from one place to another. Some people have mentioned the dismissal of classes as one of the arrangements made. Some people have mentioned the emphasis on the military as opposed to a broader spectrum of activities and arrangements.

Well, I can't see hardly how any other arrangement could be made as far as picking up the honored guest, unless you were to have picked him up off of Virginia Street. There, again, I don't see any reason why it should not have gone off peacefully. There was no reason for the students to disrupt this. I mean, once they went beyond the point of a peaceful march, they disrupted and infringed upon the rights of others, because this is a part of an American university. I mean, why should they interrupt, or why should they disrupt? A peaceful demonstration everyone is entitled to, especially on universities. You have that right to disagree. You have the right to protest peacefully. But when it comes to disrupting the affairs and infringing upon the rights of others, I feel that no longer do the protesters have that right.

Yes. Then, what about your feeling toward participation in these demonstrations and observances?

I have nothing against those persons who participate in a peaceful demonstration. I feel that the leaders, the ones who organized this particular protest march, did not have their people under as good of control as they should have. There may have been some antagonism and insistence

upon disrupting this. I feel that had it not been a disruptive-type demonstration, it would have certainly had a place in the university community.

What do you think was the most effective part of the demonstrations and of the observances, too?

Oh, I think probably from the protestors' point of view, the most important part of it was the actual disruption of events on the field when the awards and ceremonies were being given out.

What do you think should have been the reaction of the various people involved here—the ROTC, the demonstrators, the university administration—to the conflict that developed?

Well, I don't see hardly how we could have taken any other position than what we did under the circumstances that day. I'm sure that no one was actually anticipating an out-and-out, total disruption of Governor's Day. It's something that had never occurred in the history of the University of Nevada.

We knew that there was supposed to be a march. However, the marchers had informed me that they were merely going to march to the stadium and that they would immediately leave after proving their point and making their point by marching to the stadium. I believe that had they stuck hard to this rule, they would have probably been recognized and accepted, and as far as the public is concerned, they would have had a lot more sympathy from the public. But where they entered into the disruptive type of behavior and creating embarrassment upon the administration and the governor and the officials and especially Mrs. Wisham, why, they no longer have the support of anyone, or very few people in the state of Nevada.

What was your reaction to the violence that followed Governor's Day?

Well, it was something that I kept getting rumors that this perhaps may occur. There possibly would be a bombing or the ROTC building might

perhaps be bombed. And all that we could do was to take the necessary precautions in an attempt to keep it to a minimum. I don't agree with the bombings of either the ROTC or the bombing of the Hobbit House. I feel that this has no place in a university community.

What category of participant—students, faculty, or outsiders—do you think was most important in causing the violence that erupted?

Oh, I think the outsiders certainly didn't have anything to lose one way or the other. The more disruptive that the non-students could be, the more they considered their mission accomplished. The percentage of students involved in the actual disruption is a very, very small percentage, as well as the small percentage of faculty members participating.

So do you think that outsiders were important?

Well, I think that they no doubt played a part in it, but I think that our own faculty and students were just as responsible. It would be totally impossible for four or five outsiders to create such a disruptive-type demonstration as we had without the assistance and cooperation of those people leading the groups. Then they were our own students and our own faculty members.

What actions do you feel were most effective in preventing more violence or in cooling off the situation?

Well, I think that the bombing of the ROTC building in the eyes of most students was deplored. They felt that this was totally out of order and would serve no purpose other than to cause more problems for the university, the administration, and the students. I think getting the concerned faculty members, both conservative and perhaps liberal faculty members, working with the students and meeting with them and discussing it possibly deterred further violence. Of course, I feel that our intensification of the patrol and the fact that all the students knew that police

were available and that we had reached a point where we had no choice but to take police action in the future, this also perhaps may have had some deterrence.

How do you think events on campus affect the university's image with the community at large?

Well, right now, from the people that I have talked to (which have been quite a few, both in the business field as well as the public employment outside the community), I feel that this certainly hurt the image of the university. It very definitely will have effects for some time to come on the university by their actions and by the embarrassing situation that did occur on Governor's Day.

What function should the university have in focusing public opinion?

Well, I don't see any reason why the university cannot. Not the university itself, but members of the university community certainly have a right to their own opinion and their own ideas as to what is right and what is not right. I don't believe that they should take advantage of their classrooms to project these ideas to their students. I don't see any reason for it. If they have a contract to teach a given subject, I believe that they should teach that subject. And if they're going to involve themselves in the student protest and students demonstrations, it should be on their own time at no expense to the university.

Do you feel that issues of academic freedom are involved in participating in demonstrations?

Well, I think one would have to define academic freedom first, which is very difficult. To some pros, academic freedom means complete freedom to express and make any statements that might be to their own interest or to the interests of the students in their class. However, I still feel that they have an obligation to the university first and foremost to teach the subject that they are contracted for. If they choose to disagree and take

issue with the administration, they should do so through the proper channels.

How can students and faculty be effective politically, or should they try to effect governmental change?

I think if students and faculty desire to be effective politically, they will have far better effect doing it in a peaceful-type situation with petitions, names on petitions, showing the interest, contacting their respective legislators to let them know their feelings on this. I don't think that violence is an answer.

Where do you think the peace movement in this area is headed?

Well, it's rather difficult to say. Now that school is out, we really won't have any idea until fall as to how many people that will be returning will be actively involved in the peace movement. I would say at the present time there will be a very small percentage of active participants in the peace movement this fall.

What other comments would you like to make about the situation here?

Well, my only comment, I suppose, would be that the university and perhaps myself may have come under criticism for not taking a more firm position on the particular day of Governor's Day and the events leading up to the disruption. However, I still feel that the approach that I took, by *not* calling in a massive amount of police and arresting on the spot, certainly did help to lessen the chance for violence. However, I do think that in the future any group that is going to protest or march should be advised as to what they can expect from the administration and from the police itself. It should be thoroughly explained to them that we have a policy pertaining to peaceful demonstrations and peaceful marches. Then once they go beyond the point of where it's no longer peaceful and becomes disruptive, at that point it should

be conveyed to them that this will not be tolerated.

Yes, that's very good.

JOHN P. MARSCHALL

June 7, 1970

For the record, if you'll say your name and your residence and your position.

OK. I'm John P. Marschall. I am a part-time faculty member at the University of Nevada and director of the Center for Religion and Life.

Why do you think you were chosen to be interviewed?

Probably because I'm deeply involved and deeply interested in student campus affairs, and I try to exercise some kind of conciliatory role in differing opinions and that sort of thing.

What was your reaction to President Nixon's decision to go into Cambodia with troops?

My first reaction was genuine disappointment in the way in which it was done. I've always been a little concerned, and as an historian, I've been very much concerned about the way in which the president, the Congress, and the judiciary exercise their roles and attempt to maintain revenue with the principle of separation of powers. Ever since our involvement in Korea, which was very

much within my own lifetime, I've been interested in the kinds of powers that have been given to the presidency—emergency powers during wartime, for example, World War I, World War II, and Wilson and Roosevelt—and some of those emergency powers continuing over into peacetime that would allow a president to send troops into a foreign country without the congressional permission. In an age of instant communication, and with the sophisticated intelligence operations that are going out all around the world, that it may be necessary to give a single man or a small coterie of men powers to deal with national emergencies whereby they don't have to go to Congress, let us say. But I have concern about that. You know, I fear sometimes that the democratic process breaks down.

So that was my main concern. Yes, I know enough about military history to know that sometimes a retreat is one of the most difficult maneuvers you can attempt. And it sometimes means, according to Clausewitz and others, that you've got to make forays into the enemy country so that you have more room to retreat. So I could understand a movement into Cambodia as a necessary part of retreat action. But when I saw members of the president's staff, Congress, who I think may be a little bit more in touch with facts than I am,

beginning to question the president's judgment, my own concern about the kinds of powers that the president has and his judgmental powers—those questions were raised in my mind. So if I were to express an emotion, I suppose I would be largely concerned about what sending troops into Cambodia meant for the future—the future of the presidency, the future of how people in this country can decide which way we want to move, and what are they going to say about that.

Yes, that's good. In what way do you think the Cambodia decision was related to what happened next on our campus?

On Governor's Day, you mean?

Well, what happened next on our campus.

What happened next was that, I think, a lot of people read the newspapers, and a lot of people picked up information through television and radio about what was being done on other campuses. I think that here at the University of Nevada we've been in a certain sense living on borrowed time or perhaps purchased time. In a lot of ways there's a time phase between what happens on this campus and what happens on other campuses. Things happen here after they happen other places, which perhaps I can get to later when you're asking about those other questions about leadership.

I think that nationally, we're involved in a very deep, transitional, cultural struggle. There is so much instant information available to so many people, especially young people who have lived on television, and they're able to absorb a lot more information than you and I perhaps are. I'm thirty-six, and I wasn't raised on television. I think the awareness of a lot of young people of what's happening worldwide is much more sensitive than mine was at the same age. I *know* that I was not at all concerned about international affairs and national affairs when I was in college. We were called the silent generation, the apathetic generation. And I think that some of our parents look nostalgically at some activity overseas, when

students were concerned about politics. Of course, that may have gotten out of hand since.

In any case, I think that what happened in Cambodia created a national stir that people on this campus responded to, but not just because of the international situation. I think there was a lot of pent-up hostility here for a lot of small, pica-yune reasons, whether it had to do with food or housing, discrimination, and off-campus housing or programs for minority groups, or teacher-student evaluations. There were a number of other things in the wind. At that particular time in a student's life—that is, the spring of the year—there is a tendency to not be too interested in scholastic things. There are some students who already see the sign on the wall that they may not graduate. And there were other students and faculty members, I think, who were genuinely concerned about the kind of things that I express concern about: Which way are we moving internationally and nationally?

This whole combination of events, I think, led to a kind of crisis situation that was below the surface before the president even announced his decision on Cambodia. The fact that we were in Southeast Asia, and all these other small things that I mentioned, led to a lot of discontent here on campus.

There were certain people that were focused out for attention, one of them being the president. And there were a number of events planned. The president intended to meet with a group of students and to confront them personally. It was my belief that this would have been a very dangerous thing to do, in view of what I understood the crisis on the campus to be—below the surface, as it was. I felt it was important to dilute the hostility toward the president in some way and to, therefore, involve more faculty and staff people to hear these student demands, all of them, whatever they had to do with—peace or academics or housing or whatever. That led to two major meetings held over at Jot Travis Union, in which an attempt was made to get students, faculty, administrators at least talking together in a serious and candid way about what their grievances were.

So in the end I'm kind of moving away from a direct response to your question. You asked, "How was Cambodia involved?" I think peripherally. It was a part of it, but I don't think that was the whole story.

And what was your reaction to events away from here that were related to the Cambodia affair?

Like the Kent State . . . ?

Like the Kent State or the other demonstrations that took place?

Well, demonstrations are one thing, and what happened at Kent State is something altogether different, I think. I have really strong, positive feelings about the freedom that we should have to demonstrate in a nonviolent way what our beliefs may be, and protest decisions that are made at higher levels. But, again, this protest, I think, has to be within the bounds of decency and respectability. But I think it can be allowed.

And I think one has to understand the rhetoric of demonstration and a rhetoric of protest. There are certain groups of students, faculty, citizens of this country that use a kind of language that sounds very violent. It's a kind of exaggerated language. It involves a lot of obscenity sometimes, and sometimes it involves strong words—words with high emotive content (that's what I mean to say). I think it's important to listen to the anger behind that rhetoric. Instead of hearing only the rhetoric, hearing only the words, and responding only to those, I think it's important for responsible people and thoughtful people to sit back and say, "Well, now wait a minute. There's a lot of anger there. Let's see if we can't deal with that hostility and find out what some of the reasons are for it," instead of responding in an unthinking way.

So I was frankly horrified at the response on the part of the National Guard, or whoever the officers were, to fire into a crowd of students. I know there's a difference between police law and military law, but I think it's a fundamental prin-

ciple of morality that one uses only enough force in order to repel aggression. And I think that in the case of the Kent State activities, the National Guard used more force than was necessary. If someone is beating at my door or is even trying to get to me, I'd like to think I could kick him in the leg, if that's enough to get him out of the way. If he throws a stone at me, well, first I'll duck, and I'll try to find some other way. But I *don't* think it's justifiable for me to kill someone who throws a stone at me. On the other hand, I recognize that there was panic on both sides. But, anyway, my frank reaction to it all was absolute horrorification. (That's my own coined word, I guess.)

Turning now to the Governor's Day activities here: what did you think of the arrangements made for the observance of Governor's Day?

I don't know very much about the arrangements, or how they were made. I know that it was planned. It's been a planned annual event for many years. But I believe that there were a lot of other X-factors that should have been taken into consideration, which were not—namely, the temper of the nation and this campus at that time, which I don't think was taken very seriously.

Another thing is that I think there's something a little incongruous about Governor's Day being a largely military observance. The governor is a civilian. The governor is a man who represents all the people in the state. My understanding of Governor's Day (and I may be wrong here) is that it's a day in which the university honored the governor, in which the governor pays his own respects to the university community. And I would like to see an observance that is more in keeping with what a university is all about and not merely, you know, a military day. We could use that kind of thing, perhaps, for Memorial Day or Flag Day or Independence Day. But for Governor's Day, it seemed to me a little incongruous to make it an ROTC demonstration.

To summarize, in view of the national temper, the national climate, the temper on this cam-

pus, and what a Governor's Day should be all about, I think that the arrangements might have been different. On many campuses across the country, and on many military bases, the same kinds of observances were canceled, and it would have appeared that that was a prudent thing to do.

One other thing I think might have been done . . . and I'm talking now only about the arrangements made by administrators. I think on the part of the students, they demanded in a matter of twenty-four hours that there be a meeting in Manzanita Bowl. And it's this kind of twenty-four-hour strategy that I just don't think works very well. I don't think it works well whether you're an administrator or a student, whether you're responding to crisis, or whether you're a faculty or a student or a staff member.

I think it would have been fortunate if the same kind of arrangements could have been made this year as were made last year, when the president was able to sit down and talk to student leaders and, if I'm not mistaken, encourage students to attend one rally or the other. As a result of poor planning, the rally in Manzanita Bowl turned out to be kind of a bust, from what I understand. I was not there. And someone suggested that they all march to the Mackay Stadium, and that's what precipitated the events that were so widely publicized.

What was your reaction to the demonstration?

It depends on what part of the demonstration you're talking about. Are you talking about the march over to Mackay Stadium? Are you talking about those instances during the march where someone sat down in front of the governor's car or there was a little bit of pushing outside there in the parking lot? Or are you talking about what was going on inside Mackay Stadium? You know, you have to be specific to me.

Well, I would say anything that . . . any one of these things that you felt a reaction to; it seems to me that the demonstration ought to be rather broadly defined.

My reaction to what I heard about it was mixed, I think. I did not see it. As a matter of fact, I was in a history faculty meeting. I think the demonstration was poorly planned, very poorly planned. I think that perhaps the most powerful thing that could have been done by people who wanted to say something strong about Governor's Day would have been to take a camera, have one person walk to the other side of Mackay Stadium, and take a picture of the *huge*, huge throng of people that turned out to witness the Governor's Day observances.

There was really a handful of people there. And I think that set it off; that could have set it off. So my reaction, generally, I think, to both the demonstration and to the observances was they were both kind of irrelevant. They were both badly planned, badly conceived, and neither of them came off very well—and created a *tremendous* amount of reaction both on campus and off campus.

You've said that you didn't think it was necessary to participate in any of the demonstrations—that was one of the questions—any of the Governor's Day activities or demonstration?

No. I had what I felt was a prior commitment to a history faculty meeting.

Yes, fine. What did you feel was the most effective part of the demonstration or the Governor's Day observance?

The most effective part of the Governor's Day observance, I think, was the way in which the ROTC members held themselves in check under some provocative language—or from what I heard was provocative language, or just the fact that there were people trying to upset the lines of regimentation. I've had military training myself, and I know that that can be very exasperating and very annoying. And I think that that part of the observance—from what I heard took place—was the most powerful.

As far as the most effective part of the demonstration was concerned (from what I heard),

again I think it would be the number of people who were involved and then the kinds of people who were involved. It wasn't just a group of wide-eyed, fanatic, flaming, liberal students or weathermen or outsiders. It was a group of moderate as well as more liberal faculty people. A lot of more conservative people went to keep order. I think there was genuine concern on this campus and by a wide variety of people for what was happening over there and what that *meant* to this campus. I think if it had been ten students, it obviously wouldn't have been as effective. So I think that the numbers and kinds of people who were involved in the demonstration was the most effective side of it.

What do you think should have been the reaction of the various people involved up there at the stadium—the ROTC, the demonstrators, and the university administration—to the conflict that developed there at the stadium?

Well, from what I heard, I understand that President Miller did say, did ask for, did request some kind of quiet at one point from demonstrators. And my understanding is that he only had to say that once; I may be wrong about that. I think that was an appropriate thing to do. I believe in free speech. I believe in letting other people exercise their rights, and that I can't exercise my rights in a totally free way so that they conflict with the rights of others. So I think that was certainly one thing that had to be done.

I really don't know. Not having been there and not having been an eyewitness, it's hard for me to say. You know, I'd have to be theorizing, and I really don't know if it's appropriate for an historian to be theorizing. I think I could respond to that if I had been a witness to it.

OK. What was your reaction to the violence that followed Governor's Day—the fire bombing?

Again, my response—my own internal response—was anger at the stupidity: stupidity at a lot of different levels, stupidity on the part of people who don't know how to really develop

strategy and don't really know how to work out a plan, except on the basis of a hot emotion at the moment.

This is where I think I could say something about leadership. I really think we have a leadership vacuum here on this campus that gets filled with twenty-four-hour strategists, whether they be students or faculty members or even the administration, which I feel unfortunately responds to crises rather than provides leadership, thinking way ahead of everybody. I think, for example, that in matters of student affairs that we ought to have leaders who are so deeply in touch with students and student problems and student anxieties, hopes, and aspirations that they're working with students to help them work out solutions to their problems way before the crisis situation emerges or arises. So I think there's a leadership vacuum among the students, within the student body, which is fertile ground for demagogues, for outside agitators, if you will—although I don't think we have very many of them.

And there's the leadership gap also within the administration. I think that the university has grown so quickly in some ways, but it's still being run as though it were a junior college—like you can know everybody. You could know everybody when there were 700 students here just a few years ago, but now we have 7,200. And it requires a lot of creative methods and a great sensitivity to changing student roles and the image that they see of themselves as students. For example, in my own day—when I was a student, that is—I looked upon myself as a person who should be concerned *only* with what I was taught in the classroom or only with the material that I was taught in the classroom. And I can remember someone saying, "Don't ever let your book learning get in the way of your education." I'm beginning to understand that there are a lot of students today who've taken that very seriously, that education is a much broader thing than just book learning. And they're really trying to be concerned about a lot of things they're not getting in the classroom. I think that's a little bit off track, but that's, I guess, part of my answer to your question.

Yes, that's good. What category of participant in all of these various affairs—the students, the faculty, or outsiders—do you feel was most important in fomenting violence on the campus?

Violence after Governor's Day? I've got *really* strong hunches on this, that it could be The most active, I would say, was probably a group of four or five non-students, some of them not even of college age—I mean, older than college age—who took advantage of a situation where there really wasn't any strong leadership. They were looking for action. Now, I'm talking about some young people. I think the reaction on the part of certain townspeople who are now students was equally violent. So I would say they were the most active in a certain way. I'd have to qualify that, also.

If you talk about importance, I guess I'd have to say that students and faculty were the most important insofar as they were not prepared very well for what was going on around the country. They were responding too quickly, responding too indecisively, too emotionally, and not really sitting down to work out a kind of reasonable strategy. So I suppose, in terms of importance, I think that we members of the university community were probably most at fault—but that wasn't the question. I don't want to put fault anywhere, but I think that partly answers your question.

Yes. Were the outsiders important in fomenting violence?

Yes, I think they were probably most active. And I think that it was only, well, within one day after the first amount of violence, the fire bombing of Hartman Hall, when it became clear to students who had an interest in this university—and I'm talking now about liberals as well as conservatives—that they really did not want to accept into their ranks and on this campus people who were just here on a lark and talking about burning the place down or striking, closing the school—people who had no more interest in the school than a prospector up in the mountains.

What actions do you feel were most important in preventing more violence?

I think it was the rallying of faculty and students together in many, many meetings all during that week, which pulled together students from the College of Agriculture, College of Engineering, and College of Arts and Sciences in controlled situations where they could speak out, speak their minds clearly and candidly in an uninhibited way about what was bugging them. I was fortunate enough to be asked to monitor some of those discussions. Maybe I have a prejudiced point of view, therefore. But I think that was extremely important. The university community—right wing or left wing and moderate—kind of pulled together in a crisis situation, without any doubt, to cool the troubled waters.

There was a meeting, for example, down the street here the day before Hartman Hall was bombed, with the assistant chief of police, one faculty member besides myself, and four, five, or six student liberals—or at least students who had been identified with the peace movement. The upshot of the meeting was that the students were asking the assistant chief of police . . . they were informing him, first of all, of the possibility of there being some kind of violence, which they did not approve of. They consider themselves nonviolent people, but they were feeling the same kind of tension and crisis on campus as others were who had their ear to the ground, and were trying to find ways in which any possible violence could be prevented. An understanding was worked out, but unfortunately, in the end it didn't pan out. (I forget what the question was, in view of the distraction here.)

Yes. The question had to do with the actions that prevented more violence.

Oh, I think I've answered it. I think it was the pulling together of students and administrators who really had a vested interest in this university.

How do you think the events on campus affect our so-called image with outsiders?

General events or the events that we've been talking about?

Well, mainly . . . this is the focus of our interview, but other events, too.

I think that from what I've been able to note in this town, the university has very little influence in the city of Reno politically. I don't think that there's a great deal of community interest in what goes on at the university. It's true that Professor Mordy has a widely-read column in the newspaper and that the School of Agriculture has, of course, a number of important contacts both here in town and out in the counties, as well as the School of Mines, but generally speaking, my impression has been that the university has not had a very great impact on the civic community.

But the events of Governor's Day, the violence that followed, led to a super-reaction within the community that's difficult to explain in view of what I've just said. Because there has been very little communication between uptown and downtown—between the town and the gown. Suddenly when they see in the newspaper or on television that Hartman Hall has been fire bombed, some people respond as though Berkeley has somehow suddenly crossed the mountains and has invaded northern Nevada. I think there was considerable amount of overreaction largely due to a great deal of ignorance about what *really* is happening on this campus and what the sentiments of the students and faculty really are.

What can the university do to focus public opinion?

What can the university do? I think the university could do what we are trying to do beginning this week, and that is set up town-gown conferences with influential people both on campus and off campus to talk about common problems.

For example, there was a statement made by an influential member of our civic and political

community immediately after the first fire bombing that we should not allow the so-called California long-hairs onto this campus, or they should be somehow sent home. That's a paraphrase, but that's my understanding of what he had said. I'm sure that if I were a Californian and had a son or daughter going to this university, that I'd think twice about coming to Reno to gamble after hearing that sort of thing. I think that it would be a useful thing for members of the downtown community and the university community to get together and see what kind of effect that sort of statement is really going to have economically, politically, socially, and culturally on the rest of northern Nevada. So I think some kind of institutionalized—by that I mean, a regular—conference between members of the civic, political, and academic community, whether we're in crisis or not, would be a very useful thing to anticipate difficulties ahead and achieve some kind of mutual understanding.

Do you think the issues of academic freedom are involved?

That's a good question I haven't given too much thought to. I think academic freedom primarily refers to what a teacher, professor, is able to say in the classroom itself. And I have very strong feelings about allowing a professor who is a qualified academician to say what he believes is necessary to say.

On the other hand, I think that a good teacher (and here I may be prejudiced, because I'm reflecting the kind of teacher I would like to be) ought to make it clear to students when he is giving his own opinion and when he is presumably reporting fact. As an historian, I occasionally will use the technique of being the devil's advocate, and I think it's a very useful educational device. But the students generally know from my style when I'm doing that. I'll very often say, "OK. This is Marschall and not history," especially in matters of current events.

What a professor does as a member of the academic community outside the classroom is, I think, determined only by the rights of his citi-

zenship. I don't think that what a man does as a citizen, as long as it's within the law, ought in any way to be used against him as an academician. I think there's a difference between a man's professional life and his private life and his political life and his religious life.

How can students and faculty be effective politically, or should they be trying to influence governmental policy?

Well, again, there's an emerging, growing feeling that students and faculty, because they are citizens and supposed to be interested in not merely some very small element of human knowledge, have to be concerned about the very system that makes education and learning possible—which means involvement in some way in politics, local politics, national politics, and perhaps international politics, geopolitics. And since, I guess, half of our nation is under twenty-five now, I think it's extremely important for college students to become very much aware of issues and personalities in politics. I think it's important for them as future voters, if they don't already have the franchise, to express their opinions.

Legislators can do what they choose with those opinions, or candidates can do what they choose with those opinions. I believe the university has certain obligations, genuine obligations—as the seedbed of future educators, future engineers, the leaders of our country. Well, because of that fact, I think the members of the university have an obligation to be concerned *publicly* about political events.

Now, you asked the question very specifically: how can they be involved? I think those who are under twenty-one can be involved in the same way any citizen over twenty-one can be involved in politics. And that means knowing who your representatives are, being in touch with them, making sure that they know what your feelings are, and trying to persuade them as best you can to your point of view. Those who don't have the franchise, I think, can exercise the same kind of persuasion, except they can't bring their vote

to the polls. I think that when you believe something very strongly, you are obliged in conscience to persuade others—again I'm talking about non-violent means—to see it your way, allowing them the freedom at all times to do it their way if they don't agree.

Yes, good. Where do you think the peace movement in this area is headed now?

I think it's headed toward a certain amount of repression in present time. In view of the reaction on the part of the civic community to the events of Governor's Day, unfortunately, some people are tending to put radicalism, student militants, long-hair, and certain liberal arts subjects all into the same category. Assuming that all these people have the same views politically, I would feel that the peace movement in this particular area—that is, the peace movement as we've seen it in the last year—is not going to be anywhere near as active because of the possibility of repression and the beating of heads, or the threat of some heads getting busted.

I've heard some very strong and violent language used just in the last five days, since graduation exercises, toward a person who happened to be carrying a banner and had nothing to do with peace or protest or anything. Carrying it across campus, he was harassed by an administrator and told that he could be arrested on the spot, the presumption being that he was a student who was going to be carrying a picket to or a poster to graduation. I felt that the way that that student was accosted was considerably out of line with what he was doing. The assumption was that he was out of line before the facts were ever present. And if that attitude is prevailing now, I think that peace movement, as we have known it, is going to suffer a repression, and I don't know, frankly, what the reaction of students and faculty to that will be. I think there'll be some hostility.

Do you have other comments you'd like to make about this whole situation as it has evolved or confronted us here on campus?

I guess the only thing that I would want to emphasize, or perhaps to say again, is that I think we have a great need for creative, thoughtful leadership that sits down with all elements on campus and off campus and tries to anticipate problem areas and work out a strategy that everybody will be able to live with, or most everybody will be able to live with. That's the only way I think that we can avoid violence, the only way I think that we can grow as a community together, both civically and academically.

N. EDD MILLER

June 18, 1970

My name is N. Edd Miller. My residence is 4755 Canyon Drive. I'm president of the University of Nevada, Reno.

Why do you think you were chosen to be interviewed? This is sort of a silly question, but everybody gets asked this.

I assume because of the position I'm in, as well as the fact that I was, in one way or another, a participant in the activities.

What was your reaction to President Nixon's decision to go into Cambodia?

I was opposed to it. I viewed it with dismay, actually.

In what way do you think the Cambodia decision was related to what happened next on our campus?

Well, I think it clearly was related, but I think it was not a sole cause. I think it was really an accumulation of a variety of things that had been

building up for some time, beginning with an understandable, natural impatience of youth, which I think is characteristic of any generation. And added to that, the store of knowledge, the instant communications, the variety of things that young people are exposed to now, so that they're much more aware of what's happening in the world, and I think, as a result, more concerned about these things, so that any sudden change in the social or political climate, I think, really has an impact on them. And this one was added to a concern about the war, generally, concern about domestic problems that they felt, and do feel, need attention, when money is being spent on the war that's unpopular with them. And to see the war expanded, I think, was an additional burden in their minds about this. And then there's some other things unrelated to the war.

The campus unrest—which in itself, I think, is a contagious kind of thing—the fact that it's happening someplace else, even if no causes were clear, I think, would tend to make it happen at other places, too. And clearly the Kent State situation and recent violence and violent reaction to violence, I think all these things added together, and then the Cambodian decision on top of all this, I think, was inflammatory.



N. Edd Miller, c. 1971.

What was your reaction to events in other parts of the country related to the Cambodia decision—the Kent State situation and some of the other demonstrations or activities?

I think my feeling about the Kent State thing was somewhat like the decision to move into Cambodia: that it was really a tragic and unnecessary thing. Some of the other things that I know are part of this picture, like the Black Panther trials in various parts of the country, but particularly back in Connecticut . . . I really don't know enough about what kind of impact that had, but I'm sure it did have some.

I've kind of got lost in my answer to your question, but I guess what I'm trying to say is that while I view some of these activities as most unfortunate, like the Kent State affair, I still view as an equally great tragedy any kind of violence that begins—wherever it begins, whoever starts it, and almost for whatever reason. I just don't like violence as a way of tackling a problem, whether students originate it, or whether the

National Guard originates it, or both. That's not a good answer.

Turning now to the Governor's Day activities here: what did you think of the arrangements as they were made for the observance of Governor's Day?

Well, I guess there are two kinds of arrangements: those that were made officially—those that were made by me and others in the university—and those that were made by students and faculty and others as a protest to it. As you might imagine, I gave a lot of thought to what we should do about Governor's Day in light of my concerns I've just expressed about these other activities. And I decided that Governor's Day has been, and was this year, a scheduled university activity in the same kind of category, really, as a scheduled class meeting. I do not believe in closing down the university, and in effect, it would have been that in a small part. I also must confess, rather naively, to a greater degree of confidence in the kind of behavior patterns that would exhibit themselves than it turned out I was justified in believing would happen. I didn't think it would be carried that far, but I didn't want to cancel Governor's Day.

I think the timing, as it turned out—through nobody's fault, because the date was set six months prior to that, at the convenience of the governor—was atrocious, but it seemed important that we go ahead with it. Very important. The plans for the protest, I thought, were great—the plans for it. We had done this the year before, and it worked out very well, and so I was delighted that they had a chance to express that opinion, too.

What was your reaction to the demonstration, as it turned out?

Well, I've said this publicly and I meant it. I thought it was unnecessary. I'm very sorry that it happened. I think it was a denial of the rights of some people in this university community that had a right to express themselves, not vocally,

but through a sanctioned activity. I thought it was rude. I thought it took away a lot of things that I think the group that took these things away would like to keep for themselves.

If you want my reaction at the time, I think it was one of tremendous disappointment, because I had tried very hard to develop an open campus. I could predict—not with certainty—but I could predict what was going to follow this in terms of public reaction, and I could really see the kinds of things I had hoped for for this campus being taken away from us. And I think this is happening.

When those first few people walked out of this bowl, I think we lost a lot of things on this campus that I think we could have kept. Now it's going to be very, very difficult. So, I was greatly disappointed with it. Not disappointed in the protest, because part of what I've just said is that I believe that we should have the right to have protest and different points of view expressed. But to do it in this way—to sit down in front of cars and to disrupt a ceremony—I was sure that we'd get a reaction that would make it almost impossible to go back where we were before that day.

What did you feel was the most effective part of the demonstration and the Governor's Day observance, in the two almost opposing things?

The most effective part of the demonstrators or of the whole affair?

Well, of the demonstration and of the observance.

You know, I think if the demonstrators had simply marched from the bowl to the campus and around the stadium and into the stands and then permitted the ceremony to go on, I think they would have made a really very important point, and I would have cheered them. And so, if you could omit the motorcade episode, up to their marching around in the stadium and into the stands, I thought this was fine, and I would have defended completely what they were doing. So that part of it was fine. It was what followed that I think was unfortunate. The other thing that I

was tremendously impressed with was the ROTC students. Their coolness under real provocation, I thought, was outstanding.

In retrospect, then, what do you think should have been the reaction of these various factions—if you want to call them that—up there at the stadium: the demonstrators, the ROTC, the university administration?

Well, the ROTC, I really can't think of much they could have done better than they did. I think they handled the situation well. I think the demonstrators, as I just said, did, too, until it became clear that they really were intent on stopping the ceremony, and that is my conviction that that's what they wanted to do. The march around the stadium, and even the noise, would have been fine if they'd permitted it to occur when nothing else was happening, in a sense—that is, during times when they weren't drowning out speakers or interfering with other parts of the ceremony. I think they behaved very well up to that point. Again, maybe I haven't answered your question.

No, that's fine. Did you feel that the administration response was correct?

You're giving me a chance for second thoughts? [laughter]

Yes, well, you might as well!

Yes. I have pondered that a good deal, and I wonder if there could have been something that I could have said to them that would have made them be quiet enough to give respect to the ceremony, and maybe there is. Maybe I just didn't have the right words. Maybe not. The request, as you may know, was made to me during the ceremony to permit at least one speech against the war, and I refused it for the same reason that I mentioned much earlier, that this was, in my opinion, a scheduled university affair and not to be disrupted. I've had a lot of people ask why we didn't stop it by sending the police in, and I think that would have been a total disaster. I'd just

much rather have a raucous disruption than to have people's blood on my hands, and I think it would have been that. But you know, some people think that would have been the way to show that you mean business, and it would, but that's not the kind of business that I want to be part of. I think the rest of the administration over there—Colonel Hill and the others, I think, and Governor Laxalt—showed a good deal of cool, and they handled themselves and the situation very well.

What was your reaction to the violence that followed Governor's Day, the fire bombings?

I think it's atrocious. The first one, when it was Whoever did this must have known the building was empty, and I just have always had a great difficulty in understanding vandalism, even with a cause behind it. You know, there are so many better ways to express a position than to vandalize a piece of property, and so I have great difficulty understanding why people do that under any conditions, for whatever cause. The second one [the Hobbit Hole] is, in some ways, even more frightening, because people are living there. People could have been killed. So, both of those I can't understand, and I deplore in the worst kind of way.

What category of participant in the various affairs—the students, faculty, or outsiders—do you think was most important in fomenting violence on the campus?

Well, I know there are a lot of people out in the state who indulge in a lot of wishful thinking that this must have been a group of outsiders who've come in and who've stirred up the natives, and there were some, but I think it'd be a mistake to blame it all on a group of five or six—that's the best estimate I can get—if there were outside agitators. They undoubtedly serve a kind of catalytic function in a highly volatile situation like that, no question about it, because they have nothing at stake, and it's easy then to urge everybody else to take their lives in their hands. But I think it was students and faculty and some

local non-students who I think were both concerned about what was happening in the world and also caught up—as people do very easily—in a kind of a group mob fervor, where the standards of expectation are considerably different than they are when they're by themselves.

I think all the groups had a part in this. I'm not discounting the outside "agitators," but to blame it all on them is a mistake. They were nice—and I really mean this—fine young people from Reno and Sparks and Fernley and Las Vegas and Hawthorne, as well as California and other places, who I think just got carried away in what turned out to be, in my opinion, a most unfortunate disruptive situation.

What actions do you feel were most effective in cooling off the situation after the fire bombings?

I think two things. One was the ASUN Senate rap session on Wednesday. And I think as part of that, Colonel Hill's presence at that session, and the way in which he managed himself on that occasion. I think this was really a tremendous thing. I have great admiration, as you can see, for that man. And the other thing, I think, as a result of this, and as a result of a good deal of work by deans and department chairmen, the subsequent meetings—the candlelight service and the Friday noon memorial service—were really so well attended by all kinds of faculty and students of all beliefs, ranging from the apathetic to the liberal to the conservative, that I think this helped cool the situation, too, that it no longer was a single cohesive group. It was a different kind of cohesion. These were all people concerned about what had happened and, I think, eager to help solve a critical situation. I think they did. So that Wednesday night session plus the participation of a lot of people who'd never before taken part in anything like this, I think, really helped. Maybe my getting out of town helped. [laughter]

[laughter] How do you think events on campus affect the university's image with outsiders?

Do you want to see the stack of mail I was getting? [laughter] I think in the state it's been so negative. At least I've heard so little about people who feel that no damage has been done, or very little. What I hear is that enormous damage has been done.

In another kind of perspective, there is a real paradox. I've talked to colleagues at maybe half a dozen other universities since then who really just can't believe the kind of reaction that we've had to what on their campuses would be almost an unnoticed event. My friends at the University of Michigan, for example, think I'm just not telling the truth, [laughter] telling them about the kind of reaction we're having to a Governor's Day that was disrupted by noise. But in the state, I think we have a real problem, and whether we think it's justified or not, the problem is still there. It's like psychosomatic illness: it still hurts, you know. The reaction's been quite negative.

What function should the university have in focusing public opinion?

I think one lesson is that we really have not been as concerned as we should be about explaining ourselves—especially in the last year or so, when so much has been happening on this campus, as well as elsewhere—about what's happening and why. And the “what” sometimes gets out, but the “why” behind it, I think, doesn't. I don't think many citizens in this state understand the kind of feeling that students and faculty now have about the world around them, and I really don't think it's just because they're at a university. I don't think it's anything that the university does to them, but it's a fact that, concentrated on a college campus, are young people of about the same age who generally share the kind of background of information and experience. So here they are all together, and it's just easier for them to react to each other and to things around them. I'm not sure their reactions are much different from bright kids who live in apartment houses some place, but they have other people to talk to about it here, and so it's easier to develop demonstrations or whatever.

I don't think we've made this point clear to the people who are really concerned about the university, and I think the people in this state are. So it seems to me one thing we have learned is that we should try to explain both what's happening and some of the reasons for it. I think there's been a little bit of that since Governor's Day, and I hope that in the fall we can do a whole lot of this in a variety of ways. I don't think there's any single pattern on it.

I must say—and I just hinted at this—that the kind of negative reaction we've had, I think, is not all to the bad, because I think it is a reflection of a genuine concern by the people in this state. It's a small state, and they know the university, they know people here. I think basically they take a lot of pride in this university, and I think their feelings are hurt. Something that's dear to them misbehaved in a sense, so I think if we can find ways to capitalize on this really latent, but nonetheless real, goodwill on behalf of the people of the state, I think we're in great shape. And maybe that's the most important positive lesson that we can get from all this.

Do you feel that issues of academic freedom are involved in participating in a demonstration?

No. I'm not sure I understand quite what that question means, nor my answer to it—my quick “no.” If you mean, “Does a professor have a right to participate in a demonstration?” then I think he does. I think there are some limits about how he does this that are accepted in the profession and that are part of our university code as well. And I don't want to get into that, because there are some charges now, but the right to participate in a demonstration or a protest of any kind—signing petitions or carrying signs or making speeches—I think is a citizen's right, and I don't think it really is an academic freedom right, in a sense.

How can students and faculty be effective politically, or should they be trying to influence governmental policy?

Oh, I think they should, as individuals. I don't think the university as an institution should, but I think part of the mission that we have as an institution is to train people, educate them, give them some background and some knowledge, and hopefully a little bit of wisdom so that they can become active participants within the system. I'm old-fashioned enough to believe that it's possible to make changes within the system without changing the whole system, and I hope our faculty and the students try this. And I also hope, rather desperately, that they give it more than a one-shot try. This is what concerns me about next fall: that if the elections don't turn out the way they want them to, this one time, that they may be disillusioned about the whole process, which would be a mistake. It takes time. It takes more than a one-time effort, and that's part of the tragedy of the McCarthy attraction—that they gave it that try, and then when that didn't work, a great many of them just left it instead of trying once more or finding some other way to do it.

Where do you think the peace movement in this area is going now?

I think it has a lot of support. It has a lot of support among all kinds of people: politicians and prominent people. I think it suffered a setback because of the tactics that were used on Governor's Day in this area, because a lot of people have identified that with the peace movement, but I don't think it's a permanent setback. I think a regrouping of forces may be in order, if a military term is appropriate here. I think it's strong and will continue to show itself.

Do you have some other comments you'd like to make here?

I don't think so. I guess my biggest feeling, I've said a couple of times, was one of real disappointment, because I think one of my goals as a president here was to When I came here, in my opinion, this campus was a beautiful place with a lot of very able people, but a very quiet place. And I'm not the troublemaker, I didn't want

to stir up trouble, but I did want to create a climate where people who had points of view could feel free to express them. My problem about Governor's Day is the fear that this kind of open campus has been damaged so much that it'll be a long time before we can get back to where we were. I hope I'm wrong, because I think if that is a consequence, I think the university has lost a good deal, in my opinion.

[laughter] A lot of people wouldn't agree with it, but I think a university should be a forum, and I think this is a very important part of education. What happens in a classroom is a good way to systematize and organize education, but a lot of education ought to take place in more informal, perhaps unsystematic, perhaps even disorganized fashions that require a greater intellectual effort in doing your own organizing, with what you hear and what other people say and your own thoughts. And you really lose something, I think, if you take that away from education. If we've lost even some part of our freedom to do that—through a public forum, through expression of unpopular ideas, or even as in the case of Governor's Day—an expression of popular ideas was really effectively taken away, popular in this state. If we've lost the tolerance for expression of ideas, then I think we have lost a lot, and that will be a shame.

Yes.

CHARLOTTE E. MORSE

June 5, 1970

So, just for the record if you'll say your name, your home, and what your class and major are.

OK. My name is Charlotte Morse, and I come from Carson City, Nevada. I'm a junior, going to be a senior in psychology.

Why do you think you were chosen to be interviewed?

Well, I suppose that it probably has something to do with my being president of Associated Women Students. I'm very much a part of the student government, but I don't feel that I always have been or have always thought in the same channels as everyone else in student government, and that sometimes I've become very disillusioned with it. But I think by virtue of my being elected, that maybe I do represent some people's opinions, some other people's opinions, and they have faith in what I would say or the kind of way that I would talk about things and think about things on campus.

Yes, good. What was your own reaction to President Nixon's decision to go into Cambodia with troops?

Well, I thought it was a great tragedy. I feel that his decisions in Vietnam have caused immeasurable difficulties and problems within our own country and in Vietnam. I feel that the war effort is a series of serious mistakes, and I feel like he just compounded the problems by deciding to move into Cambodia.

In what way do you think the Cambodian decision was related to what happened next here on our campus?

I think that the whole war in Vietnam is a source of great disillusionment and despondency on the part of students. We're just beginning to feel like we want some control over our lives and what will happen to us and how our country is going and how other people are living in our country. And I think that's not to be discounted, although there are definitely other factors influencing people who will protest and demonstrate ac-



Charlotte Morse, 1971.

tively. I very sincerely feel that this is something that they should be speaking about and making themselves known in, and they feel very strongly against the war. I know of people involved in this sort of thing that are really seriously concerned about it. Certainly there are people hanging on for the fun of it, or for personal reasons or for other kinds of reasons, but I think it was very definitely a strong factor. I know people have felt very badly about this and wanted to make an expression of their opinion known to anyone they could. And that was the way they found to do it.

What was your reaction to events in other parts of the country related to the Cambodia decision?

I think that there can be a lot of confusion due to the interpretation and the reporting of the

mass media. I think that they have a very strong influence on the way these things are reported and the kinds of effects that they can have on people. I think lots of students here felt influenced by what was going on in other campuses, although we aren't ever quite sure what it is that is motivating people in those places. There was a lot of confusion, you know, about what it meant for these Kent State students to die—and one of them was in ROTC, I think. And they weren't all protesting the war as such; they were just people with feelings going about their business. And that this could happen influences us strongly.

I think we do feel in some way a sense of community with students and other campuses and what they're thinking about this. I think, also, there's an element of prestige to be considered on it, and you don't want to say nowadays that you go to a quiet little campus that's "hick" and is not protesting, is not affected by anything, and is so provincial as to not even be aware of these things—although that might not be the case. But I know there's something to be said for someone who comes from Berkeley and has been in on things like this, you know. And I think that affects kids. I think, also, we do feel some sense of being in with them, having the same concerns and being aware of the same kinds of problems that they are in, wanting to express them, and seeing a model for that expression.

Turning now to the Governor's Day activities here: what did you think of the arrangement made for the observance of Governor's Day?

I can understand those people who protested and how they feel about the university, the president, and the governor of the state officially recognizing and giving support to something like Governor's Day. While I understand that people have a right to participate in ROTC, and certainly to parade and express their pride and loyalty and be given honors for doing so, I think I see a problem in the university sanctioning *only* an activity of that sort. I think no matter how it is in fact, it certainly appears that the university would support something like this and then just sort of "al-

low” other sorts of antiwar demonstrations to go on.

While I don’t know if it’s necessary for the university to take a stand against the war or for the war, I think that it should officially support both sides—and most of the support has been one-sided so far. It’s ridiculous, you know, to say that ROTC is the whole root of the Vietnam problem or something like that. I do think that there’s something of a connection there in that as a university, and as the president of the university, President Miller has agreed to support that sort of organized military thing. It seems to need some sort of an endorsement in the sense that he wouldn’t support something that was contrary in ideas to that.

What was your reaction to the demonstrations?

I think one trouble when you have a demonstration like that is that it needs to be really tight and controlled and well-organized, and I think that’s hard to get with the sort of mixture of people that you get. They had meetings and meetings endlessly—and fighting—and no one ever agrees on anything. I think it’s unfortunate that they couldn’t have just marched around the field. I think that would be a very worthwhile expression of their opinion and very noticeable certainly.

But I think as far as circulating a leaflet that the activities had been canceled, or yelling and shouting and being rude, in some sense they weren’t being so much rude to the organized military as they were to just the people participating. I mean, President Miller is a person, and so is the mother whose son had been killed and who had this memorial established to him. I think she was just his mother, and she’d just come to honor him. I think they forget that those are people and not just, you know, big ideas somehow that they’re protesting. I think it could have been effectively done.

On the parts of some of the teachers concerned and some of the people, there were efforts to really pull things together and not have anything ugly occur, but it’s awfully hard when

you get some people who feel very strongly and don’t really know how to express it. I think they feel like the channels that they maybe should be using are not available to them or are not open, and they will, in desperation—whether it’s real or imagined—just resort to whatever they can do to try and make someone hear them in some way. I think it’s unfortunate that things had to be carried to the extent that they were. But I think it was all right for them to make their opinions known at such a time.

Did you feel it was necessary to participate in any of the demonstrations or in the observance of Governor’s Day?

I myself had no interest in observing, and I can’t imagine ever wanting to observe that. As I said before, I feel strongly about it. I’m not sure that’s the best way of expressing it. I like to be assured that some place that I am putting my body and my voice—and, you know, everything that I have, actually—is controlled and well thought out. It’s hard to get. You know, I will allow for some latitude in some sort of demonstration, but I have the feeling that things might get a little messier than they should. And for something that I believe, I don’t necessarily feel that I have to go to every meeting, every demonstration, and everything that happens with people who are protesting. I don’t always feel the necessity for being there. And I had the feeling that it might go farther than I was willing to go, and so I didn’t take part.

What do you think was the most effective part of the demonstration—the demonstration itself?

I think, as I said, if they had just demonstrated and shown their opinions by just walking around the track as they did at first, I think that would have been quite effective. When you get into the catcalling and the noise-making and just rudeness . . . I think there’s a place for people respecting one another. And I think people forget that there are still acceptable channels—some that

maybe haven't even been explored—of making your views known and exerting some influence over other people without being rude and having to resort to other things.

You didn't go to the Governor's Day observance ceremony.

No, I didn't.

What do you think should have been the reaction of the ROTC up at the field, from what you know about it?

I can understand that they were angry. If someone has been treated rudely, I think it's a natural reaction to be angry. I can understand their feelings. And I think that they could understand how these people felt, though. They have a right to be carrying on their activity, and I can understand that they were insulted and angered by someone interfering. These students weren't protesting so much against these individuals doing that as against the university sanctioning such a view.

What should have been the reaction of the university administration?

I think that President Miller should, as I said, take steps to make a more equal, official position of the university toward both kinds of ideas. I think that allowing and accepting expression of opinions against the war could possibly be sort of fortified by, you know, official university plans for making these views known, just as they are for ROTC. I think he could formally recognize both views in a stronger, more substantial way.

I think he was approached before the ceremony. He and Procter Hug and Governor Laxalt were all three approached by an English teacher who said that he thought there would be trouble. Procter Hug couldn't understand that, and it meant nothing to Governor Laxalt, really, not knowing the situation. President Miller, I'm certain, understood, but he chose not to act on it at all. And had he said something (it wouldn't have

to be a strong commitment, but a recognition of those people and of their views), I think it could have been a tremendous factor in how things went that day and how those people felt.

What was your reaction to the violence that followed Governor's Day—the fire bombings?

From the boys that I know that are policeman and from other opinions, I'm just almost certain that it was people outside the university who were doing the fire bombings. I know at least on the first one that the police had evidence that it was someone off campus. I think that sort of thing is designed by people outside the university who, for some reason—like so much of the state of Nevada—have great antipathy for the university and the kinds of things that they think or suspect we are doing, or the kind of things that they think we should be doing and aren't. I think that that sort of thing, a fire bombing, could be planned to sort of fracture things around here and make people split off and split people up into groups—and get to people who, like myself, have considered themselves liberal. Then when violence comes, you sort of swing over in the other direction and it splits you off from everyone. And I think that possibly that was the kind of thing that was planned as far as those were concerned.

I think most of the students were horrified by the idea and certainly don't want a violent approach to things around here. I think that possibly from that, maybe we—I hope—got a sense that we had to stick together, that we have much more interest in each other (you know, whether we're longhair or cowboy or whatever), that we have an interest in the university that we feel has to be protected, and that certainly we couldn't allow things to split off. So I think, while the events were just unfortunate and the wrong way to go about things, I don't think it was students. I think that maybe the offshoot of that could be good—that, you know, we will react to that in a way that will draw us together.

Yes, good. What category of participant (well, you have kind of alluded to this before)—students or

faculty or outsiders—do you think was most important in stirring up violence?

I think that it was the outsiders. I know that on the efforts of some faculty, there were just great efforts to make sure there was no violence—and lots of students. Dan Teglia, who was instrumental in organizing lots of these things, has been just struggling and pulling to avoid a violent approach. Frankie Sue Del Papa made her views known. President Miller has said violence is not the way, and I think most of us understand that. While there will be a lot of talk among the blacks maybe—you know, this militant sort of attitude—I think it is mostly talk.

The language that's used gets kind of escalated. In one of those big meetings where all these ideas are being tossed around, somebody says, "Well, we should just bomb the whole thing or, you know, burn the whole place." It's just sort of an expression, and I don't think anyone really takes it seriously. I think, possibly, some of those black students do, but I really doubt that when it got to it that they would resort to this sort of thing.

So, you do think the outsiders were important.

Yes, definitely.

What actions do you feel were most effective in preventing more violence after the fire bombings?

I think, and as I said, the reaction to the fire bombing was one thing in itself. Students just don't care for that sort of approach to things, and I think that we understood that. Having the Kent State incident made us all feel that certainly *that* wasn't what we wanted done. Although we're getting pretty desperate about things and we want to be heard, that's no answer at all.

Also, possibly, so many students hanging around the student union. Hippies and long-hairs are getting together and talking with cowboys and people, just discussing things and willing, for once, to sit down and talk about something—because it was recognized by everyone as a major campus issue—the major issue, and that doesn't

always happen. I think that their willingness to sit down and talk with one another for several days following that—the Wednesday and Thursday—people were constantly around the student union, sitting in little groups talking about things. I think that that really helped. It seems like a lot of waste of energy in some ways, because there was just all this loose talk and, you know, maybe no resolution of problems seen. But just the fact that people realized that they could talk to someone who was so completely different, or that they thought was so different from them, and people really considering it as a problem did count.

How do you think events on campus affect the university's image outside?

Well, just a couple of weeks ago I went, as part of the University Information Team, to a Lutheran church. (I think it was Faith Lutheran Church up there on the hill.) I think people have a great deal of misunderstanding about what goes on here and why. We found those people were just kind of hungry for you to tell them anything that you could about what was happening here, really: and why was that going on? What are people's feelings about this? How did nice kids graduate from high school and go up there and become radical, horrible, long-haired liberals who have nothing but destruction on their minds? [laughter]

They receive so much conflicting information, I think, through the news media and through people like Senator Slattery and people just exploiting events here for their own purposes or for someone's purposes. [laughter] I don't quite understand. But I think they misunderstand a lot. And I think it's easy to get out of touch with what's going on at the university, especially in a community like Reno where it's not a college town; it's not an intellectual community. I think there's a difference of interests between what's going on downtown and what's going on up here. It's kind of hard to get those together. I don't think it's impossible, and it would be very worthwhile, but so far not many efforts have been made. We sort of exist apart up on the hill. I think the more

we can do that, the better, because there are lots of individuals in the community who are really concerned and interested and don't really understand what's going on. I think they're being exploited just as much as we are by interests to split us apart and say that, you know, we're some horrible kind of maniacs raking around up here. [laughter]

What can the university do in helping to focus public opinion?

I think next year we're going to make efforts to just reach everyone in the community that we can in any sort of organized service groups or churches. There's going to be a program by the senate to reach people through churches. And, of course, that'll be rather limited, but also going to businesses downtown and telling them what we're doing and asking for their cooperation. There are going to be forums this summer at the Center with people from the community, community leaders and legislators, and students and faculty getting together and really trying to understand what we don't understand about each other.

I think individual students returning to their communities (I will probably do this) could speak to people that they know. I live in Carson City, and I plan to contact influential people there that I know so that they have some sort of understanding of what we're doing: legislators and the people involved in lobbying and in legislative interests, or people in churches or groups or just individuals. And do this just to let them know that you're still a person, and that you don't split yourself—have a home self and a university self—and that you have the same concerns as you always did, but you see different means of accomplishing the life that you always thought you wanted.

Yes, good. Do you think the issues of academic freedom are involved in participating in demonstrations?

Well, I don't know exactly in what sense you mean. [laughter]

Well, academic freedom should be sort of broadly defined: freedom to learn in a free atmosphere, and a teacher's freedom to be free from repression on what he's teaching.

Oh, I see. Yes, I think especially when you come to somebody like Fred [Maher] and Dr. Adamian. I think that certainly they have a right to express their views. To think that someone could point to Fred and say, "Well, in one class on one day he talked about this certain thing," is really a far-fetched idea. If someone can be shown to be consistently neglecting his teaching duties in some way or biasing all his views presented to a class, that's one thing. But I think it's hard to pinpoint anyone's faults and hold them responsible for their whole jobs for that one day. You know, he doesn't see himself as having done that.

I think that in a lot of freshman English classes (and it's been my experience) kids will get very excited about kinds of ideas that they're hearing—or they think they're hearing—and get excited and run to someone and tell them that they feel this is wrong, and something should be done about this. I think when the administration has to react to things like that and to pressures from the regents who have, in turn, had pressures from downtown . . . I know Procter Hug got just numerous phone calls protesting about this, saying, "Get something done, and do something rapidly."

I think to strike at a teacher or at a student is a really serious mistake. I think whether you have a Sundowner or some sort of hippie, it's hard to gauge by grades or anything what someone is getting out of school. And just because someone is a Sundowner and behaves atrociously (to most of our views) [laughter] on the weekends, that doesn't mean that he can't be making a significant academic contribution, even if only for himself or maybe to the whole university. Or the same thing with some of these hippies, you know. They're whole people, and they aren't just doing the one thing. You get pretty touchy, I think, and on pretty risky ground when you go restricting someone academically. And I think it is an aca-

demic issue because it's a whole university atmosphere you're talking about and not just a classroom.

How can students and faculty be effective politically, or should they try to influence political governmental policies?

I think that they definitely should. That's just the way things are today. You have to organize, I think, to be effective. Structures are set up in channels, and whether or not they're being used properly, they're what we have to use. I think that certainly students should make efforts to organize and work politically, say, for Charlie Springer or for whoever they want to.

I know schools in the East where they're closing down the school for two weeks before the elections to allow students to be out knocking on doors, going to and talking to people, making their views known, and, you know, taking part in the political process. I think certainly our student government will be actively involved in what the legislature is doing and in lobbying and talking to people concerning university interest. Individually, students and faculty and people at the university can have a lot of influence, you know, in a rational manner over what's going on. I think that that's a good way to go about things, and the power for change lasts.

Where do you think the peace movement here is headed?

Wow, it's hard to tell. [laughter] I hope that one sort of outgrowth, or an offshoot, of the Governor's Day incident is that people who thought they were real far apart as far as anything was concerned—campus matters or political matters on a state or national scale—have seen that there's not that great a difference. I think Dan Tegli and some of these people can really get some thoughtful, well-planned action and, you know, real efforts at controlling things, which I think is really crucial. You just get a lot of hang-ers-on, a lot of people who haven't found a way

to feel identified with anything, who will slip right into something like the peace movement and feel well accepted. Because, you know, they don't care necessarily what your credentials are and, I mean, they just want you.

I think it's easy for kids who have no place to go to start dressing hip and, you know, wearing all the badges, the beads and everything as far as that's concerned—and then to be very easily sucked in by this. I think that they have to take care that they aren't just using people. There are some good people concerned that that not happen, and who want to take action. I think that's a good part of what they do: that they can activate people really quickly, you know, sling up some posters and go. And amazingly enough, they're turning out people.

I don't know. I think a change in the campus overall—but something that organized student government hasn't necessarily been able to accomplish—is getting people excited about something. You know, I don't think it's necessarily their responsibility to worry about whether people are meeting by themselves—which is a good thing—and they certainly should encourage it, but there's no way that formally they can do that. I mean, they just can't. People have realized that it's an individual responsibility. Now, whether they will carry through with that and try to integrate themselves into what everyone's doing, and what worthwhile things they think could be accomplished, remains to be seen.

I don't necessarily think everyone has to be a part of what's structured now, but it just seems like that's where our money is being controlled, and that's where we have an effective means of getting things done, and it hasn't been used very well. I think these people's excitement and interests could be translated there. But when you get with some of those people, the only problem is that they don't want to be bothered with showing up for committees or keeping appointments or coming around to work out the details. They want to come up with the ideas, but not necessarily the work. And I think it's a problem to kind of move them all in that way. [laughter]

Do you have any other comments you'd like to make about the whole situation?

Well, one thing that was really interesting for me, personally, is that I've been taking that seminar on aggression, and we had quite a few people. We had a boy who was involved with the student newspaper—a couple of them—a bunch of students who are involved in student government, some people who are just interested in what's going on, and people from all sorts of disciplines. And we really talked about aggression and violence and student protests and all.

One thing that I found in relation to this class (and that I used in a paper that I wrote) was that one of my psychology professors, Dick Inglis, has done this paper talking about all these different methods and channels of change, about affecting things as they are, and about processes for change that haven't been explored—and that people are ignoring without really giving a chance. He was saying that each individual has a lot of power to influence people that they never use or realize and feel, and he suggested all these different alternatives.

I think if these processes and structures were such that people felt that when they spoke they were really influencing people, they could see some results, and they could be rational and thoughtful about the whole thing, it would really make a change in things. You know, it's something for each student to consider as far as the demands he makes: are they reasonable? What is their effect? What would come out of them if they were to be acted upon? If the administration could feel that we were sincere in our efforts, and if they'd know that they should at least give us reason to know that we are being heard and considered, everyone could have a sense of that power. They'd know that they could influence people, that it would sure make a difference—and not so much desperation and just random hits at whatever they can get.

EDWARD A. OLSEN

July 14, 1970

Home residence, Reno. Director of Information, University of Nevada, Reno.

Why do you think you were chosen to be interviewed for the project?

Apparently, because I witnessed part of the demonstration.

What was your reaction to President Nixon's decision to go into Cambodia with troops?

I was fearful of it and fearful that it would antagonize those who were already antagonized by Vietnam.

In what way do you think the Cambodia decision was related to what happened next on the UNR campus?

Oh, I think it was related only as another minor prop in the efforts of those who had had an organized peace movement on campus, the students actively supporting peace crusades, and this was just another element to assist them.

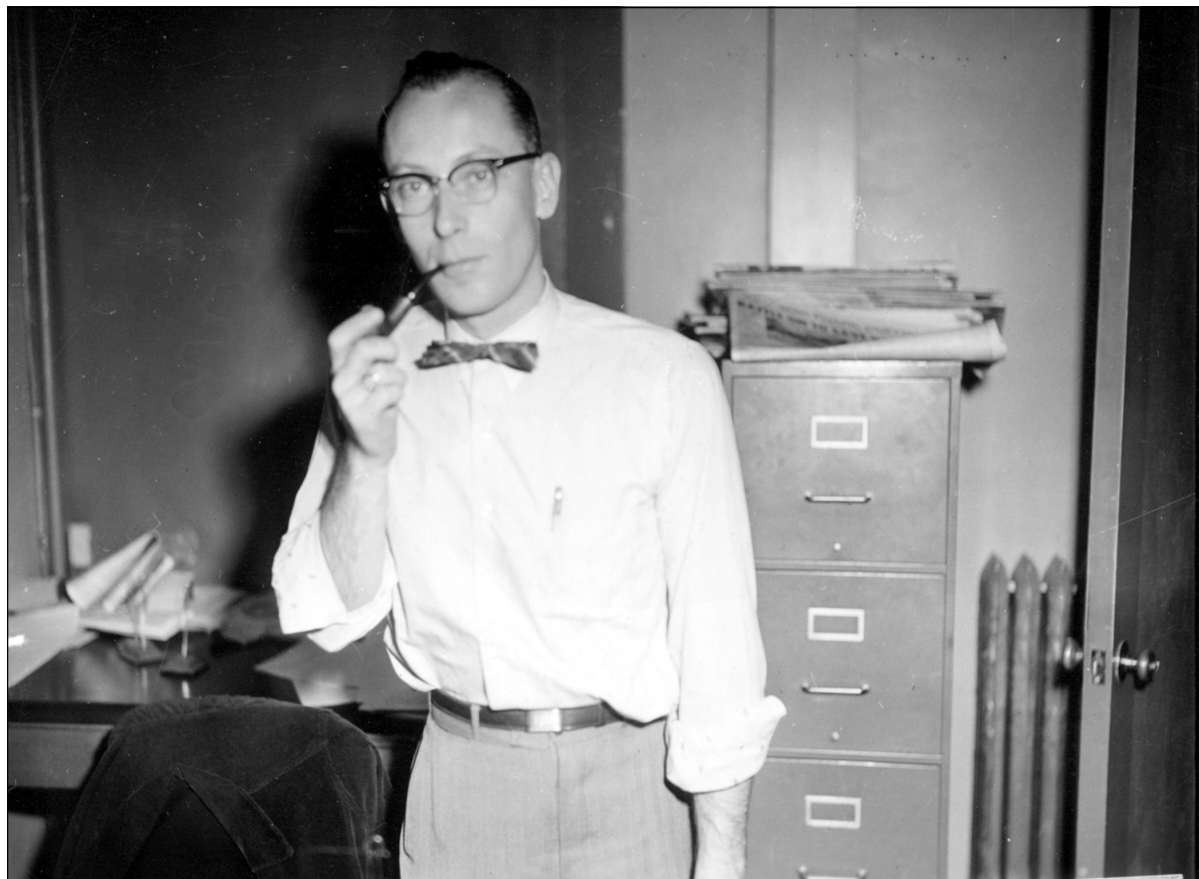
What was your reaction to events in other parts of the country that were related to the Cambodia decision: the Kent State affair and some of the others?

Well, my reaction was that such reactions on the parts of students on college campuses were almost inevitable, and that the Kent State thing was a tragedy which is the ultimate of violence begetting violence.

Turning now to the Governor's Day activities here: what did you think of the arrangements made for observing Governor's Day?

Well, ironically, this year for the first time (at least in my three years in association), the Military Department had made every effort to de-emphasize the military aspect of Governor's Day and try to emphasize a cooperative, civilian aspect. Our pre-publicity was pegged to the concept that it would be a day in honor of the governor with both civilian and the traditional military ceremonies.

Colonel Hill, the new ROTC commander and Military Department chairman, had worked out a plan whereby, in addition to the ordinary cer-



Edward Olsen, 1952.

emony for parents, and to honor the students in the president's office, there would be a reception for the governor in the Travis Union, at which certain faculty members would be invited. This was his effort to make it both civilian and military.

Unfortunately, I think the military brought upon itself at least a portion of the ensuing events—the blockade of that motorcade. The motorcade previously had always taken off on a standard campus roadway from Clark Administration building. This time, for some reason or another, the motorcade was lined up on the only available sidewalk between the south portion of the campus and the north portion of the campus. Well, the military apparently had an alternative plan in which they had proposed to line up their motorcade on Virginia Street. If they had followed

that plan, it would have pretty much obviated any blockade of the motorcade, because the blockade, to my way of thinking, developed totally spontaneously and accidentally.

Do you want me to pursue what I saw at the blockade?

If you'd like to—the next question has to do with your reaction to the demonstration.

Well, let me go ahead with what I saw at the blockade. I had attended the reception, although uninvited I might add—apparently only deans or certain structural levels were invited for the governor. I had decided that since it was a long distance to the gym, I would undertake to go up to the parking lot and hop a ride with someone to the gym.

So I left apparently—unknowingly, but apparently—just before the governor and his party did (it was the governor, the visiting general [Franklin] from the Sixth Army, and President Miller). There was one university police car immediately in the front of the governor's car which headed the procession. I must have arrived there about, oh, fifteen seconds or so before the governor and his party had, and I noticed a young man seated on the ground in front of the car.

At that point the two university policemen (one, an older man; and two, a somewhat more impatient, younger man about thirty-five) came out of the police car and went to the student sitting in front of the car and told him to move. The student declined to move, whereupon the middle-aged policeman, the younger man—and I don't think he really meant to say this, but this is what he did say—he said, "I will give you either one

minute, or I'm going to take you to jail," whereupon the student replied, "OK, I'll take the minute."

So at this point Dr. Miller and the general and the governor had all got into their car without really recognizing what was going on up front. And Dr. Miller finally emerged from the car and came up and asked the young man to leave.

And the young man stated, "He gave me a minute, and I still have forty seconds," looking at his wristwatch.

Whereupon the more impatient police officer started to grab the boy, but the older officer interrupted, saying, "You gave him a minute. You've got to stick with your word."

And when it was explained to Dr. Miller that the officer had given the youngster one minute to move, well, Dr. Miller agreed and he went back and got into his car. [laughter] Whereupon at the



"I must have arrived there about, oh, fifteen seconds or so before the governor and his party had, and I noticed a young man seated on the ground in front of the car."

end of the one minute, the boy did get up and move, and the two policemen went back to their car and took off, as did the governor's car.

I'm convinced that one-minute delay was *just enough*, accidentally and coincidentally, for that vanguard of a group marching up from the bowl (and having to walk on the lawn because of the sidewalk blockage) to arrive at the scene and suddenly recognize the ideal potential that existed there, even though the governor's car had already departed.

In the advance group of marchers was Professor Adamian, who appeared to be quite excited and went out in front of the balance of motorcade. The next car in line contained, among others, Procter Hug, the chairman of the Board of Regents. Professor Adamian got out in front, along with a number of other students who had been marching up that direction—not marching, but walking as a large group. The professor waved his arms in the air, and he chanted, "More people! More people!" whereupon a number of others, who had been walking up, ran up. And pretty soon that entire, very constricted area between Lincoln Hall and the library was blocked by students, and in short order, and it became impossible for the vehicles to move—although some of the military drivers did put the vehicles in gear and try to push, but finally thought better of it and just stopped altogether, anyway.

A fistfight broke out at this point between what appeared to be two people on the same side of the fence rather than opposing forces. But it was impossible to tell what they were fighting over. The two were separated by other students.

And then a youngster came and threw himself on his stomach in front of one of the cars, and it was actually impossible for the driver to see him in that position. The car was in motion very, very slowly and it appeared that it might well run over him without the driver even knowing he was there. At this point Professor Adamian ran back and bodily, and with much verbal encouragement, removed the youngster from that position. But the blockade lasted, oh, I'd say, three to five minutes.

At that point, Chief Malone was already up at the empty stadium along with the two officers in the other car and the governor, the general, and the president of the university all at the stadium by themselves. [laughter] He was surprised at the disturbance and by pre-arrangement had had city police in the vicinity off campus. Dick called for traffic assistance, and the city police arrived and opened a hole, which permitted the motorcade to head out onto Virginia Street. It evidently had planned to continue along campus up past fine arts and directly go to the stadium without leaving campus, but the number of people just walking in the direction of the stadium made that difficult. So the police did open a hole, and the motorcade went out onto Virginia Street and on up to the stadium in that fashion.

What was your reaction to the demonstration?

That portion of it?

Any of it.

Well, to that portion my reaction was one that it was unfortunate and, frankly, accidental. I think the military should have had a little more forethought, in view of the advertised fact that there was going to be a peace gathering in the bowl—as there had been last year and the year before. The peace gathering group seemed to be totally disorganized and without any plan as to what they were going to do. But when they saw all the military cars come up the Center Street driveway past the bowl and then go park on the sidewalk, from what others have told me, somebody finally suggested they all march to the stadium, really without a plan at that point. So I'd just say my reaction to the motorcade was that it was just something that could have been avoided, but unfortunately wasn't. It didn't do any great harm or damage to anybody, and I didn't find it all that bad.

My reaction to the group at the stadium was somewhat different. I felt they were pretty tired at that point, after they arrived at the stadium and were permitted—without any effort and interfer-

ence whatsoever—to march around the stadium two or three times (three times, I think, I watched them march around the track). A number of them at that point left the area, but a number climbed into the stands.

After climbing into the stands, they became totally boorish and quite rude. And then, of course, toward the end many in the stands, but not all of them, left the stands and pursued the Negro contingent—which had not gone into the stands to begin with, but had gone down on the field to sit quietly, but not in the way of anyone. When the others came down to join the Negro group and then got up and literally defied the marching units and did everything they could to interrupt them, my reaction was that it was overdone and was certainly a harm to those who believe sincerely in the cause of the peace movement. (It did set it back, I felt, tremendously. I even think that's being reflected today.)

One incident at the stand (in case we hadn't picked that up earlier): there was this great consternation about the boy who played taps at the time of the presentation of an award by the parents of a boy who had been lost in Vietnam. Those who were fully cognizant of the situation were really quite upset by the youngster playing taps, but there were many students and other observers in the stands who felt that that was part of the program and believed that it was part of the program. Actually, the youngster who played taps had come down to the band and encountered two of his friends there and tried to talk the two of them into lending him an instrument. One boy refused, but another one on the end did give him his trombone, and that gave him an instrument with which he could play the taps.

Did you feel it was necessary to participate in any of the demonstrations or the activities, to be a real participant?

I have not been personally a participant in demonstrations.

What did you think was the most effective part of the demonstration and of the Governor's Day observance?

Effective from whose standpoint? [laughter]

Any way you want to read it.

Well, frankly, from the standpoint of the peace movement, I don't think the whole day was effective or any part of it, really. After all, the military ceremony was a tradition for a limited number of interested people, just as the peace gathering is now a tradition for an equally limited number of interested people. I think what the demonstration brought about was a sudden awareness on the part of some of the demonstration leaders of their inability to control people. I think it led many of them into the belief that perhaps more dialog, rather than action, would be profitable.

And, as you know, the following night (the Wednesday night after the Tuesday Governor's Day) they developed pretty much spontaneously, but on a large basis, a mass meeting in the Travis lounge, in which the so-called aggies (or cowboys or what-have-you, the people who had opposed the peace people) showed up for perhaps not a very effective dialog, but at least a loud one. And that night I had been designated by Dr. Miller as one of a committee of three to make the determination of when and if we should call for outside help in event the discussion went beyond the discussion stage.

The lounge was just absolutely jammed. There was standing room only out in the lobby and just no way for people to get in, nor was there any way for many people to hear. But it became obvious that it could have been pretty impossible to have much of any physical confrontation within such a sardine environment. So we then concluded that if it did develop into a physical confrontation on the part of a few people, the only place they could go to get it out of their system would be out on the lawn in front of the Travis.

We had campus policemen stationed at all the sprinkler valves—upon signal, radio signal—to turn on all the sprinkling systems. We also had the fire hoses manned in Lincoln Hall to just water everybody down and consequently, perhaps, cool the situation without having to resort to calling in outside policemen.

That night, after the major meeting broke up, the student body leaders suggested that a series of smaller groups go to various parts of the building to discuss whatever they wanted to discuss. And it was interesting to me. I went around to several of them and found many of them in a variety of discussions. One group was being lectured by Ben Hazard about how Dr. Miller was not doing his job and so on, so forth, and he was leading quite a diatribe there. In another group Colonel Hill and several of his ROTC cadets were engaging in very polite debate and exchange of ideas—on both sides—over the entire Vietnam program. There were long-hairs and short-hairs, and it was really quite an interesting dialog. It was a totally polite and totally rational discussion. As a matter of fact, I left about, oh, 11:30 or 12:00, and Colonel Hill's group was still involved in this discussion at 2:00 a.m., when Colonel Hill received a call to advise him of the fact the ROTC building had been fire bombed. He was still in discussion down on campus with the group at that time.

What do you think should have been the reaction of the various groups involved up at the stadium on Governor's Day: the administration, the demonstrators, the ROTC?

Well, despite my own sympathies toward the peace movement, I don't believe that the demonstrators really had the right to interfere with someone else's meeting, someone else's ceremony. And the fact that they did was accepted by all concerned, up to a point.

Dr. Miller, as you may know, finally called upon the group to shut up. This is after they'd gotten to the stands and had done their marching and what-have-you. He finally called upon the

group to at least be polite enough to permit the ceremony to go on uninterrupted. I don't see where he could have done any more than he did at that point. He declined their request to have a speaker, which I think was right. The faculty members who participated in the march—and in many instances became upset that the thing was getting out of hand—I think, did their best to try to cool it. Although, there again, Professor Adamian was outstanding in his efforts to keep the kids up.

What other reaction could anybody have shown? I think the cadets displayed a truly remarkable discipline in not lining somebody with a bayonet, which could have led to really a tragic consequence. God knows they were baited far enough to do it. So I think the reaction of all concerned was just about as good as it could have been. [laughter]

What was your reaction to the violence that followed Governor's Day: the fire bombing of Hartman Hall and the one at the Hobbit Hole?

Well, I'm convinced that both of them were amateurish and not really an action of any large group. I think once again that those two incidents, along with the Governor's Day thing sort of getting out of hand, combined to throw a scare into a lot of people—which resulted in a far greater turnout, partly deliberate and partly sincere, on the part of people at such things as the candle-light ceremony for the Kent State people and the following ceremony the next day.

Dr. Miller had a meeting of his deans and other persons on primarily the question of whether he should remain on campus that weekend, Friday and Saturday, or go on to the Board of Regents meeting where it was meeting in Elko. It was the consensus of the group—not unanimous, but certainly a majority consensus—that he should go on. But we did develop a plan whereby we requested each dean to request as many faculty as possible to participate (or if not participate, at least turn up) at every large-scale gap in the students and faculty—partly to perhaps

present another point of view just in personal contacts, or share the points of views that would be expressed by the students, to involve more people in what, at that point, was a potentially serious situation. Consequently, there was a substantial turnout for the candlelight ceremony and a substantial turnout the next day at lunch, including a number of people who ordinarily would not go to those kinds of things.

What category of participant in the various affairs—the students, the faculty, or outsiders—do you think was most important in fomenting violence on the campus?

Well, I don't accept the position that there was violence on the campus—I don't accept that premise to begin with. There were the two incidents of fire bombings, which certainly can be classified as violence, but they weren't people-to-people violence. Violence against property, perhaps. But for the disturbance in the Governor's Day thing, I think it was mainly students, although there was certainly some faculty potential. There was some faculty responsibility and some faculty participation. But I think when it became evident that it was getting beyond the point of leadership—that there was no real leadership involved—most of the faculty then quickly backed off, and many of the students then, too. That had left pretty much of a small group of, oh, hardcore students (I would say not more than a hundred) that continued beyond the realm of ordinary protest.

Where do you think the peace movement in this area is headed now?

Well, for awhile, I think the peace movement, as led by university students, is up against a rock wall. I think the moratorium was effective last October, primarily because it was orderly and large. But I think the Governor's Day thing and the resultant out-of-perspective dissemination of knowledge about it has put the peace movement in bad shape at the moment.

Do you have other comments you'd like to make about this?

None that I think of, no.

RICHARD PATTERSON JR.

June 3, 1970

For the record, do you want to give your name and your home town?

Richard Gary Patterson, and I graduated from high school at Garfield, California, but my parents now live in Riverside, California. I've been at the University of Nevada for four years.

You're a senior then? Graduating?

I need nine more units.

What's your major?

Industrial management and business administration.

Why do you think you were chosen to be interviewed?

I really don't know. Maybe because of Black Week or something along that line, because I was the chairman of Black Week for the BSU. Other than that, I have no idea.

Well, you've been active on campus then?

Yes.

What was your personal reaction to President Nixon's decision to move troops into Cambodia?

Personally, coming from a military family, I thought it was something they possibly should have done a long time ago. You know, militarily-wise, it was a sound thing to do, but the method in which he did it perturbed me. Because, as far as I'm concerned, the way they moved into Cambodia . . . you know, people down in Mexico could do something he didn't like, and he could move troops into there just as easily without consulting anyone or asking the masses' opinion on the situation. And that's the part, more or less, that scared me or would cause me to react in any type of demonstration or thing of this nature.

Well, again, in what way do you think this Cambodian decision was related to what happened next on this campus, the University of Nevada, Reno?

Well, as far as the Reno campus is concerned, it was the type of stimulant that they needed to get a larger number of people to rally around their point, as far as the war was concerned. I think it was indicative of the type of situation that happened across the nation in this same situation. So, everything they had been saying up until now came true, you know; they kept telling them, "Watch this. Watch this. Watch this." And so, the next thing they know, troops are in Cambodia with the people of the United States having really no voice in the decision whatsoever. It was a rallying point, and it was a big push that the organizers on this campus needed, and it served just as that.

OK. What was your reaction to events in other parts of the country related to this Cambodia decision—Kent State?

Well, being a black individual in America, it was really nice in a weird type way to see white individuals feeling the frustration that blacks have felt for years and years. I was extremely sympathetic with them, and I understood exactly the reasons for this feeling inside of them and the explosiveness that comes out of this type of situation.

It wasn't at *all* that new to me, and the government's reaction to this type of situation wasn't new to me, either. You know, they just wait for time to come along and just cover it right over and just keep on doing what they have been doing and not changing nothing. So, personally, I was extremely sympathetic with the situation, and it was senseless, and there was no reason for it. And when I thought to myself that had it been, you know, three or four black students killed in a similar type of situation, what would have happened? And to try and think this question out . . .

Yes, what to do about that . . .

I really don't think that much would have been said or done about it—no, no, I really don't. Because they'd probably say these kids were on

a black power kick or something, you know, that they really don't have no feelings for the country and all these typical things.

OK. Regarding the Governor's Day activities here on campus, what do you think of the arrangements for the observances? Or I'll ask about three or four and you can talk to all of them. What was your reaction to the demonstrations? Did you feel it was necessary to participate in any of the activities or demonstrations?

Yes.

What do you think was the most effective part of the demonstration or the observances? And we can go back over these one at a time if we want.

As far as the organization for this demonstration, it wasn't organized—those things for this hour, this hour, this hour, this hour, or this hour. The individuals, more or less, sent out pamphlets and everything, and tried to get the people there. And once they got the people—they were seeing how many numbers they had, and so forth—that would kind of guide them into the next step, the next phase of their operation.

Had they had, say, two thousand people there, they might not have had a Governor's Day. But they only had four hundred or five hundred or whatever it was, so, therefore, they had to gear down the type of methods that they wanted to use and the type of demonstrations they wanted to have during that day. I think for the number of individuals that they had and the disorganization that surrounded this whole thing, you know, a lot of individuals did certain things like the individual that laid down in front of the governor's car. Now, I do not think that that was a planned thing, as far as the whole Governor's Day demonstration was concerned. It's just that, you know, every individual takes off on their own thing. So, the organizers really have no control over that type of situation, and I don't see where they should be blamed for it.

Well, what do you think about the organization for Governor's Day, I mean, from the university's point of view?

From the university point of view?

Yes.

[laughter] Like most administrations and individuals, they bring it to the uniformed police officers. They had approximately twenty-five or thirty of them on alert that could have been walked to the university within a three-minute period. This shows the type of fear that's instilled—and people can tell when you're scared.

And to show force by bringing police officers on a campus like this, the same type of incident that happened at Kent State could have easily happened here. Because you don't know what type of resentment that these police officers have toward college students or blacks or Indians. You know, this might be their big chance as far as they're concerned. And if they get it, I'm pretty sure they would take it. And this just brings in an unnecessary force that possibly could have led to a situation that everybody would be ashamed of.

Do you feel . . . ? Now, Governor's Day is something that's been going on every year for years.

Yes, I even participated in it for two years.

That was really what my question was, too, you know: so, what did you make of the arrangements for the observances in light of the Cambodia situation? Do you think it should have been held or canceled? [laughter]

Well, as far as I'm concerned, the administration was going to do what they wanted to do anyway to show that they're not going to be bothered by anything that happens. They're just going to live in their own little world, surround themselves by a fifty-foot fence, and not look outside and be affected by anything that happens in other parts of the world. It's stupidity, and it's got to come home sooner or later.

Did you see the observances yourself? Were you there?

I was there from beginning to end. From the time the individual . . . It just happened, you know, and then I just followed it. I think a lot of other people probably did the same thing, to see what happened. And these are, in a lot of cases, the people that get hurt.

What should have been the reaction, say, of the ROTC or the demonstrators to the conflict that did develop? Did you feel that people reacted as they should have?

Yes, but I just think people act instinctively when they get into a situation like this. The ROTC and, say, the administration, and the people that were out there really didn't want to push the demonstrators to see who was going to budge. And then, again, the demonstrators didn't do anything to really push the administration to see if *they* would budge. So it was kind of a stand-off type thing.

As far as individuals in the stands are concerned, the people that came to see the observance, their insensitivity to the situation was *really* evident, because any time they start flipping the bird to other people—you know what I mean—they're dropping themselves down just as low as they *think* those other people are. And so, you know, what's inside of them really shows, too. It's a good thing to see these so-called middle-class bourgeois so-and-sos just drop down to that level. It just shows that they are no better than the individuals that were out there trying to get their point across.

OK. What was your reaction to the violence that followed: the bombing of ROTC and then the bombing of the Hobbit Hole?

Yes, that really surprised me. But the thing is . . . had that type of bombing occurred, say, four weeks earlier when the blacks on campus were kind of causing a disturbance type thing, they would have been directly blamed for it. When it

happened when it did, they didn't know who did it. [laughter] So, I don't know. The reason for a bombing of this type is just—like I said earlier—an individual that's just out there doing what he thinks is best, and it may be rational or irrational. I really don't know what type of individual this is.

Of course, like a lot of people have noticed in the past weeks, the bombing, as far as the Hobbit Hole is concerned, almost stemmed directly from Senator Slattery. Because I heard that statement on TV the night before myself, that "The cowboys should be allowed to run these hippies off campus." Now, what kind of rational individual is that? That means he's just a reactionary type individual, and this is bad. He's *twice* as dangerous as one of these hippies, because it's really easy for him to get in the newspaper and on TV where the mass media can hear him. And to condone these types of actions from, say, an individual that's sitting on the fence trying to decide whether he's going to do this or do that, it gives him this incentive to go ahead and do what he was going to do. Whereas had an individual like Senator Slattery not made this statement, an incident like the Hobbit Hole would not have come about.

I see. What category of participant—student or faculty or outsiders—do you feel was most effective in fomenting the violence that erupted? Do you think outsiders were important?

Not really being down, down, down with the heart . . . The individual that organized this type of demonstration, or knowing who's an outsider and who's not an outsider, I really couldn't say. I know the faculty members as a whole, I don't think, would condone this type of action, because this is their place of work, also.

For the students that go to school here, and the type of feelings that they have, what they're trying to get across to a lot of people (especially through boycotting classes, say, one day) more so than anything else is that there are millions and thousands upon thousands of people in Vietnam that are being killed over there; there is land

that has just been made useless through bombings; there is just suffering and destitution that's hit that country. And here we are going from day to day—not having any feelings or any concept of the type of suffering that's going on over there, and just going to class and not being bothered by anything. By boycotting classes and, you know, being able to suffer one day or so, we can have some *small* viewing of what is really going on over there and the magnitude of the situation.

For the Americans that sit back here, as a whole, I would say they wouldn't even consider the people over there their equals. Those are human beings that are over there, and as a whole, I don't think we consider them human beings. So the organizers of these demonstrations, I think, are trying to bring some of this suffering to us, so we'll know what's going on over there and maybe get individuals to want to get out of there a lot quicker.

When you don't know what's going on over there, or the type of suffering that's going on over there, it's, "Big deal. Let them keep on doing it." So, I think this was the kind of mood. I really don't think that these students were more or less trying to bring about violence with the demonstration; they were just trying to bring off this awareness of the magnitude of the situation in Southeast Asia and the type of things that can happen in the future if it's not stopped.

What actions do you feel were most effective in preventing more violence or in cooling off the situation that developed from the bombings? Anything that happened here on campus—what cooled it? [laughter]

You mean, why wasn't there a follow-up to Governor's Day and another thing, say, the next week—another big demonstration?

Yes, yes.

As usual, at the University of Nevada—fear. Fear of the establishment, because this is an extremely conservative place. Fear of reprimand by their teachers. Just, I think, fear in these students

is the main thing that did it. And then, realizing the type of situation that they're in finally—that at any time, the administration has thirty police officers just waiting to come down here and [makes popping noise] knock somebody on the head. I think it just got to them.

Now, had they had individuals here to fight these types of things off . . . And this just might be evident the next time something like this comes about—you know, students that transfer in, a turn-over student. Maybe the individuals that come next year can organize or be able to fight these types of things off. You know, students were probably scared of being put in jail or not having any bail, fear that they won't have a lawyer if they get put in jail on disturbing of the peace and these type of things. So maybe somebody will come here next time with a lot of money that will say, "Don't worry about being put in jail. Let's go ahead and do it. We'll get you out."

So, I think it was a fear factor that cooled the situation down.

Cooled it off, yes. Well, then how do you think events here on campus affect the university's image with outsiders?

Oh, man. See, that's the thing. They worried about what people that don't know anything about the university think. I would say the students do not control the university or have any say about it. As usual, the outsiders, the people that do control this university are now, seeing that the students are gone, out doing their dirty work, as far as I'm concerned.

They're going to make a new student bill of rights. The next thing you know, students will come back, and if they spit on the sidewalk, if they say the wrong thing at the wrong time, or cuss—you know, a large number of things—they'll be able to be kicked out of school. Being as conservative as the Board of Regents is and having the type of influence on the outside that they do have, there's going to be a pretty tough student code next year. And I really would hate to see this happen, but if it does it could, you know, bring about a lot more resentment.

I don't think the student body president, Ms. [Frankie] Sue Del Papa, is really doing everything that she should be doing in the students' behalf at this stage of the game. Because she is the student representative, she should think like the students and do what is conducive to a learning atmosphere for the students, and I don't think she's doing this right now. She should be down on their throats and yelling and just making as much noise as she can to try and keep *them* from telling *us* how *we* should act in our own environment.

They come in once every two months or once a month and, you know, pay the bills or do whatever it is and then zip back out. They're not the ones that have to go here day in and day out. So, how can they say what *we* should do? They went to school a long time ago. Like they say, the times have changed, and this is 1970 and not 1935.

Well, do you think, then, that we shouldn't worry too much about the image? What function does the university have in focusing public opinion, say, on war and student demands and support?

Well, as far as student demands and the war is concerned, I think that . . . OK, the conservativeness of this campus is always going to be there. So, therefore, for the administration and Board of Regents to try and put up laws and barriers to keep a few individuals (which they are, I would say, a few individuals and a minority of the students on campus) from partaking in their type of demonstrations is really a hindrance to the educational process as a whole. Because how are these other 90 percent of the students that do live in this captive world going to find out about things that are going on in the outside world? Because the conservative newspaper isn't going to tell them. The TV is not going to tell them. So there has to be a group of individuals that can relate these outside ideas to these other people, so that they then can decide—and not go through life just hearing this one-sided situation.

So, it's really a valuable thing to the university to have these individuals here. It's just part of the learning process to hear both sides of the

argument and then decide, you know. But to hear one side, one side, one side constantly is a detriment to the individual in the long-run, because how many of these individuals are going to stay in Reno, you know, the rest of their lives? A lot of them are going to go out into the world, and it's going to be rough on them because of their lack of knowledge about blacks, the war—just a large number of things. So, by having the BSU and Black Week and then the people demonstrating against the war, these types of things are brought to them, and it's good, as far as I'm concerned.

And then the university does have a job to do in focusing public opinion. By these things, you mean you get it into the newspapers, and into the news, somehow or other?

Yes, and letting the other side be told. And if nothing else, well, why try and suppress this type of communication, as far as I'm concerned?

Yes, OK. Do you feel that academic freedom—the issues of academic freedom are involved in participating in demonstrations?

And not being reprimanded by a teacher or . . . ?

Well, academic freedom for teachers or students. However you want to approach it.

Well, yes. I really think what they're doing to Paul Adamian and Fred Maher is really stupid. It's just a take-off from the Jesse Sattwhite incident, as far as I'm concerned. You know, they're still looking for that big scapegoat to show that, "We've got the power, and you step out of line—boom. That's what's going to happen to you." So, dang, they have all the cards, there's no doubt about it. And they keep throwing them down. But the ones that they throw down and don't pick back up, you know, the students will have them. So it's just that they're trying to show the type of power that they do have and to make a martyr—or not necessarily a martyr—but to

victimize whoever steps in their way, and it's really bad.

So, as far as academic freedom, there really isn't any, as far as I can see it. Because when you do say what you think in a class, especially a student, the teacher says, "I got my Ph.D., and I can say what I want to say." Who the hell is he? Who is he? You know, where has he been? I mean, how many books has he written? The last thing he probably wrote was his dissertation for his Ph.D., nine times out of ten. The ones that do have the sensitivity to the problem and the understanding are right there and writing current material and are not just trying to, you know, use their tenure as a tool for saying, "I know everything."

This type of individual really causes a lot of trouble in classrooms. There should be, possibly, a new evaluation of this tenure thing, because there are teachers that come to school just to earn their pay, and that's it. The less they have to do, the better. And so, to give them the tool of tenureship as a means of, you know, not doing anything is just as bad as . . .

Do you feel, then, that the younger professors are more sensitive to the current problems and less inclined to be part of the . . . ?

Establishment?

[laughter] Yes, whatever you want to call it.

Yes. And I'd say in nine out of ten cases that this would be the type of situation that was evident. This program where they bring in outside professors for a year—you know, in sociology and political science—is a tremendous program, because a lot of students are really waking up and hearing new ideas that would have never been brought to them through any other means. These are high-quality individuals that know what they're talking about, and they stimulate thought in the student. That's what has to happen: to make them think for themselves. Yes, sure, we know other people's opinion, but to make an individual

think is a heck of a process, and to appreciate it is the thing.

That kind of leads into the next question of what you were just talking to there. How can the students be effective politically? Or should they attempt to influence political or government policies?

Yes, they should, by all means . . .

They should?

Because five years from now they're going to be out in the same rat race that people five years prior to them are in now. And, say, the thing is—had their parents taken up the stick, they might not have to. So, in order to keep their kid from going through what they are going through now, damn straight they should be out there. Because it's going to be their world and their kids' world. "What type of world do you want for your kids?" is the type of question that these people that are sitting back should ask themselves.

Do you want your kid to go over there? You know, you paid to have your kid sent over there and killed. And they don't realize it. It's your tax dollars that buy them that uniform and buy them that gun. When you pay \$2,000 a year in taxes, that's a one-way trip to Vietnam. These people don't realize it, and so they keep your kid from going through the same type of mental strain, because that's what it is: trying to figure out, "Are they going to get me? Are they going to get me?" These types of things. "I really don't know what to plan; I don't know what to do. Should I get in the air guard? Because if I get in the air guard, will the war be over tomorrow? And then I'll just be in the air guard."

These are rough decisions for an individual twenty years old, twenty-one years old with no help from *no* one. You know, what can this person hear? "Well, I went in the war," you know. But that was a different war. I think that the points that the young people and the old people agree upon are becoming more and more common. You know, nobody wants this war now. You know,

the large percentage of the people don't want the war. OK, so they agree on that, and they agree that this war is like no other war. So the more things that they can agree on or show the old—not old, but the establishment—that they agree on, the more they can convince them to come over to their type of thinking: boom, get this man out of here, or vote for this individual. You know, those types of things.

Well, how then are you most effective as a student? Do you work through the political system that exists, or do you demonstrate against it?

OK. Demonstrations of most unions . . . who are they when they picket after they strike? You know, they strike. They get violent in a lot of cases. It's been known for unions to get violent. But I think, as a whole, most Americans really don't mind demonstrations. It's just when the violence, the rock throwing does take place that they do get irate, and that stops all communication whatsoever. It just stops.

So to demonstrate is a means, but to follow up that demonstration by talk-ins and teach-ins: those are the things that I think are really effective. And to go to a local group of a Kiwanis Club or Elks Club and talk to the individuals with three or four people and be polite to each other.

You know, if he has a good point, recognize it. Don't sit up on the throne and say, "I know it all," because you don't, either. You know, you're just taking his place. So, exchange ideas and thoughts, and have a feeling for *their* feelings. Recognize them as human beings, and try to persuade them to vote the way you want them to vote, and register to vote yourselves (you know, everyone that's twenty-one).

That's why I really think that this is going to be an extremely interesting summer to see these students who have been picketing and the peace rally in November. Are they going to take off to the beaches and to the mountains and zip off to Europe with their parents and these types of things, or are they going to stick with it? Do they really care that much? And it's going to be a real test for them.

That's what I was going to ask you: where's the peace movement in this area headed? Can you guess?

Well, as far as this area is concerned, I would say most of the individuals were from California that tried to stimulate these types of thoughts in a lot of these people. So, as far as Reno for the summer is concerned, it's going to be good old conservative Reno—you know, let's get the tourists now that the students are gone.

But in the meantime, the administration and individuals like that are going to try and find the methods to deal with these types of things the coming year. With no pressure on them they can devote all their time to this instead of just part of it. So, there is no known peace movement in Reno as such.

You don't feel that it is . . .

Just from what I can see, no. But then again, like I said, I'm not out there with them strike for strike.

Do you have any other comments on this subject or any related subject [laughter] that you'd like put on your tape?

Yes. Well, the University of Nevada is really . . . in a lot of cases their values are really backwards as far as keeping teachers that really are effective during the learning process and getting rid of those that really aren't effective. Because they have a lot of young teachers that have master's, say, and it requires a Ph.D. So they'll get rid of the individual with a master's and keep the individual with the Ph.D., who doesn't necessarily teach anything.

The students have no say in this type of relationship between themselves and their teachers, you know. If the teacher is good, I mean, why can't they keep them? It's really hard for them to understand this. You know, Dr. Hiller is a victim of the system, because his teaching methods were archaic in a lot of cases, but he stimulated thought in the individual. And in most cases, that's the

main thing. That's why I feel that engineers, and people in these types of work that one-plus-one is always two, really can't deal with the type of situations that happen in the world today when one-plus-one comes up three. You know, it's not real, and they just can't relate to it. And it's going to be really rough for them later on in life unless they go up to Carson City and work there the rest of their lives.

So the whole structure of these different departments is really going to have to be looked at. The Business Department—being a business administration student, I feel that they're really neglectful of this type of situation.

Me, myself—they're not teaching me to deal with the problems that I'm going to meet out there because I'm black. OK, so I have, say, five black individuals in my department and, say, four or five white individuals under me who really don't know, who think I'm inferior to them, or these types of things. How am I going to deal with these types of people? They don't teach me. You know, what am I supposed to do? And as far as the white individual that graduates from the Business Department, what is he going to do if he has a black supervisor? You know, all his life, he's been sitting over here, and, dang, he's on top of everything, but then, you know, a black person is his supervisor. How is he going to deal with this problem? Are they teaching him that? You know, is the man just better than him—I mean, he knows the job better than him? What's he going to do with his black subordinates? You know, "I don't want to work today. I don't like you. Let me meet you around the corner." What's he going to do with these types of situations? So, these people are just being short-changed in a lot of ways just because they're in Reno, and these types of problems aren't evident right here.

It's just constantly being thrown into their face that because the structure of this place is such that as long as you're white, you got it made, when they go out into the other part of the world it's going to be rough on them. It's going to be rough on them, and I really hate to see it. That's all I have to say.

June 9, 1970

If you'll say your name, your residence, and your position.

Gary Peltier, Reno, Nevada; faculty senate chairman, 1969-1970; associate professor of education.

OK. Why do you think you were chosen to be interviewed?

Probably because of my particular role as chairman of the faculty senate in a very trying period. [laughter]

What was your reaction to President Nixon's decision to go into Cambodia with troops?

I had to agree with many of those who looked upon it as a widening of the war in the Far East. That was essentially my reaction—essentially negative.

In what way do you think this Cambodia decision was related to what happened next on our campus?

It's difficult to establish a causal relationship, but I'm sure it was a factor, particularly for those students who are concerned and really involved with antiwar kinds of activities. (I'm trying to recall at what stage did the Kent State thing . . .? That was after.) It's difficult to say, but I would have predicted that there would probably have been a Governor's Day demonstration such as there has been the last couple of years, even *without* Cambodia in Asia. It probably gave it a little more fervor. A little spice. [laughter]

What was your reaction to events in other parts of the country also related to the Cambodia decision?

Essentially very favorable. It's nuts in a country like this when you get a lot of people essentially saying the same thing in many parts of the nation. It's kind of a marvelous display of solidarity that you don't get very often in a diverse nation that's developed. [laughter] I thought it was a very happy kind of event, really. The political process at work, you know.

Good. Turning now to the Governor's Day activities here: what did you think of the arrangements for observing Governor's day?



Gary Peltier, 1972.

Well, as I understand it, they tried to make it less of a military day this year and more of a governor's day: that is, honoring the governor and giving him a reception and so on, and in some way play down the military aspects of it, which I thought was a good idea. And I think it came from Hill, Colonel Hill. By arrangements, you mean like the physical arrangements of having it where they had it and this kind of thing?

Well, and having it . . .

When they did?

When they did, or at all, or whether the motorcade should have gone where it did, or whatever you want to say about it.

Oh, OK. In retrospect, obviously the timing was bad, but at the same time, I have to agree with those who say, "If you've got a university function scheduled, you go ahead with it no matter who's threatening to do what." Because then if you don't, it's just blackmailing the university in saying, "You can't do this kind of thing." If it's a regular scheduled university activity, you do it.

The motorcade going through the campus—I have philosophical objections to motorcades through here anyway, or anything with a motor. I don't know. It might have been bad judgment—I don't know. I do know that there were pretty good police kind of back-up people available for the Governor's Day activities, which could have been called at any time, assuming crisis proportions would have developed. And I think it's to the credit of people like President Miller that they didn't call the police, because there would have been a lot of people hurt—not just name-calling, but, you know, people roughed up. So, I think, given the circumstances, we probably handled it fairly well. There were emergency precautions available. Well, if that group would have only, you know, marched around a couple of times and sat down and been quiet, then it would have been no problem.

Yes. Well, that's the next question, I believe. What was your reaction to the demonstration?

I didn't see it. I was not an eye witness. My initial reaction was very negative. Well, I'll qualify that. The idea of going around marching and carrying your placard and so forth, it's perfectly all right with me—democracy at work. The problem ensued, I think, in where, once having marched around twice, the demonstration group didn't sit down and let the activities go on from that point. If they would have, I doubt if we would have got more than a small paragraph in the paper. But the idea of name-calling and interrupting the ceremony, that got to me—and just disrespect to some of the individuals on the platform,

including the president, student body president, many of our local college people, and the parents of a boy who had been killed in Vietnam and were giving out a scholarship. All these kinds of things, I think, were definitely out of line and have hurt this university more than we'd like to admit.

Did you feel it was necessary to participate in any of the demonstrations or observances?

I did not on the Governor's Day thing. Normally, I do not go out and demonstrate for causes for philosophical, moral, and other kinds of reasons. When you're a college professor, it's tricky. [laughter] You know the problem.

What do you think should have been the reaction of the various people involved up at the stadium: the demonstrators, the ROTC, and the administration?

Well, essentially, I feel that the ceremony such as it is should have been allowed to proceed as scheduled with a minimum of interruption and this kind of thing. I kind of get a little upset with these kids who say, "Now, do your own thing," but keep insisting that everybody do *their* own thing. There's room in our country for all kinds of groups to meet and do whatever they want, but they don't necessarily need to have education from anybody. I don't know if that answers your question. That's what comes to mind.

What was your reaction to the violence that followed Governor's Day—the fire bombing?

First of all, incredulousness; secondly, rationalization. [laughter] I've almost convinced myself now that it was either the University of Nevada students, or it was a small handful of students that I know are violent, that are prone to violence, and advocate violence as a way of change. In many ways, unbelievable.

But, in general, anything that breaks the law—and it's a civil disobedience up at that level—I'm opposed to. I don't see that as an ef-

fective way of making change. It's tactically stupid.

What category of participant in the various affairs here—the students, the faculty, or outsiders—do you think was most important in fomenting violence on campus?

I'd say it's impossible to pick out one factor. They're all intermingled; they're all factors. But I don't think you can say one was any more important than the other.

Were outsiders important?

Yes, but I don't think we really want to . . . There were five or six of them whom we could identify. But I think that's the easy out. It's easier to say, "Well, somebody else did this, and it's obviously some foreigner, some intruder, some people like that." And that may or may not be true. I mean, to me, the saner course is to say it could have been somebody on our campus. It could have been outsiders. We don't know.

What actions do you feel were most effective in cooling off the violence that followed it?

I think many of the rap sessions held by student groups, by faculty and student groups, by administration and student groups, and the activities of the Center were very effective—just a general discussion of the problem and some of the issues, I think, wherever and whenever it occurred. We made a concerted effort to get faculty members out to attend some of these things briefly after the fire bomb thing, and many of them showed up. There was one faculty member who told me, "I didn't know that groups like this existed around here." It's educational for them. [laughter] Some of them aren't going to get there very often. I'll say it had to be the discussions.

How did the events on campus affect the university's image, so-called, with people on the outside?

Disastrously. Are you speaking of this particular event or just events in general?

Well, this event, of course, is central, but events in general, too, if you care to discuss it.

If there's probably one common fallacy in thinking in our society, it's generalization on the basis of insufficient evidence, and we all do it. But you can see this, well, all the time—I'll get comments. If somebody drives by over here on Ninth and sees a drunken kid or a dirty kid and pretty obviously a university student, that probably hurts our image about as bad as such things as fire bombings. But the problem, as I said, you know, is generalization on the basis of insufficient evidence. Most people don't know what's happening at the university. They take the publicized parts, the few things that they do see, and generalize from it, which is unfortunate. But we ought to be able to predict that and watch out for that. [laughter] And that's the general kind of thing.

President Miller said one time—and I think this is an accurate observation—that the community, by and large, is proud of us, but they have to be reminded. And I think that that's quite true. There's no question that such events as Governor's Day have hurt the image of the university in the state and have really raised up some mindless forces of repression that are pretty obvious in the last month.

What function can the university have in focusing public opinion?

I think, by and large, we need efficient public relations. The things we *do* do, you know, such as receptions after graduation and some of the things we do are fine, and so we probably need a more active town-gown kind of relationship developing. Some of these things we're doing now through the Center—for example, going out and speaking at churches. They have three sessions of town-gown kind of exchanges, discussions, coming up during June, which are probably some

of the things we should have done a long time ago. So, it's really kind of up to us to make our own image.

We try to educate the students all the time: you know, "Whatever you do reflects on the university," and so forth. And it looks to me, after some of the last events, we have to educate the faculty, too. At least some of them don't seem to know or care—or both—that what they do affects the image of the university in various ways. [laughter]

Yes, yes. Are issues of academic freedom involved in participating in a demonstration?

That's a tricky question. It's a question, probably, of the amount of participation or the degree of participation. I think most people would agree that one's academic freedom allows and perhaps even requires somebody to demonstrate in favor of a particular cause as long as the demonstration is a fairly reasonable kind of thing. I don't think anybody would quarrel with that.

The problem is a very tricky one of "when does a professor become a citizen?" Like, for example, if this would have occurred at the Centennial Coliseum on the day when the university was in recess kind of thing, then I think the university would wash their whole hands of it. But if he's a citizen, they don't want to have anything to do with a faculty member who participates. Unfortunately, the society won't let you do that. [laughter]

I don't know if you were here a few years ago when a philosophy professor [Erling Skorpen] went down and picketed the legislature, and, you know, with no avowed affiliation to the university or anything, but in about two minutes everybody seems to be at the university professor: "What's he doing here?" et cetera, et cetera, et cetera.

Academic freedom . . . I really don't agree with the recent pronouncements of the Board of Regents, for example, or the chairman of the board, that one discusses only those things that are germane to the particular class.

I think that probably most of us do. On the other hand, I would bet that after the Governor's Day thing, most classes probably discussed that. And, to me, that was very central to the educational process—not irrelevant and not related to course work. It's what it's all about. So, in terms of that kind of thing, there may well be some academic freedom problems arising.

I don't think, out of the specific demonstrations for Governor's Day, it's academic freedom particularly. But there are some real classroom kinds of questions that are developing—definitely academic freedom kinds of problems. I've had people in the town tell me that one of the best things that could happen to us now would be to get on the AAUP sanction list, because that would attract to our campus the kind of professors they'd like to have here. [laughter]

How can students and faculty be effective politically, or should they try to influence governmental decisions?

To my mind there's no question as to whether they should. I think they should. The question of "how do they do so effectively" is the problem. I think we've seen some good examples, such as the student move on pollution of Lake Tahoe. So, it's probably a pretty effective political activity. It's probably a question of channeling those energies into constructive kinds of political action rather than destructive political action.

The other basic problem is that it's a big problem if you have too many people speaking for the university. There has to be some kind of coordination from this. Otherwise, the university finds itself supporting all sorts of causes, or at least its name being used in all sorts of causes, which it may or may not wish to support. So, by and large, I think you have to say that someone—some man, usually the president—speaks for the university, but he can delegate and use various kinds of groups or faculty that may be needed or may want to participate in a given kind of political instance. I hate to see, you know, fifty different groups out at the legislature all saying they

have university backing, and all spouting some cause. This chaos can also damage our rather fragile image a great deal. So, yes, they should. It's a question of how to do it nicely—nicely, but effectively.

Where do you think the peace movement in this area is headed?

It's tough to predict. I suspect if President Nixon gives in like he says he's going to, we'll see a lessening of the fervor. And then, of course, in just good old time we'll see a lessening of the feelings and so on. I don't know. My guess would be that unless something rather tragic or monumental happens, it'll kind of die off, die down at least to its pre-invasion-of-Cambodia level, which was, you know, not too active. It's interesting that in most of the studies on college campus disorders, usually about one out of four campuses will have the Vietnam situation as a reason for a disruption. The more usual one is race. That's the chief one.

Do you have other comments you'd like to make about this whole situation?

In many ways, I'm upset about the rather over-reaction on the part of the general public, I guess. But I also understand it, and I could also have predicted it. There's no question that (in what, the last few years?) most every university that's had an uprising of some type has suffered in the next legislature financially, if not also in terms of restrictions or rules about behavior on campus and what students and professors do or do not do. So, if the past few years are any indication, we'll get the same kind of treatment in the 1971 legislature. Did you see where the academic senate at the University of California was wiped out in the budget hearing—\$409,000? That's the handwriting on the wall.

You know, probably the moral I got out of the whole thing is that the university has to be careful how it affects changes and what kind of causes it espouses and what kinds of things it re-

ally does want to commit its resources to. We have a lot of talent, a lot of good people, a lot of people who do things. Probably some education is needed about how to do it effectively. But you can also sympathize with a lot of frustration that people get as, you know, really a boon to violence or an excuse for it. I'm sure there are groups in our society that have said for a long time, "You know, we'd like to do it this way," and asked politely and asked politely and asked politely and never got an answer—a satisfactory one. So, finally you are forced by just frustration to get to more violent means if this is true. Teachers' groups, for example, who are not prone to violence but who get pushed that far, might eventually—might be a lesson for some of the government. [laughter] They know it, proud as they are.

My hope is that this one series of incidents doesn't cripple the university for any great length of time. But my educated guess is it's going to hurt us in the near future. I'm almost positive of that. I think that's where they always, you know, kind of come.

June 2, 1970

So, for the record if you'll say your name, your residence, and your connection with the university.

Edward L. Pine; Reno, Nevada; business manager and director of physical plant.

Why do you think you were chosen to be interviewed for this program?

I assume because I happened to be at the Governor's Day observance in the stadium.

What was your reaction to President Nixon's decision to go into Cambodia?

I was in accord with it. I feel that the only solution, if we're going to win, is to get to the source of the problems in which they're being logistically supported. I'm sure that even if it was other countries that should have been bombed a long time ago, I am in accord with getting the action over with as soon as possible and as early as possible. The sooner they get to the source of where the material is coming from, logistically,

they'll not be able to be supplied, and then it'll be a termination of our hostilities.

How do you think the Cambodia decision was related to what happened next on our campus?

I really don't believe that the Cambodian incident had very much actually to do with the problems on our campus. Although the few that were involved indicated that it did actually, I believe in my own opinion that they really didn't understand then that they had very little to do as far as Cambodia was concerned.

What was your reaction to events in other parts of the country related to the Cambodian affair?

Well, I was disappointed because we cannot solve a problem if we are not willing to support him. We have, for a great number of years, been opposed to the communist theory and their communist procedures, and we lent our support to many countries. And if we are actually in support of an overthrow of some of the powers that the communist people are seeking in other countries, the only thing for us to do is really to support those countries to try to overcome the com-



Edward Pine, 1970s.

munist advances. And I'm in favor of us trying to resolve a problem where all people can live fairly and with the same degree of certainty that we in the United States can.

Yes, good. Turning now to the Governor's Day activities: what did you think of the arrangements made for the observance?

I was in favor of it, of all of the arrangements. I had some small part in it. I felt that now we made one or two slight errors in the arrangements, but I was in favor of the arrangements.

What was your reaction to the demonstration?

I was extremely disappointed in approximately 150 or 200 students and most disappointed in 10 or 11 faculty members that I saw involved in the proceedings.

Did you feel it was necessary to participate yourself in any of the activities or the demonstrations?

No, I was opposed to participating in the demonstration. In the activities, yes, I was in favor of the activities, and I would support it any way that I possibly could.

What did you think was the most effective part of the demonstrations and the observance of Governor's Day?

As far as I was concerned, the most effective part was the awarding of various prizes and awards to those cadets who had performed satisfactorily over their period of service and the awards that they received. I was very much in favor of it, and I thought that, as far as I'm concerned, that that was the most impressive part.

Yes—and of the demonstration?

I was disappointed completely. I believe that one of the areas that really set the demonstration off was a small group of people that came to the southeast part of the area and sat on the grass. And then gradually the people coming out of the stands walking across and forming on the parade ground with the cadets was the one particular part of the demonstration that upset me. One other thing that really upset me was a young man who blew taps while Mr. and Mrs. Wisham were making an award to a cadet in honor of their son. And I felt that was very, very much out of place, and I really objected to that.

What should have been the reaction of the ROTC, the reaction of the demonstrators, the reaction of the university administration to this conflict that developed at Governor's Day?

Well, I believe that the cadets, the administration handled themselves favorably. I know that the administration had made an agreement with the demonstrators that they would be permitted to walk around the track three times and then dis-

perse or to go to the Manzanita Bowl area. They did not keep their word. And I believe that they're the ones that really caused the major problems. I think that the ROTC and the administration were more than fair and handled themselves favorably.

OK. What was your reaction to the violence that followed Governor's Day—the fire bombing?

I'm very much upset about it. This country cannot survive with violence, and especially of that type. I'm greatly opposed to it. I'm in favor of law and order and peaceful assemblage of people, and I just am greatly opposed to it. I would hope that they would be able to eventually determine who was at the seat of it and let them suffer the necessary penalties for the damage that was done, not only to the building or the structures, but to the image of the University of Nevada.

What category of participant—students, faculty, or outsiders—do you feel was most important in stirring up the violence?

Well, I really believe that we only had maybe 150 or 200 students. We had 10 or 11 faculty members involved, some of which claimed that they were acting as police or retardants or some such arrangement, but I'm not in accord with that. I believe that they could have had their demonstration in the Manzanita Bowl and let the other people participate in theirs. The faculty members that marched, even though they were peaceful, had no real right in marching. I believe that they should have assembled in some other area. If they wanted to cause some difficulty, fine. But I don't think that they should have acted as police. I don't think they should have even participated in it. I was opposed to faculty and any student leaders. I did not see very many student leaders, but I was violently opposed to the faculty being involved in any way.

Were outsiders important?

I don't know that there were any number of outsiders. I really couldn't tell. I'm not that fa-

miliar with them. I did notice, as I said, some faculty and many students. Whether there were outsiders in it or not, I really couldn't tell.

What actions do you feel were most effective in preventing more violence or in cooling off the situation after the fire bombing?

Well, I believe that the operation of continuing the university on its usual sound basis was one of the things that helped calm things down. I believe that the president going to the Board of Regents meeting and supporting the university before the Board of Regents was of great support. And then I believe that those faculty who participated in the observance in Manzanita Bowl afterwards, the next day, were pretty important in keeping the temperature of the campus down. I believe that the faculty and the chairman and various people involved with the students and the conservative students were the most important in keeping things down after the fire bombing.

How do you think events on campus affect the university's image outside?

Normally, the university has a very fine image. I believe that we have suffered greatly from the Governor's Day demonstration and the events following it, primarily from the taxpayers point of view. I believe that the taxpayers are considerably upset, and probably we'll not really know how much until the next session of the legislature meets, and our budgets come before the various financial committees in the legislature. I think it's going to damage us. I think that there's a possibility that we will not receive the appropriations that we need, and that we probably will not receive the appropriations that we would normally receive (plus a percentage of increase) because of some of the problems that have occurred.

What can the university do to help in focusing public opinion?

I believe that those that are vitally interested in the university should endeavor to speak be-

fore groups, their friends, explain to them as nearly as they can what occurred—and point out to them that the very, very small percentage of people that were involved is not a true picture of the university campus. They should try to point out to them what is actually occurring on the university campus in a favorable light, in place of the bad publicity that the mass media (television, newspapers) released to the public and then very, very little of the good things that are actually occurring. The only way we can get it out is by word of mouth by those people that are really interested in providing the aspects of the campus life to the downtown people or the people throughout the state.

Do you feel that issues of academic freedom are involved in participating in a demonstration?

No, I really don't. At least my interpretation of academic freedom is different than that. I feel that academic freedom gives an instructor or a professor the right to teach in his class as he sees fit on relevant material, and that does not involve academic freedom in public demonstrations and the type of event that occurred on Governor's Day and shortly thereafter.

How can students and faculty be effective politically, or should they attempt to influence governmental decisions?

Certainly they should attempt to influence governmental agencies. I believe that the most logical way is in a calm, quiet manner to try to educate the people involved, to try to point out what we need and why, and to do it with some clarity—and not get involved in a lot of subjects and a lot of material that is immaterial as far as the university is concerned. I believe that those in administrative areas that have contact with the people should do all they can. I believe that the student leaders—all students, as a matter of fact—should be involved in politics, but I think it should be in a democratic way and not in the effort of starting violence or changing by violent tactics.

Where do you think the peace movement in this area is headed now?

I believe that the peace movement will die to some degree, because with the world events occurring as they are, many people will see the advantage of settling the war as early as possible. And I believe that within the next few months we'll probably see some great strides made in the Vietnam area, and then the peace situation will die down considerably. As a matter of fact, if they're really interested in peace, why don't they do something about the Russian situation? It has never developed any peaceful attitude towards the various countries that are involved in the communist lot.

Do you have other comments you'd like to make about the whole situation?

None particularly. I, of course, was disappointed. I am strongly in favor of law and order, and I believe that the only way we can change things and remain a strong country is by the right of each one, and each one recognizing the rights of the others, and that we don't override those people who have certain rights. I believe that everybody should have an opportunity, but I believe it ought to be done in a calm, quiet way and not to override the interest and concerns of other people by force.

BROOKE M. PIPER

June 17, 1970

Now, for the record if you'll say your name, your residence, your class and major.

My name is Brooke Piper. I live in Reno, and I'm a senior and an English major.

Why do you think you were chosen to be interviewed?

Well, mainly, I think, because I've been active in student politics on this campus for the past year and a half. I've been working with the administration and not working with the administration, and I kind of was on both sides. I have helped organize a great many activities. So that's probably why.

What was your reaction to President Nixon's decision to go into Cambodia with troops?

Well, my reaction to that whole mess . . . Well, first of all, two days before he decided to go into Cambodia, President Nixon spoke to the Senate foreign relations committee, and he told the Senate foreign relations committee that there was no possible chance that we would be going

into Cambodia. Two days later they were going into Cambodia. So, my opinion about President Nixon is that President Nixon is not making decisions on the war over there. I feel that it's in the hands of the generals or the CIA, one of the two, and they're making all the decisions. They're covering it up by saying that if our military men are in any kind of danger, we have to go in and protect them. I feel it was just really an uncalled for move, and it's escalated the war. At this point, they have the provincial capital of Laos, and although there's less men, it is extending the boundaries of the war. So I think it was a very poor move.

In what way do you think the Cambodia decision was related to what happened next on our campus?

Well, it's really two things. The Cambodia thing got all the college campuses across country pretty upset because they saw things were getting a little better, especially with the troop withdrawal. And then, all of a sudden, they saw an escalation in the boundaries of the war, so they decided to protest. When they protested, the Kent incident happened. And when the Kent incident happened, every campus—including here—and

a great many people were upset. So it just kind of led into Governor's Day.

We didn't agree with Governor's Day, anyway. The Governor's Day is when the governor comes up and sees the campus, and I don't feel that the governor should be saluted. The whole organization that's representing him up at the field is military, and I think the military should have their own awards banquet like any other organization has on campus and just completely stay away from representing and meeting the governor, because it's just absurd.

What was your reaction to the things that happened in the rest of the country after the Cambodia decision?

Well, the National Guard thing, mainly, is the thing that upsets me, because we're supposed to be such a sophisticated country and everything, and we're still using armed rifles—whereas Germany uses water guns, and Japan uses hollow clubs that don't cut, but just knock you out, or shields and no weapons at all. It seems to me that the gun thing in the United States within the army, the military forces, is just beginning to get out of control.

I myself, you know, don't trust the administration's decisions, the campus people's decisions—especially when you have somebody like Reagan saying, "We're going to have a blood bath. Let's have it now and get it over with."¹ I think that's completely irresponsible. And then, when you have Slattery saying, "Get the aggies and the right-wingers together and run the radical left-wingers out of town." And myself, I feel that somebody should have charged Slattery with inciting a riot, because the next day the Hobbit was bombed. I think his statement had a lot to do with it.

Yes, and we'll discuss that a little bit more later. Turning now to the Governor's Day activities here: what did you think of the arrangements made for observing Governor's Day? You've already said a little of this but you might expand on it.

Well, a day and a half before Governor's Day, I went on television and said that the year before we—the antiwar people—had been given permission to meet in the bowl, carry out any activities that we wanted to down there, and if we wanted to, we could march up to the stadium and hold a peaceful protest. And this was last year. We didn't do it last year mainly because . . . I don't know really. People were still a little afraid of any kind of confrontation, whether it was supposed to be peace or not. This year I said over the television that we're going to just march up there right away.

And myself, I was disappointed. I think the march around the stadium, around the field, was very good and effective. But I don't feel that we should have gone up into the stands. I think we should have stayed on the field the whole time, mainly because ROTC has been required for a long time on this campus. And it says under the Morrill Land Grant Act that a land-grant college must *offer* ROTC; it doesn't say it must *require* ROTC. The regents and everybody have read into it saying it must require ROTC.

So myself, I've really felt like we should have disrupted the whole thing and stopped it. But, due to the numbers of police that were surrounding the place, and due to the Reno police not ever really being in any kind of college campus disorder or any real riot of any kind, a group of us decided that they might blow it. They might blow it with their guns and everything because of the thing that happened over at the census bureau (which was very small, and very few numbers of people) where the guns were out of the holsters.² We just felt like if we really did this rough that the guns might come out and be fired, so we decided not to completely disrupt it.

What do you think was the most effective part of the demonstration?

I think there were really two effective things. It was getting in front of the motor parade before it went up there. Legally, that's a sidewalk. It's for authorized cars only, and anybody on the sidewalk, I feel, has pedestrian's right-of-way. If you

were in front of the motor parade, and you're walking up in a group, they've got to go slow enough and not bump into the back of your legs every two seconds. I thought that was very effective, because it's caused an issue with Paul Adamian. He was walking with me, and the car kept bumping him in the back of the legs, and that's when we called the halt to stop the whole thing right there, because the guy driving the car kept bumping into him.

The second part, I think, that was *very* effective within the antiwar group itself was the boy playing taps, although many people in the crowd who were observing Governor's Day thought it was played facetiously. It went through the courts on campus for mental abuse, which was absurd and everything. When he played it, everybody in the crowd was very sincere, because I'm very sure everybody up there had lost one friend in Vietnam over there. I think it was completely misunderstood by the governor and the rest of the people up there.

And that seems to be one of the big problems in the communication aspect—because they're looking at things in a negative way, and we're looking at things in a positive way most of the time. Anything that's a confrontation between the two, they take it negatively and they're offended, so then you have all the courts and the hassles and everything. So I think those were the two best parts.

How about the most effective part of the Governor's Day observance itself—any official observance?

Well, it's kind of like last year. There were 60, 65 people last year at Governor's Day watching and 450 down in the bowl. And I feel that, well, this is why Governor's Day, the way it's been handled, has to be stopped. Because there were probably 600 students marching against it, and probably not more than 150 people who came to see it as just Governor's Day. I think, probably, 50 of those came to see it because they wanted to see the demonstration, because it was announced and was on television. And I think it's

just completely absurd and very ineffective for an academic standard, especially when you get an award for the best hand salute and things like that. [laughter]

What do you think should have happened up at the stadium that day? What should the ROTC have done? What should the demonstrators have done? What should the university administration have done?

Well, getting to that, we have to go back to a letter or a memorandum that was circulated on campus (which we were tried for and found not guilty), which was a calling of the cancellation of Governor's Day because of the Cambodia invasion and the Kent incident. Feeling that tensions were pretty high, we didn't feel that a military activity on campus would be very appropriate at that time. But it went on anyway because they found out about the memorandum.

And—I don't know—I think really that the people up there observing Governor's Day, who wanted to be there, are very misinformed on what's really going on in the feelings of campus students nowadays. I mean, even in all the meetings with the ag students that we had after and everything, the majority of them were against the war. It's cutting down on their budget in their Agricultural Department. It seems to me that there's a few very, very upstanding people who are going to support the flag and the whole thing without questioning anything, without questioning any decisions. And it seems to me that the democratic government is becoming very undemocratic at this point, and it's being carried by these very—you know—patriotic people. I feel that now they're a minority, but they're in the economic position of being able to continue with the decision-making and not leading it into a full-scale revolution at this point.

And myself, I wanted to just stop the thing—Governor's Day—before it happened. You know, we talked to the administration and said, "Isn't there some other way we can salute the governor coming on campus?" The answer was "no," because it was all set up and everything. And I

wanted to close it down *right* when it was going on—disrupt the whole thing. But because of the police situation, and because we talked to Mr. Olsen and a few other people, we decided that somebody might get hurt. It was right after the Kent incident, and we didn't want anybody shot.

But we have been guaranteed, supposedly, that the Governor's Day will not be held again with the military, that it will probably be a whole campus organizations' meeting with the governor (more like a coffee hour, probably, things like that) and that the ROTC will have its own awards banquet. So something did come of it. [laughter]

Do you want to say any more about the demonstration here before we go on again, anything?

Well, I can say one thing. We had been leading up to the blacks on this campus in the USA demands that we had made and organized and everything, and I think they were overlooked. They were overlooked in that there were four Kent State students killed on campus, when there have been, probably, five hundred black students killed on campuses across the nation, and there have been no memorial services. There's been no big to-do about it.

I really felt that they were the major instigators; they really stayed with us, and they were the original group that went out on the field and sat down, and not in the stands. And I really felt that they have a lot more coming to them and much more recognition than just fighting for their own economic opportunity. Because they're all fighting for the war thing, too, and really, they're fighting first, which I was kind of surprised at—because they have been getting the runaround on this campus. I was really happy. We were kind of worried because we didn't have them in on the meetings and the organization of the whole thing. But they showed up, and I was really happy to see them out there.

What was your reaction to the violence that followed Governor's Day—the fire bombings?

Well, myself, the ROTC building . . . if we would have done it, it wouldn't have been standing. I feel it was done by one of those freaky "outside agitators" (that they called some of the flunkies from Berkeley or something) that were up here and just mouthing off and saying, "Violence, violence, violence"—with no organization, no anything. I feel that they just went driving by and threw the damn thing, not made well or anything, and it bounced off of the door. We were very disappointed that it didn't burn all the way down.

There was one possibility of the whole building blowing up at 11:00 right in the middle of Governor's Day, but because of certain problems of getting certain things, it didn't happen. And it had been very well planned and everything, you know, so nobody would be around and nobody would be hurt because everybody would be up at the stadium. It is a government building, it is run by the government and everything, it's way up the hill, and people would just kind of start drifting away from it, and there wouldn't be too much to do about it. Mainly the high hostility towards ROTC on this campus is because it's required for graduation, and I feel that if it wasn't required . . . But that didn't happen.

I felt that the attempt on the fire bombing was pretty stupid myself. And the people that did it were very unorganized and didn't really know how to do it. The trouble with it in Nevada is that there's quite a few students, especially those outside people that were up there, that have tried to be big leaders and haven't made it in other schools, and they've come up here, and they're on what I would consider a very big ego trip—that they want the whole center around them. So I felt that *that* was probably the group that tried to burn the buildings and was very unsuccessful.

Then, the next day the Hobbit was bombed, and I hold Senator Slattery personally responsible for it because of the statement he made. He made the statement at eleven o'clock that night, and it was bombed at three o'clock that morning. I think that his big vigilante group that he's organizing should have a big investigation with Raggio and

the whole works—investigating all students and putting up stipulations on incoming California students and that whole kind of thing. I think that they're really running themselves into the ground because they'd just about get out of one mess because of their conservative tendencies—which are mostly unconstitutional and illegal—and get it all cleared up and get all the tension from both sides off their back, and they step [raps on table for emphasis] right in and do it again.

It seems to me that, you know, the state is just not learning very fast at all, and the state is ten years behind. With these new elections coming up, I hope somebody will win besides dear Senator Slattery and the rest of the group. But I hold him personally responsible for it because of that statement. I feel that it wasn't done by students on campus. I feel it was probably done by some very patriotic individual from downtown who knew how to make the bomb, just went by and threw it—and it was a wood building, and it just burnt.

What category of participant in all of these affairs—the students, faculty, or outsiders—do you think was most important in stirring up violence on campus?

I think it was a combination of them all, really. I *really* don't think that you can single out any one group, because there's a group of students who have been going to the campus for four years, and they have been antiwar for four years. They have been promised certain things, and the promises haven't been met. And they've been told these things, and it hasn't been met—in everything, not just ROTC but in all the student social changes on campus.

I think with the Cambodian invasion, the Kent four, the black situation on this campus, some of the things that were uncovered, and President Miller's very unstable position (and his terrible state of the Nevada address), it all culminated together. Like, the students were just not going to go for sitting down in another black/white meeting, if you want to call it, or another ROTC/

non-ROTC meeting. They went all the way up to the line, I feel, and they went over. And they definitely have the right to go over that line in this state, because the administration has just not cooperated in the least with the students in any of the decisions that have been made in the past two years.

They have procrastinated, they have promised things, and they have given token material satisfaction to let the students think that it's a privilege. The trouble here is that the students feel that a lot of things that they want are constitutional rights, and a lot of them are very insignificant things, but they feel that they should have them. They've been fighting for the dorm hours, the end of ROTC, a drinking policy—the whole bit—for three years, and they really have not gotten any real achievement out of it. They've gotten it for a couple of weeks, and then it was taken back. Or, certain things are overlooked like drinking with the [Sun] 'downers, and things like that, but anybody else—drinking gets them in trouble. It seems to me that the campus in all decisions and their organizations—and in ROTC especially—are very inconsistent. And until the campus gets consistent, it's going to meet more violence, I feel.

So I feel that the students really contained themselves very well. Because there were about six hundred of us, and being out on that field with those ROTC boys marching around and everything, there were a lot of hot tempers. It could have very easily gone the other way. And I think Doug Sherman had a lot to do with stopping it. You know, I think it should have been stopped, but I really wanted to see it just be completely disrupted. But, I think it was the best because people were going to really, I think, be hurt—somebody probably would have been shot or bayoneted or something. So I think all in all it was very successful for Nevada, because I really think Nevada definitely is not a Berkeley. It's got to go very, very slow compared to many of the other universities, mainly because it's a gambling state—and the conservatives in here.

Do you think outsiders were important in stirring up violence, too?

No, I don't think so. There were a great many things planned—violent plans, too, that probably would not hurt somebody, but might hurt a building—long, long before those fourteen guys (or how ever many of them there were) showed up. I mean, the gym was going to be burnt down a week before Buffy St. Marie was going to sing, and we stopped that. It was from a very hostile group within the community, and we stopped them from doing that. There was a hundred gallons of gasoline on campus. And very few people know about these kinds of things.

But, you know, the Board of Regents are blowing it right now, I feel. If they come out and they put this code of conduct through, which has already passed (I haven't read it, but I've heard some about it, and it seems to be very ridiculous) . . . Paul Adamian—especially with tenure and receiving his contract already—is being charged for blocking traffic and leading students in catcalls, and if he is fired for that, you're going to see an *awful* lot of damage done on this campus next year . . . And then with censorship of the newspaper, I mean, that doesn't even belong in a university.

I think the state has lost the real meaning of what a university is. A university through history has been the basic means of social change, and it's a place where you can deal with revolutionary ideas and take them from revolutionary ideas to socially accepted ideas and then implement it into the society. They're stopping you from even getting to the social background of it. So I feel that unless they come around, the dorm students are going to blow up because of the hours and because of the conditions over there; the blacks are going to blow up because they've failed to have a decent economic opportunity program; and ROTC is going to be picketed the first day of registration.

A lot of the incoming freshmen don't know that, you know; they're talked into registering. They say it's required, so we got to get it out of the way. Most of the incoming freshmen don't

graduate from Nevada. They come here for two years and then transfer, and you don't have to take it. So we're going to have a little booth set up informing all the students, all the incoming students, that they don't have to take it, and they shouldn't take it. So I really hope that somebody wakes up a little.

President Miller—I really can't condemn the man because I, myself, feel he's not making any of those decisions. He's just a buffer, and he's being a very poor buffer between the regents and the governor and the students. He did come out against the code of conduct, he and the president of that Las Vegas university, but it didn't do anything, you know. He could speak out after it was passed and be safe. The trouble is that he's not doing his job as a college president, because a college president is supposed to represent the students. And he is not representing the students, because he feels that if he does, his job will be jeopardized.

There's so many new jobs open up there, and until you get somebody in the administration who's going to say, "Well, I really don't give a damn about my \$15,000 a year this year because, like, I got it this year, and I can get another job if I'm fired from Nevada . . ." You got to have somebody who is going to go out on a limb with those dumb regents and the governor and just tell them, "Now, look, you've got to let the students do some of this stuff. They're responsible. They've been educated for fifteen years. They ought to be able to run their own campus."

What kinds of actions do you feel were important in cooling off the situation after the fire bombings?

Well, there were a whole bunch of meetings called. I guess there were meetings of the so-called radicals and then meetings of the conservatives or the aggies and the [Sun]'downers. The next day, I think, Paul Adamian, myself, and Ben Hazard and a few other people were invited up to the ag building to their meeting. And, you know, we walked in and we got some pretty hostile remarks and things like that. We got it *kind* of

cleared up that it wasn't our faction that bombed the ROTC building. I think it really made me realize that a lot of those people are very sheltered, and I would consider very stupid, in their remarks. One fellow remarked that, "Well, those Kent State National Guard were terrible. They should have been better marksmen and at least gotten fifteen."

You know, you're dealing with those kinds of people who are running around ripping picket signs out of girls' hands and breaking them over their legs and things like that. And you have the administration, Sam Basta and the group, running around on campus at the same time saying, "Keep it cool, keep it cool." It's been stated by the Supreme Court that picket signs are a legal means of expressing opinion, and if there's no disciplinary actions against them, the aggies and the [Sun]'downers are then standing up there and saying, "Well, if you continue any kind of strike, any kind of violence, we're going to clean it up and take care of it." That's what they said. They consider picket signs violence.

I think the meetings were very good in the idea that there were a whole bunch of people standing in the room yelling at each other, and there were enough faculty, teachers, administrators, and everybody there, so it didn't turn out into a big *mêlée*. That's the main thing. It just reduced the tension, because everybody got in the rooms and yelled and blew up, and told everybody to get screwed and the whole works, and then went their own way. I think it was really a successful confrontation or an encounter group, because everybody kind of went away purged, but it didn't solve any of the problems. It reduced the tensions, but it didn't solve any of the problems that exist on the campus.

How do you think events on campus affect the university's image outside?

Well, first of all, you got the newspaper and Channel 8. After a few appearances on Channel 8 after the fire bombing, we were over at the Hobbit cleaning up, and they came out, and I refused to even go on the thing.

And, well, Paul Adamian has been given the runaround. First of all, they've broken the AAUP code that states that there shall be no publicity until the investigation is over. So the first day, you know, you have Paul Adamian's whole life: military duty, honorable discharge, the whole works over the radio. Then, you have Channel 8 coming out and saying that, "We demand some kind of disciplinary action, or the expulsion and firing of this professor"—before the investigation, before anything. And you also have the newspaper coming out with a huge front-page story on how an English T.A. used a four-letter word in class and is probably going to be fired, because he doesn't have any protection, and how the leader of the whole organization was Paul Adamian, who had done the whole thing, from the USA all the way down to the bombings. The newspapers turned it into a witch hunt.

Once the people read it, or saw it on television, the conservative factions wrote in their letter saying, "Great," without knowing, really, anything about the whole case or the whole thing. And my feeling is that I think the *Reno Evening Gazette* and the *Nevada State Journal* . . . and Channel 8 is one of the most corrupt and biased news stations of any type in the nation. You know, everybody's always talking about small town papers being bad, but I think Nevada's papers are just absolutely ridiculous.

Just yesterday they came out with a statement saying that Charlie Springer running for governor is running on a complete mercenary campaign and paying all students working for him to get signatures—a big story about that. And you know what? He's paying one student, who is a graduate student verifying all the signatures, which is like an eight-hour-a-day job with 7,500 signatures. You have to look them up on a register thing. I think somebody like that should be paid, because that's his only way that's he's going to have any money to even, you know, pay his rent. But there's no other students being paid.

It seems to me that the papers in this town blow everything up. So, I mean, reading the papers, I thought this campus was up in smoke, gone and burnt down, bricks being thrown, bazookas

and the whole works. That's how the papers made it sound. And that's the trouble. The people downtown, the people throughout the state, never get up on this campus, so what can they believe? The paper. So they believe the paper, and they're yelling, "Run the radicals out of town," without really knowing anything that's happening.

So, I think they're one of the major causes, in this town and in the state, for hostilities developing between different factions. They say one thing about one faction which is detrimental, and another thing about another faction which is detrimental, and then the two factions square off because of the paper, and it just seems completely ridiculous.

What can the university do to focus public opinion?

That's pretty difficult, I think. The other day they had a meeting with [Elmer] Briscoe [Reno's chief of police], some upstanding citizens, and the whole group, over at the Center for about four or five hours. You talk a lot, and you get a lot of agreement from Briscoe and a lot of the other people, you know, sitting at the table with him, saying, "Yes, we understand how you feel, and everything about the war and the protest thing," I mean, everything. But it seems to me they're hypocrites, because as soon as they leave, they go out, and they continue to—as the students say—hassle any kind of "anti" organization. Anything that goes against the set things in the state, you know, is crushed very quickly.

I think the gambling thing is one of the big things behind it. But how you can get public opinion, I really don't know . . . Well, one way: right now we're circulating the petitions for Charlie Springer. I would think most people know by now that he is an independent running—no party affiliation, not very conservative, and quite a liberal. If we can get 7,500 signatures just in this area to get him on the ballot, I think that possibly would show that people are beginning to wake up a little. But otherwise, I just do not see how you can find out what the people are thinking

down there, downtown, because they're thinking what the newspaper says.

To do it you'd have to stop the newspaper for a week, and *you* would have to run it and really let them know that, "I think I can write an unbiased article on just exactly what happened." Just let them know exactly what happens and the emotions and the feelings of the people. I think that's what's being overlooked right now: the emotions and feelings of the students, especially on the Vietnam War and the Cambodian incident. Because all the people that are making the decisions on this damn war are fifty, sixty, seventy years old, and all the people that are fighting it and getting killed are eighteen, nineteen, twenty, up to twenty-five. Those people that are benefiting economically by continuing the war are not getting killed. They're not the ones going over there and fighting. To me, it's a mercenary war for an imperialistic reason, but of the United States, and it's going to continue.

Do you think that issues of academic freedom were involved in participating in a demonstration?

Oh, definitely, especially with the code of conduct passed now and censorship of the newspaper. You know, the aspect of the academic freedom on this campus—you really can't talk about it because there is no academic freedom on this campus, I feel, or very little. The teachers are handcuffed all the time.

In 1953 they tried to run six of them out in the McCarthy thing. They've been running English professors out for the past five years. Now, they're trying to run two more out for doing absolutely *nothing*. And as long as they continue to get rid of the teachers (and the teachers that they do get rid of are usually the best ones, the ones that know what academic freedom *is* about), you will have these people that are, you know, lifetime students, teachers fifty years old reading out of the book, not discussing anything relevant to the world today. That's the main thing.

With the cause of the strike and the academic freedom down at Berkeley, the main thing down

there is saying that we're not closing the university down just to shut it off and not use it; we're closing it down to make it relevant to today's needs, like pollution, population, economics, the war. You're going to have to solve those things before you go out and write a book as an English major, you know, or go out and teach more people to read Shakespeare. I mean, that's not helping the whole situation.

I've been working with professors down in Berkeley on their strike center, and they're working out in the community at this point getting signatures, and trying to get students to get signatures, to support the local dove candidates throughout California. They have lines set up with Massachusetts, Harvard, Stanford and a few other places. They feel right now that University of California at Berkeley won't open in September, and Stanford probably won't open in September, and Harvard probably won't open in September. You know, June 31 is getting pretty close, and Nixon has already extended it an extra two weeks of his original statement. And unless some drastic change happens with the war—like 150,000 troops are brought home immediately, you're out of Cambodia, and you're not bombing anymore—the students won't let the universities open in California. I'm very sure of that.

OK. That's interesting. How do you think students and faculty can be effective politically, or should they be?

Oh, I think they definitely should be. I think the university has been lost in the United States a long time ago. In the 1600s and earlier, and up until about the early 1800s, the university was a creative institution. As an English major I can talk about it because I've written one paper in my four years of college that I have wanted to write and something that I wanted to write on.

It seems to me that we have canonized and made our forefathers the great omnipotents. We have to read them, learn about them, and criticize them, instead of writing what you want to say and developing new ideas. There are a few professors in the school that let you do that—

very few. You're being very dishonest when you're just criticizing another work, or when you're just writing a book report about another work. And as long as the other side, the other group who kind of leave out creativity, follow the strict intellectual plan of books (what they call "knowledge"), you're never going to get the two factions politically together—because the ideas can't come politically together unless people are honest with each other.

So, I definitely feel that the university has got to do something because there's seven million college students in this country and probably one million college professors. It's the only chance that the country has, I feel. If Paul Adamian and Fred are fired, you're going to see either the campus really blow up, or you're going to see a five-year regression, mainly because the teachers will feel that if they can fire them, they can let anybody else go. That's one thing that I hope will hold the decision of the senate court on Paul and Fred in a positive way, because I think that there are a lot of scared teachers on campus. They all have a chance of being let go, whether they are politically involved, whether they have an extra drink here, whether they mess around with a female student or anything like that—anything that possibly might not meet up to their new code of conduct or social acceptability.

So I hope that *that* will pull the faculty senate together in that aspect. But, you know, unless it does, you're going to have a very difficult situation on this campus, because the teachers are going to be one group; the radical-left students are going to be one group; the middle-of-the-roaders are going to be there (the fraternity and sororities, and those involved in the social scene); and then you're going to have the [Sun]'downers and the aggies crashing. [raps on table twice for emphasis] You're going to have five groups crashing on each other, and then you're going to just have complete chaos.

Where do you think the peace movement is going in this area?

Well, Mr. Hulse (who has been involved in it quite awhile), Paul [Adamian], myself, and John Lord have organized a faculty ad hoc peace committee on the campus. I'm not sure at this point, you know, how many followers we have or signatures that have done the whole thing. I don't know . . .

On the campus I think people are becoming aware, even in the Agriculture Department. You know, it doesn't take a life for them to become aware, but it takes some cutting down the money. Then they become aware. But within the town and the community itself, I feel very discouraged. You know, when you're a poor family, and you're arrested for using an old American flag for a tablecloth, and then held for \$1,700 bail, when you have three kids, and they're all practically starving—the priorities have to come into the question.

It seems to me that the people in the town are uneducated, or they're educated in a system which breeds un-creativity. Without creativity you're never going to question any decision, and unless you question the decisions, you're going to have a dictatorship or an oligopoly—just like in Russia. That's what you've got now. You've got, probably 100,000 prominent people in the country, including the big business, who are making all the decisions. Nixon isn't making the decision, and the Congress isn't making the decision.

This is why, in one sense, I'm in favor of the whole violent thing in the country now. With violence you have more repression, and with more repression you have more violence, and it spreads. Once it hits suburbia, and once Joe Schmo, businessman, gets clunked on the head just walking down the street to get on the bus, then *he* gets upset about the whole thing. Once the middle class—who are, you know, the unheard middle class—realize that there *is* repression and something's got to be done, then when they rise and start questioning, you're going to have a social change.

But the problem is now they're rebuilding concentration camps all around the country: up at Tule Lake, in Buffalo, in New York, and in Arizona.³ I have *no* idea who they're going to put

in, but, you know, a lot of people are getting worried about that kind of thing. I don't know . . . This community, I think, has either got to become human and really learn what human emotions are about, or it's got to be completely destroyed with a big riot. Once the riot will happen, and once those people get hurt down there along with some of us and the blacks, you're going to have the three coming together because they're going to say, "My, God, you know, we can't have ten more people killed and a hundred more buildings burned." And then both sides are going to compromise. I think that's the only way you get anything done on this campus and in the community: threaten some way of some kind of civil disobedience, some kind of violence, some kind of unsocial accepted movement, and then you get a reaction. Until you do that, you have no reaction.

Yes, that's interesting. Do you have other comments you'd like to make about this whole situation?

Well, I can make a comment about the whole country. I can say that doing research and everything like I've done (and this was the premise and the basis of the Berkeley scene and the strike and the whole thing), in 1963 President Kennedy was assassinated by our own country. Jackie Kennedy married Onassis in the next couple of years because of the information she knew—her life was in danger. And Onassis being just about the wealthiest man in the world, he could keep her protected on a yacht in the Mediterranean most of the time enjoying herself.

I also feel that the guy who shot Martin Luther King was caught in England, and they tried a different man in the country in a fifteen-minute little trial, and the FBI has never turned the guy over to *anybody*. And I feel that Bobby Kennedy was assassinated by our own factions within our own country. And I feel since 1963 when Kennedy was assassinated, that the CIA—which has a blank check and can spend as much money as it wants—has been making *all* the decisions in the country. President Nixon cannot even look in their files to see who they are following. And with the

new bill of the CIA infiltrating the college campuses this next year

I think that a lot of people are going to become aware in the next two or three years, unless there's an abrupt change in the voting pattern, and different people get in. But whether they will have power to do anything, I'm not sure. Unless Congress gets back to, you know, a constitutional democracy or a republic (which it's *very* far away from at this point), unless it starts to lead that way, I think that you're leading towards what Germany did. I've been talking to a friend of mine who knew a professor who fled Germany in 1942, got out and came here and has lived here since then. He has three kids, and he lived through the whole German thing—he was a high official and everything. And a month ago, he left the United States and went to Canada with his whole family without a job because he said it is identical to what happened in Germany, and he won't sit around and see it. So he left. And I am very pessimistic about what this country is doing, especially throughout the world, because everybody hates us at this point.

We can't continue to be big brother, and God's not always on our side, and we're going to have to take a defeat. As Nixon says, "We have never been defeated before, and we're not going to be defeated." I think that's an absurd statement, and I think that it's about time that a few people lost some of their omnipotence and pride and starting looking at, "Well, how can we feed the world, how can we stop the war, you know, how can we shelter everybody?" I say we got this: we can walk on the moon, so we can shelter and feed everybody. We got the technology, and I think the capitalistic thing has been good up to a certain point, but it has gotten out of control. You're either going to definitely have to have social checks on profit, or you're going to really have a revolution. Just within the United States, in the upper-middle class and the upper class compared to the lower class, the gap is getting wider *every* day. I mean, right now the nation is at 5.8 percent unemployed—you know, the whole nation. And because they're spending money in the war, the government is cutting back on all educational

things. I have friends that have 3.95 average all the way through graduate school and have a Ph.D. in physics, and they can't get a job. You also have an overabundance of college graduates out on the streets now. San Francisco is ridiculous: seventy qualified college graduates for every job that's open in San Francisco. And you're going to *have* to socialize, I feel, in a certain way, if you're going to let everybody live, or you're going to have to just do what Hitler did and start exterminating people. That's about it.

Notes

1. Reagan said, "If it takes a bloodbath, let's get it over with. No more appeasement." His comment occurred during the question and answer session following a speech then-Governor Reagan gave in Yosemite, California, on April 8, 1970.
2. On April 3, 1970, a demonstration at the U.S. Census Bureau in Reno escalated into violence with police after 60 individuals protested the absence of black census takers for the 1970 census.
3. Tule Lake: a small lake in the northeast corner of Siskiyou County, Northern California. During World War II, it was the site of a "relocation camp" for Japanese-Americans.

JAMES T. RICHARDSON

June 16, 1970

So now for the record, if you'll say your name, your residence, and your position.

My name is James T. Richardson, and I'm from Lubbock, Texas. I'm presently an assistant professor of sociology.

Why do you think you were chosen to be interviewed?

Well, I've wondered about that. I asked the lady that called me if the name had been given by the regents, perhaps, as kind of a joke. I did participate, and a lot of people knew it, including some in the library, so I'm not surprised that my name was mentioned.

What was your reaction to President Nixon's decision to go into Cambodia with United States troops?

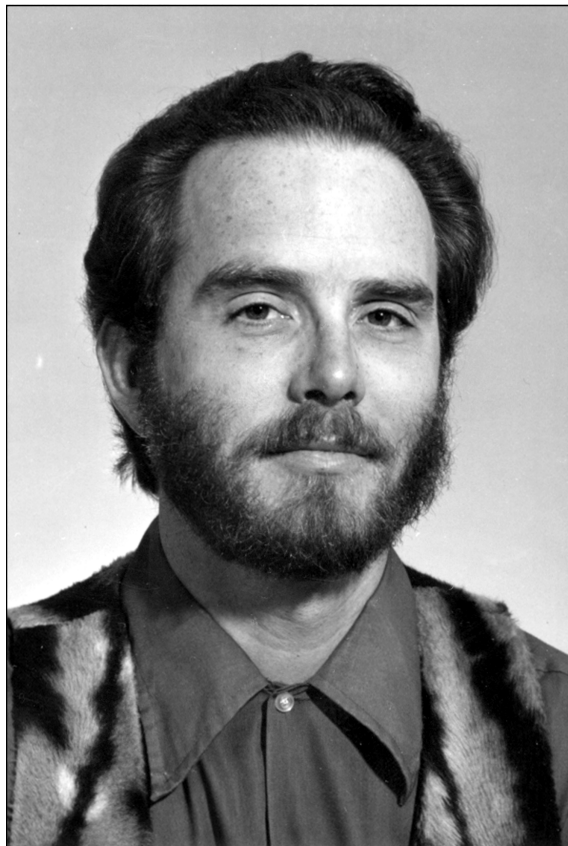
Well, at first it was absolute, utter disbelief, and it changed pretty quickly to just a state of outrage and shock. I do not agree with his move into Cambodia at *all*. And it really doesn't mat-

ter how many pictures of rice that I see. It just seemed like a very bad thing to do. I certainly knew that campuses would blow up. I seem to be a little bit more perceptive on that issue than President Nixon himself. But I certainly think we came very close to allying ourselves in war with Red China, and that's happened before. So I just don't think it was wise at all.

In what way do you think the Cambodia decision was related to what happened next on our campus?

Well, I think the war issue was really somewhat dead on the campuses until President Nixon did this, and certainly the killings later added fuel to the fire, but I don't think we would have seen even five percent of the demonstrations on campuses if he hadn't gone into Cambodia. I don't think we would have seen anything on this campus, although there were some related problems that I thought might precipitate such events.

The way the administration and regents have reacted in a disciplinary case or two—particularly Jesse Sattwhite and one or two other things—had led me to actually make a prediction that we would see some sort of demonstra-



James Richardson, 1970s.

tion on our campus before the term was up this spring. I don't guess I really think anything would have happened. There would have been something happening if the student judicial council had found Jesse Sattwhite guilty on all counts and expelled him from school, but they had more sense than to do that. Also, there were not grounds to do that. I've had a lot of contact with him, and I happen to be one that he threatened and that sort of thing. But anyway, that situation was cooled off, and I really think that nothing would have happened here had it not been for the decision to move into Cambodia.

In what way do you think the Cambodian decision was related to what happened all over the country, and what was your reaction to events stemming from the Cambodian decision over the country?

Well, I really wasn't surprised. We saw the biggest shutdown of higher education in the history of this country, and yet it came as no surprise to me; in fact, I was gratified that the students did not let him get away with it, in a sense. I mean, he got away with it, but certainly a great deal of protest was registered.

Someone needs to take note of the fact that there were a great deal of very orderly, peaceful, meaningful protests, petition signing, and that sort of thing. There were also some violent kinds of protests. But what we saw was just a good portion of the people involved in higher education simply outraged at what happened. First, in a lot of situations, we saw schools not being shut down by students, but we saw schools being shut down by students and faculty administrators in agreement to shut it down as a protest. And that is something new. I happen to think that *that's* kind of a landmark thing. It would be interesting to see what happens in the future.

But the Cambodian decision did precipitate this unification of students and administration and faculty, which has been a fairly rare thing. Usually, it's students against administrators or maybe students and faculty against administrators. But we saw administrators themselves going on the line on this issue in *some* places, at some of our more enlightened institutions. That did not happen here, of course. But it did happen in quite a number of places.

Turning now to the Governor's Day activities here on our campus: what did you think of the arrangements made for the observance of Governor's Day?

Well, things like Governor's Day, I interpret them as something of a ritualistic façade that we must participate in somehow to maintain ourselves in a certain kind of social structure. I can say honestly that were I the president of this university, I would have done all in my power to have cancelled it, because, in fact, that gave the students here an issue. If there had been no Governor's Day activities, I don't think anything

else would have happened, except maybe a walk downtown carrying a few signs.

But when Governor's Day *did* take place, the students found themselves in a very successful venture of who demonstrated, and that encouraged them. I would honestly say I think it was naïve on the part of the administration and others involved *not* to have the foresight to cancel them. Schools were closed all over the country. That very kind of ceremony itself was called off in a number of places, because everyone gets together and hurrahs the ROTC once a year, and it usually happens in the spring. I actually saw a news telecast of what happened at Tulane University: they just canceled the services because they knew a counter-demonstration was planned. They just canceled it, so nothing happened. But they did not cancel them here. They talk about their right to have their ceremony and what-not, and I concur with their right. But if they're going to have that ceremony during that week, they need to expect some consequences, and I hold them responsible for what happened, really.

I was fairly deeply involved in that, in that I did participate. I was one who attempted to talk the students into not going down there, because I felt it would be counterproductive and get people more angry—but the students couldn't be deterred, because they'd been signing petitions and writing letters for a long time. They read and hear over the television that the senate committee headed by Senator Fulbright is unanimously against the move into Cambodia, and others—high-ranking politicians—are against it. They have, in fact, convinced these politicians. In a sense, you could say that. I think the student peace movement has to be given credit for forcing some people to examine the issues and to look again, to change positions. Fulbright himself has changed positions drastically. But all he saw was that, in fact, not only were these senators ineffectual in controlling what happened, they didn't even know it. They read about it in the newspaper. So, it's hard to convince students that they should sit down and write a letter to their senator, when, in fact, their senator doesn't know what

the hell is going on and has even less power to do anything about it.

I deeply sympathize with them. My reasoning for advocating them not going to Governor's Day is just that I thought it would be counterproductive. It turns out I was right. But when they went. I went with them and did my part to help control the crowd. Although, in more direct response to the question, when we got down there, and the students were there demonstrating, I think another important tactical error was made on the part of those in charge. If you've ever been to one of these things, it's an interminable ceremony: they just keeping reading names of guys getting awards for being good at gun cleaning and good at shining shoes. One fellow got an award for being proficient in the manual for weapon instruction and the Constitution of the United States, which I thought was very interesting, and it brought a large laugh from the crowd, because the structure of the sentence equated these two things. Evidently, the person who wrote it doesn't know much about grammar.

But it just kept droning on and on. And again, had I been any of the regents present or Miller himself, I would have surveyed the situation and attempted to shorten it, because the trouble started after the students had been in the stands a good forty-five minutes going onto an hour. They just got tired and left the stands and got out on the field, and that's when the trouble really developed. We had been able to keep them in the stands, but they just got tired of listening to it, and they left. If it had been shortened in some way, we could have kept them in the stands until it was over, the soldiers could have marched out, and the students would have marched out behind them. As it was, they got down on the field and caused a great deal of anxiety and difficulty before it was over.

I might say, in this regard, that I write a lot of letters, it seems, or at least more than normal. When I began to see the reaction of what happened on Governor's Day and knew that the regents' meeting was coming up at the end of the week, I wrote a letter to President Miller inter-

preting the events and telling him about faculty participation in them, at least most faculty participation. And, in fact, I brought that letter with me. And if it were to be of any interest, I could even read it into the record, if you'd like.¹

Oh, yes, if you'd like to.

It says some of what I've been saying, but it perhaps will be a little more closely argued. Letter dated May the sixth, 1970: [reading from letter]

President N. Edd Miller, University of Nevada, Reno, Nevada.

Dear President Miller,

Particularly after reading the popular "Cobwebs" column in the *Nevada State Journal* of May 6, 1970, I feel compelled to comment on the participation of faculty in the Governor's Day demonstration. I had been thinking about this before reading the column, simply because I felt that you as Chief Administrator of the university, should know as much as possible about what took place. However, now it appears that some defense of faculty participation may be in order to the Regents and to the community at large. You, as president, have this responsibility such as called for. I personally intend to refrain from attempting such a defense, largely because I feel that statements from a faculty member would be ineffectual.

To my knowledge, approximately ten faculty members took part in the demonstration. I will attempt something of a chronology of this participation so that this information will be on record. I will usually refrain from mentioning names, simply because this is a personal letter and I did not seek permission from other participants before writing to you.

On Monday evening—which was the day before the Governor's Day activities—Dave

Harvey, who is also an assistant professor in the Department of Sociology, and I attended a student meeting in which plans for Tuesday were being made. We attempted to persuade the students not to go to Governor's Day ceremonies. Dave spent forty-five minutes trying to convince some of the student leaders that this was not the best way to register a protest. He was unsuccessful, although he also tried again later to convince the students in an open meeting of about fifty students, during which plans were finalized. I must hasten to add that we were not trying to completely subvert the demonstration. That is not the case. We were attempting to get them to agree to stay in the bowl with speeches and singing oriented toward some more constructive kinds of activities. Particularly, we suggested that the students organize to work in the fall election, supporting candidates that shared their views concerning the war. The students would have none of this, however, and decided to move to the stadium to protest.

I will briefly comment on their reasons because I feel that they are profound. They were not just a group of kids trying to get on TV. They felt very strongly about the Kent State affair and did not feel that being in the bowl was adequate to express how deeply they felt this tragedy. Of course, the Cambodian situation was the original impetus for the activities, and it was particularly on this point that they rejected any thought of working through political channels; they simply do not believe that such makes any difference. I tend to agree with them on this point. Nixon was elected partially because of his pledge to get us out of Vietnam. Now, we're in another country, and the usual political processes for declaring war have again been circumvented. Also, the resumption of bombing over the north was seen as another sign that political processes do not work.

And you haven't mentioned that, but the same week we heard first over North Vietnamese ra-

dio that we were bombing the north again, and the students were upset about *this*. As I say here in the letter, the Pentagon later verified the North Vietnam ports, that we were bombing the north again, and, again, the senators themselves didn't know.

The students think it is senseless to talk about political processes when the senate itself cannot stop the expansion of the war. Therefore, they felt that they were exercising the only alternative left open to them—taking to the streets. There is one other important reason for their lack of interest in the alternatives that were suggested to them. They do not understand why Governor's Day is a day of reviewing the troops. They made the important point that there are many activities on campus that could be recognized by the governor on a special day with classes dismissed; however, all that is done is a troop review. I'm sure that there is a general ignorance of the historical derivation of Governor's Day on the part of students and faculty. However, I would suggest that their thoughts in this matter be considered in future planning for such an event.

I'm glad that's on tape because it'll be interesting to see what happens next year. The only time of the year that the governor comes, and we dismiss classes, all they do is review the ROTC troops—a very ridiculous situation.

Now, onto Tuesday morning. Several faculty members attended the start of activities in the bowl. Most were there simply to make their own feelings about the war and Kent State known. However, it quickly became evident that the faculty members that had come might serve a useful function as monitors. One from the English Department, not Adamian, made the strong point and got student agreement that what was planned was a counter-demonstration to the ROTC program, not a disruption of the activities. At this point, as students gave a fiery speech concerning

the fact that the parade cars were parked on the students' sidewalk in front of the union, no one had time to point out that the sidewalk belongs to the State of Nevada. Immediately the students left for this area. The student leaders had not planned this march on the cars at the union; it just happened. No one was prepared for what happened between the university library and Lincoln Hall. Especially the faculty members were not ready, because it had just become evident how bad a mood some of the crowd were in. I should note here, however, that two faculty members did suggest to the police that they re-route the cars to Virginia Street, instead of going through the campus as was planned, evidently. This was done, and even more trouble was avoided at this point.

And I might comment on what I have read. The two faculty members who have been charged were supposedly involved in this blockage of the cars. Although I did not see them, I observed the scene from the steps of the library and did not notice either of them. But anyway, I have read it in the paper.

At the stadium the situation was not problematic for quite awhile, and the track circling did no harm and allowed some steam to be let off. Some faculty members attempted to keep the students from molesting the at-ease ROTC troops. Except for one instance of cap throwing, there was no difficulty except for heckling. There did seem to be a misunderstanding when the students started into the stands. Procter Hug Jr. seemed upset with Jim Hulse, who's from the History Department, about the fact that the students would not leave. I mention this because Mr. Hug's reaction implied that he felt some faculty had control over the crowd and could actually tell them whether or not to go into the stands; this was not the case. No one really had control over the crowd, not even the students. The demonstration was larger than they expected, and the mood of the crowd was worse

than planned for. Anyway, the plan had been to go to the stands all along. The track circling was a last-minute decision made by the students in the bowl earlier that morning. Originally, as of Monday night, they had decided to go to the stands and do chants during the ceremony. Then at the last they were going to file out and go around the track following the troops.

Once we got into the stands, the students were fairly orderly for a time. However, as the interminable ceremony continued, they became restless and wanted to leave. At about 11:30 I and two other sociology faculty started to leave because we had a luncheon meeting. However, one of the faculty that was attempting to control the crowd asked us to stay because of this increased restlessness on the part of the students. We did, and now I'm glad of it. Once the word was passed that no student or faculty spokesman would be allowed to speak for the demonstrators until the ceremony was terminated, the students really began to spill onto the field. They had thought that someone from the group would be allowed to speak. They, the student demonstrators, simply wanted to hear someone acknowledge the fact that the Kent students had been killed and that we were in Cambodia.

And I think that was another tactical error, by the way. It would have done no harm and perhaps contributed to the harmony of the situation if *someone*, even a faculty member, would have been allowed to give a five-minute talk about these particular two things. But we were informed that we could, in fact, have the microphone as soon as the ceremony was over, which meant as soon as the troops left. In other words, they would leave us there and we could use the microphone all the rest of the day. That was a very short-sighted decision, I feel.

Out on the field the situation became nasty. A few faculty members were attempting to keep the demonstrators from physically

bothering the ROTC troops as they drilled. This was quite difficult as some were rather emotional. I felt the situation was going to explode when the troops started toward the demonstrators with fixed bayonets. One faculty member actually took a bayonet in the back as he was pinned between students and troops. He was not hurt because the bayonet carrier had enough sense to not be forceful, but not enough sense to lower his weapon. I feel that had there not been some faculty and students on the field attempting to keep order, there would have been some physical violence. Some of the students were very emotional, and I am certain that the ROTC troops would not have run from them. As you know, we did avoid a real confrontation, and the ceremonies finally terminated and the ordeal was over.

I will close my letter at this point so that it can be delivered to you today. If you desire to discuss the contents of the letter with me, please call at the office or at my home. I sincerely hope that you can use the information contained herein in a constructive way. One pressing suggestion I would make is that the faculty somehow be organized to aid in monitoring such future demonstrations. Someone must accept this responsibility or the police will have to be used, a situation that, at least for now, is unnecessary.

Sincerely yours,
James T. Richardson, Assistant Professor of Sociology

I should have picked up the response from this letter. I got a very nice response thanking me for writing the letter and stating that, in fact, President Miller himself was glad that faculty members were present to help monitor the situation. I would not mind having read that, but I just didn't think about bringing it.

I might add one other comment that I heard with regard to what took place there. Procter Hug Jr. was quoted later that day as saying that he was not too upset about what happened, which leads me, among other things, to think that what

he's done since then has been done in response to pressure from people downtown. He made a statement to a friend that, in fact, the most irrational man in the stadium was Colonel Ralf, who when the ROTC troops starting marching toward the students, stood and waved his arms and shouted, "Kill, kill," in a very loud voice, which was audible even out on the field. So Hug himself seemed, at that time, not to be particularly upset at what had happened. And perhaps it had dawned on him finally that something was bound to happen given the war situation and the killings and everything, but his mood has changed since then a great deal.

What do you think was the most effective part of either the demonstration or the observance of Governor's Day?

Effective in what way?

Well, this is something you can interpret for yourself, either the most positive or the most negative.

Well, it did have a very negative effect of causing a reaction that even the sociologists on campus did not foresee. I had anticipated a reaction, but I had not anticipated people going into wild-eyed hysteric fits over really nothing. I continue to be disturbed, and, in fact, that's why I've mentioned that I'll probably be leaving here.

All that happened on our campus that could be accredited to students or faculty was the Governor's Day demonstration. I am not convinced that the fire bombings were done by students or faculty, although evidently both groups have been indicted by some downtown, and the regents are acting as if that is so in terms of their recent actions and codes of conduct and what-not. The only thing that can really be attributed to the students and faculty is the Governor's Day demonstration, and I would quote President Miller here. He and I had a short discussion about this matter two and a half weeks ago, and he said if what happened here had happened at the Univer-

sity of Michigan, his alma mater, that the editorials in the local papers would have been praising God for a peaceful week. And, in fact, nothing did happen here, but people got so uptight that it really was scary. When you get to thinking about it, it's very, very disconcerting—plus we have some local politicians who would do anything to secure votes, and they have decided to talk about "commie" faculty members, of which I've never seen one. That's the negative aspect.

The other negative aspects are, I think, in the long-term it has hurt the university. I don't consider myself an especially scholarly or valuable member of the staff, but I think that the reaction of the regents and the people in this state can do nothing but drive capable people away, particularly people in the social sciences. In the social sciences you talk about society; you do not treat it as something sacred that must be held up and worshiped. Evidently, some in our state would desire to do away with social science and behavioral sciences altogether. A great number of times in the last two or three weeks, I've heard the university called "Nevada A & M," and I think that *that's* what some people had in mind. So I think it's hurt the university in the long-run.

I will leave, and I know several others that will leave after this year. That's particularly, as I said, perhaps no special loss—although, interestingly enough, I do chair some rather, I think, important committees for the university in terms of computing. I'm supposedly the computer nut in the College of Arts and Science, and so they will have to find another computer nut to chair their committees and this kind of thing.

The positive aspect that I see is that, in fact, for the first time the students did do something, and it was successful—if you define success in terms of numbers and interest aroused and what-not. This area is rather isolated, and, in fact, very little happens here (as you probably noticed). When something does happen, people get very excited, but very little happens here. And as far as I'm able to tell, this has been the first time that the liberal-minded students have been able to accomplish anything that was in any way success-

ful. That's not to say that the students were unanimous, because they were not. In fact, I think it boils down to a majority of the arts and science students against a majority of the other colleges, although there are students in all colleges that are against the war. In some colleges, like in agriculture, you would predict nearly all the students would be for the war and this kind of thing—you know, they're more conservative in nature. But I was glad to see it from that standpoint.

I was also glad to see what happened, because what happened was, in fact, a peaceful demonstration. For the life of me, I just cannot understand why people get so upset because cars were blocked for five minutes. And then even the demonstrators themselves cleared the way. No policemen were used or anything else. The blockage was not longer than five minutes. I was there, and I observed it, and students themselves were actually trying to clear it. What happened at Governor's Day was really nothing, but it was a successful demonstration, and I think it portends things in the future. You know, by "portends things in the future" I mean that there *could* be other demonstrations.

I think some of the leaders are willing to give the elections a chance, which means we have about four months. When the elections are over, if nothing has happened, then I think there will be more demonstrations.

They've now seen that they can do something in a fairly large-scale fashion, and if the regents continue to overreact, they'll have a cause, too. They may get uptight about the code of conducts even before the elections are over.

I understand that I'm fairly new here, this being my second year, but I understand the regents have a history of doing rather important things in the summer when the students and faculty are not here: it's called the summer tactic. That's the way I've heard it described. It'll be interesting to see if anything does happen this fall in regard to what they've done at the last meeting, with the code of conduct being instituted.

What do you think should have been the reaction of the various people involved up at the stadium that day: the demonstrators, the ROTC, the university administration?

Well, I've already answered that in a way.

Yes.

I can answer it more directly. I really think the ceremony should have been canceled, because you just cannot overlook the magnitude of the events that precipitated what took place all over the country—even given the fact that this is Nevada, which is very socially and culturally isolated. The last time I saw a count, 486 schools were shut down that week due to demonstrations, and some, as I've mentioned, by administrators, faculty, and students in concert. So for us to naïvely go ahead and have a ceremony honoring anything associated with the military during that week is, I think, a very grave error. And in my own mind, it also has moral connotations. I look at it as a moral issue, and it was a direct affront to the feelings of a great number of people, I felt. And that, again, to deny those people the right to have their ceremony is perhaps not good. My only comment there would be that if they want to have a ceremony, they have to accept the consequences of it. Very little would have happened on our campus had it not been for them continuing to schedule Governor's Day.

So, first off, I think it should have been canceled. Next, I think that it should have been shortened once the students got there. And, really, for the record you should have someone from ROTC (and I'm sure they would do this) come over and read that interminable, laughable speech. It was really awful in places, and I've mentioned one or two of these.

And if you can imagine . . . Well, I think there were more people than the paper estimated. Me, I kept hearing three hundred in the paper. There were five to seven hundred students up there. Maybe three hundred marched around the track, but there were a lot more up there who were

sympathetic with the demonstrators and didn't march, for one reason or another—probably fear, not knowing what might happen. But for them to look around and see more students against the demonstration than onlookers at the demonstration and ROTC troops together is, you know, just poor judgment on their part.

Then, the decision not to let one of them have the microphone for five minutes Hindsight is always good, but I just feel that at that point when we were trying to arrange this, there was a time when the crowd was controllable. (And I say "we" in a collective sense. I wasn't down there doing the talking—some of the students and a few faculty were.) When it became so long, and there was no access to the microphone, then the situation got out of hand.

I do think that there could possibly have been police used when the students got out on the field. And if there was ever a decision made by someone not to have them enter and try to separate the groups, I think that was very wise. We had a difficult time, but there were six or eight faculty and students out there trying to keep the students from molesting the ROTC boys, and we managed to control the situation.

After the demonstration was over, I think the regents erred by making heroes out of two gentlemen who really don't deserve to be made heroes of. They did the same thing earlier in the year with the Jesse Sattwhite case. Jesse is really not a very desirable hero either, but he is a hero, in fact, now, to students and faculty alike, because the regents took him on, and, in a sense, the regents came out the worse for it and made him a hero.

I'm not sure what will happen with Adamian and Maher, but that could've been handled a lot neater. There's also some very pressing question in my mind about due process, because, in fact, the professors are apparently guilty of some crime, although their hearing has not begun yet. I'm not even sure both have requested a hearing yet. Anyway, they have been pronounced guilty by the regents in so many words and by the local press, so that there's some question of due pro-

cess here. But it was all unnecessary, I think. It could have been handled a lot more discreetly. There are ways of getting rid of people if you don't like them. You begin to get the idea in a year or two, if you don't get merit increases or advances in rank, that they don't like you around here. That's the subtle way of doing it. But I actually think our president, who is a very capable man, could have handled it much more nicely than it was handled, but he made such a public issue with those two. So I think the regents blew it. I think they succumbed to public pressure.

No one made an attempt to organize pressure on the other side, although it could have been counterproductive. There used to be a time when boards of citizens helped administer universities to protect the universities from the mob, because the mob has never understood higher education and what it was to do. They have certainly never appreciated the fruits of higher education by these ideas. Evidently, you're not supposed to have ideas in the University of Nevada.

In our situation, I think, not only do we see a situation where our regents have succumbed to the mob, they are leading the mob, and that is going to be counterproductive in a way that I described earlier. They talk about screening new faculty members. If capable people in my field come to the university and are screened, they will laugh and leave, just as I am going to leave. It's a little bit late to screen me, although, you know, I wouldn't be surprised if I decided to stay—I'll just have a little bit of trouble getting increases in salary and rank because I tend to be vociferous. But it's really a joke to think about screening faculty members. What you're doing then is hiring only those who agree to be screened, and that's the criterion that, in fact, will be used—not scholarly ability. So if they want to do that, that's their business, but I think it's a grave error.

Procter Hug was on TV last Friday, and he talked about the faculty members as being *employees*. And it's fine to consider faculty members employees if you like, but somehow or another when you start using that terminology, ideas of academic freedom get lost in the shuffle.

You're talking about hiring someone like you would hire a grade school teacher to indoctrinate kiddies to say the pledge of allegiance and things like this; and, in fact, that's not what we do. In political science you are told how the system is supposed to work. In sociology you're told that the system is not sacred and can be changed. And I don't know what you expect but that students would learn these things. They even force them to read that salacious, malicious document, the Declaration of Independence, which says that if the government is repressive, the constituency has the right and the obligation to overthrow that government. And, you know, when you tell people that, sometimes they believe you. So I really think that they've made some errors in this mess.

I would go on record as complimenting President Miller. I think there may come a time when he will perhaps put his job on the line and leave in a blaze of glory. He's doing all that they will let him do to maintain this as a university. He is an academician, and he appreciates the values of the academic community. And I think the fundamental problem he has is that, in fact, none of the regents—or very few of the regents, or even the chancellor himself—is an academician. The chancellor came here as secretary of the Nevada Taxpayers Association several years ago, and most of the faculty members I know interpret him as glorified bookkeeper, when, in fact, he makes decisions about academic things when he has no concept of academic values.

I have had encounters with him before. My first year here I had a very difficult time. He and the regents fired a couple of people associated with the computing center, and I led a group of faculty . . . I wrote a statement that several people signed, including four or five department chairmen, and I read it in a faculty senate meeting with him there. It was, again, an issue that he did not consult faculty when he fired them, and he did not consult faculty when he hired to replace them. There's no appreciation for these kinds of values, and that kind of mentality permeates the regents, evidently. There are some on

there who are fairly perceptive, but the majority, including the chairman, seem to have little appreciation for academic values. And I think that's very bad. (Is there some other part to this question?)

Why, I think you answered it very well. The next question is one that you have kind of answered, too. And it's your reaction to the violence that followed Governor's Day—the fire bombings.

Oh. Well, as I said, I would have to be shown that the students did that. All kinds of rumors are floating around. I think there are a lot of people in the community capable of the fire bombing, particularly the bombing of the Hobbit Hole. That could have been done by students, or it could have been done by people downtown. It could have been done by Senator Slattery, because he, in fact, called for it that very day on the TV. He went on TV and said that he felt the cowboys should be allowed to clean up the campus. And what we may have seen is the cowboys, in fact, trying to do their little bit to clean up the campus.

The one on the ROTC building—I'm very suspicious of that for several reasons. I heard from someone, and I can't remember who told me this, that the fire bomb was made out of kerosene. You don't make fire bombs out of kerosene if you're intent on burning anything; you make them out of gasoline. Kerosene burns very slowly. I'm also rather surprised that it was found so quickly, even if it was a kerosene fire bomb, and put out so handily by an available member of the campus police. There are just a lot of things about it that make me suspicious of whether or not it actually occurred as it was told.

If it did occur as it was told, I don't know any students that would have done it, and I was with them. I certainly don't know faculty members that would have done it, even the two that are being charged. All they did wrong, evidently, was stand in front of some cars five minutes, and then one of them led some chants. And one lady used obscene language, which is all right some

places but not others. So I just don't know of anyone that's capable of . . . you know, has that kind of mentality. That's all I would say about that.

What category of participant in these affairs—the students, the faculty, or outsiders—do you think was most important in fomenting violence?

Oh, I don't know because, like I say, the only things that you can call violence are the two fire bombings. I'm just not sure who gets the credit for those—unless you give it in an indirect, circuitous fashion to President Nixon, you know. Some have interpreted the Hobbit Hole bombing as a retaliation of the *first* one, so that you go to the first one and look for the cause of it. And this kind of leads all the way back, perhaps, to Nixon, as I've said.

There's one very grave difference in the two bombings, that should be noted for the record. I'm sure other people have pointed it out. That is, in one of them it was a crime against property, and the other was a potential crime against life. And there's a fundamental problem in our society about appreciating the difference between these two things. The problem erupts when you shoot looters in the back during riots. Is the property more valuable than the life? Well, it's very obvious to anyone who has perception that property is, in fact, more valuable than some people's lives. We usually tend to think of black people or Mexican-Americans in those categories of being worth less than property. But in this situation we saw someone take an action that had evaluated the people in the Hobbit Hole, who were usually asleep at this time, as being less valuable than property.

In other words, it was attempted murder—it's the only way you can interpret the fire bombing. If the person who did it was apprehended, and they were put on the witness stand and said under oath that they had checked for rear exits, and they had, in fact, perhaps even been in the Hobbit Hole (which is open all the time, anyone can go in it), then perhaps the charge should be

dropped. For all they know, what windows were there could have been nailed shut or fixed in some way with weather stripping so that, in fact, there was no other exit. So there was a tremendous difference between those two fire bombings, and it should be noted, particularly since Senator Slattery seems to sanction the latter bombing.

Well, do you think outsiders were important?

Well, perhaps so. I kept hearing all week about some guys from California. Never did see them, you know, although I attended all the demonstrations and this kind of thing. The press made a lot about outsiders, I think, partially because the sons and daughters—or the people who write those newspaper stories—couldn't quite believe that their sons and daughters would do it unless they were provoked by Satan or some other equivalent evil. So we had to blame someone, you know, and it's the old scapegoat tactic. In fact, we've now figured out collectively that it's the liberal professors that have done it all, and so we've got to do something about them. Slattery made some comments about limiting out-of-state enrollment, which again expressed and evidenced his mentality. But one of the few bright things about this campus is that a few kids from California do come over, and they're typically more awake than the Nevada student. But I really don't know of any outsiders.

I kept hearing a little bit about a few students who were here, but I really never saw one, so I can't say. I certainly don't have any truck with any kind of theory of a nationwide conspiracy that went around and started demonstrations at 486 campuses. I don't know who in the hell would pay the gas bill for the organization—if there were such an organization, you know. One way to keep the people in line is to point out that there's a commie under everyone's bed, you know. I'm twenty-eight and a half years old, and I've never seen a commie yet. Although I've never met one, I understand they're very stuffy people. [laughter]

What actions do you feel were most effective in preventing more violence in the situation that followed the fire bombings?

Oh, I think Miller managed to cool things down a little bit as best he could. The students themselves recognized the counter-productivity of violence. That's why I say I don't think any of the students that were in the demonstration did any of it because, in fact, this was their life. The leaders of the demonstration were not even in favor of the destruction at Governor's Day. It got to be a situation where they couldn't keep it in the stands anymore, and so, you know, then they did the best they could once they got on the field.

The student leaders of the demonstration and some student government leaders and Miller himself helped cool the situation down. The public and the regents did a lot of things to heat it up, and so you had two things working against each other. I know a lot of students were as shocked as I at the tremendous overreaction that took place. They really couldn't believe it and were dismayed again at the possibility of ever effecting any change. In fact, the voters, the ones who can vote, got upset, you know. I'd say 90 percent of the ones in this state who can vote would say, "Fire the liberal professors." And the students don't have a vote or anything else, so they were really shocked at this. I really think that the reaction to what happened at Governor's Day could have led some students, perhaps, to react in such a way as to throw the fire bomb at the ROTC building (which I think took place on Thursday night). There was an immediate and loud reaction in the press and everything to Governor's Day activities. And it could have, you know, driven some of them off the deep end, although I don't know who it would be, honestly. I was with the groups after this, too, and either they lead two lives, or they didn't do it.

One other comment, though. I think some of the faculty should be given credit for keeping cool on Governor's Day and for keeping cool after that. There were a lot of informal meetings and what-not where people discussed with students and

with other faculty about what to do next, and the faculty helped keep it cool. I know very few faculty members—in fact, I don't think I know any—who advocate violence. I don't know Maher and Adamian that well, but they weren't advocating violence when I saw them. They were leading a few chants, which is all right if you do it in exactly the same place at a football game, you know. I mean, in fact, if three hundred students went out on the field at a football game, it would be the greatest thing that ever happened to school spirit in the history of the university, but the same action at another time will . . . (Well, that's digressing.)

How do think events on campus affect the university's image with outsiders? Image is a bad word, but I think that we understand what we mean.

Well, it depends on the outsider. For some outsiders (and by that I mean people in the state of Nevada), the typical person in the state of Nevada got very upset because, in fact, his son and daughter were finally involved—or at least had the opportunity of being involved—in one of those damn student demonstrations. So for them it was a very bad time. And particularly if their son or daughter was involved, they didn't know exactly how to react. We've seen the fruits of that in letters, telegrams, editorials in the paper and the radio all condemning the university, whereas I've pointed out I think they should be complimented for keeping the lid on and keeping the school open.

For those people it did ruin the image of the university. They evidently have some idea about the university that it was isolated and immune from things that happen in the world. And it may have been at the time they attended, but, in fact, it is not immune any longer. Although, you know, if you want to fire the people and don't hire those people back or replacements for them, if you limit enrollment to students from Nevada and maybe even start screening those, then you'll have a nice little technical school here, and there will be no

demonstrations. You know, if that's what they want to do, that's very fine with me.

For another group of people it finally validated and showed some evidence, that this is, in fact, a university where ideas are discussed and people can express feelings and ideas. I happen to be among that group. I was encouraged at the peacefulness of the Governor's Day thing and the fact that it occurred. So then, rather, it validated in my eyes this student body—and there being hundreds of people in it who were aware of what's happening. It's rather terrible to see a student body that's not aware, because they go do the dying, and in some cases they go gladly. In our case they're not going so gladly anymore.

So, I'd say in the eyes of the academic community around the country (and it would have to be the community that's even aware of there being a university here), it did something to validate its position as a university. Actions since, actions of the regents and the people here, perhaps have obviated that. For the students themselves, I have said earlier that I think it proved then that they could express an opinion. (I guess that covers it for me.)

What can the university do to focus public opinion?

Well, they could do a lot more. They could sponsor seminars. They could release teaching time for people to, literally, even go downtown to lead some discussions of issues and things of this nature. We do, in fact, allow faculty members to go teach the police and things like this. We've had one faculty member who has been lecturing at the police department this year, in some kind of class situation. But more of that kind of thing seems to be essential in two regards: the public relations regards, and in educating. Because we're not communists. We're not "pinkos" or whatever they are. We're just people who . . .

Interestingly, they're not very educated. That's the funny part here. You won't be able to get educated, and you don't want them once they are educated. We're seeing a funny thing hap-

pen, I might comment real quickly. I have an aunt in a junior high school in Texas, and she says that a lot of parents are no longer preparing their students to go to college, because they don't like what's happening on college campuses. They don't want their children to become educated—that's a simple way of putting it. So they're making their students take courses that lead into technical school or business school or something like that, and are not even having them take things like language and such that would prepare them for the university. That's fine. I mean, it's not fine, but it's happening because this society is finally waking up to realize it doesn't want educated people running around loose, and the same thing is happening in Nevada. Why don't we just give people a room in which they ask questions and they have ideas?

Note

1. Original Letter to N. Edd Miller, dated May 6, 1970, in University Archives, University of Nevada, Reno (AC 209). There are only minor differences between the letter and Richardson's reading of it.

JOSEPH H. ROBERTSON

May 28, 1970

Well, I'm Joseph Robertson, professor of range ecology. I'm an ecologist in the Agriculture Science Building, and this is my twenty-third year at the University of Nevada and my thirtieth year in Nevada. I was formerly chairman of the Department of Plant Science for twelve years, and I spent my sabbatical and another year in east Africa. When I came back I was no longer chairman of the department, and there had been considerable reorganization of departments by that time.

Why do you think you were chosen to be interviewed?

Probably because of my long tenure here, possibly because I'm faculty of College of Agriculture. And with the cowboys and the aggies and so forth the name had been perhaps given.

OK. What was your reaction to President Nixon's decision to send troops into Cambodia?

My first reaction was that certainly he felt justified. And he'd been convinced by the Pentagon, I think. Incidentally, I'm afraid the Penta-

gon is making too many of our decisions. But my second reaction was the credibility gap that sounds very much like 1964 or 1965 when we were first sending troops, with perfectly good reasons, of course, into Vietnam, and look what has happened. Many times we've been disillusioned by reports of people coming back from the military, saying, "It'll soon be over," and all this.

In what way do you think the Cambodia decision affected what happened next on the university campus?

Oh! Well, I think that there was certainly a relationship or a connection. I feel the students . . . and as I had my second reaction, most of them must have had that as their first reaction of, "Here we go again. Now, how long will it be? Another five years? Is it all Indochina? Is it China?"

There is no military victory possible we've been told all this time. But still we get more deeply involved militarily. It's very frustrating and confusing. I'm sure I don't have all the answers; I don't think anybody does.

Do you think that that was the primary reason for what happened on the campus here, or do you



Joseph Robertson, 1953.

think that things had been boiling up for a long time, or a combination, or what?

Well, I think we were influenced by what we know that's happened on other campuses, too: it's a sympathetic reaction. That's why. The regents, are aware of what's happening to other regents—I mean, the position that the regents are in. So they're reacting sympathetically, overreacting, but . . .

What was your reaction to events that happened in other parts of the country over the Cambodia decision, such as Kent State or in the South?

Well, of course, I thought Kent State was horrible. As more information came out, it became more evident that the National Guard reacted in fear and terror and without discipline, or under the wrong commands, or something like that. Apparently they were firing wildly, and when you realize that no guardsmen were injured, you really wonder. Apparently police departments are

much better able to handle situations like this than the National Guard did or the staff guard. I feel it was terrible, in spite of what even my friends say and some of the students I work with. They feel it was fully justified. This terrifies me to realize that people that I know this well take such a position.

Why do you feel that they would take that kind of a position?

Well, now, understand I'm working with agricultural students, and agricultural students don't have the same feeling about the whole situation, about Vietnam that many arts and science students have. I believe I understand why—the ag students have led a different life. All the way through they have had a sense of accomplishment. Maybe it wasn't any more than preparing a calf for a show. Maybe it was even quite a bit more, like producing a crop of hay or shipping a truckload of cattle to market. They feel that their life is—from year to year—being fulfilled, and they want to get an education that's going to continue the kind of life they've had.

Well, on the other hand, even my own children growing up here in Reno, my younger ones now—I'm unable to provide them with the kind of life where they will feel satisfaction and accomplishment, and I think this is a trouble with many of the arts and science students. They're more aware than the ag students are, because the ag students are shielded from this kind of awareness by their busyness with their daily activities. You might have noticed that a high proportion of the second lieutenants come from the Ag Department. I think last time there was a commission, six of the thirteen were aggies. Well, you know this is far out of proportion to the college, and the university.

Yes, that's a very good point. Very good point. Regarding the Governor's Day activities, what did you think of the arrangements for the observances—the general arrangements that were made?

Well, I was busy with my activities over in the ag college, and I didn't attend. I've been getting a special invitation other years as the chairman of the military parade and review board. I'm no longer chairman. I didn't get the special invitation. I was too busy—I didn't go. So everything I know is what I read and what the students relayed back. And they came back pretty quick with, you know, the sad story of what happened and full of bitterness, especially the ones that were in uniform.

Then the reaction over there was pretty negative as a whole?

Oh, it was very—I would say, 90 percent—negative, and staff pretty much the same way. Certainly the students who have been there in uniform and their buddies, their friends . . .

Yes. Perhaps you'd rather not comment on evaluations from hearsay, but from what you've heard about the incident, could this have been prevented or could other preparations have been made to prevent this kind of things from happening? Or do you think it was a bad thing? Perhaps you expected something like this to happen.

Well, I hadn't given it much thought, and so I wouldn't say I expected it. What happened, I think, was an *annoying* thing, but to take elaborate precautions to prevent it from happening might have been worse. I don't judge the two people who have been accused on the basis of what was there, because I didn't see it.

But one of these people I've seen in these meetings—five or ten of these mass meetings over here in the Center and in the dining commons. I have a lot of respect for the president, and I feel that he was too insulting to the president. I'm on a committee with this man, and he is probably a very sensitive man, but also volatile. He reacts, and he speaks violently, even, you know, disrespectfully. I don't believe I should say anymore about that.

OK. What was your reaction to what happened following Governor's Day: the bombing at the ROTC and the Hobbit Hole and these incidents? How do you feel about those?

Well, it makes me sick. Even the second one made me sicker than the first one, for some reason. I suppose maybe it did more damage on private property. It's a threat to the community outside the university, and I could see where this is going to bring on repression. This is what we have to worry about in the university. We should try to stay in a position to take care of these things ourselves at some level, either the students, faculty, or administration, because when it gets kicked outside like this, then—you know—taxpayers, politicians, regents, everybody . . .

It's a grab. Or they either feel it's their responsibility, like perhaps the regents do, or they feel the chance for votes, for publicity, like many politicians do. And then we lose our autonomy in the university. This is the thing to be feared. This can ruin us, I feel.

What about the image of the university? What do you think happened to the image of the university as a result of these things?

Well, I think it was diminished. I think it shows that many people have never had much confidence in the university. That's what I feel. When such a small thing could almost bring down the house, it's telling you how the regents and the editors of newspapers and people like that are taking after us and, you know, belittling us. I feel our image must not have been as good as I felt it was. I think they've shown lack of confidence, the people on the outside and the people at the top. I have much more confidence in the administration to handle this, to work with the student administration and the faculty, the AAUP. Anybody like this, I think, can make a contribution, can get together. But if we have to defend ourselves against the people on the outside, then we can't work together on the inside.

Right, that's very true. Do you think there will be any kind of long-range results from this—you know, between the community and the college? Do you think this will create any long-term difficulties?

Well, I think anybody who feels he's in a position to use this, or a person who has a lingering fear for the university or about things here, or a continued lack of confidence, these things will probably hang on for several years.

For example, the thing of non-resident students somebody has already suggested, "We got too many non-resident students here." Well, I think this is a bad attitude for a university. I feel non-resident students are a good thing to have here, as a general thing. I'm not talking about individuals. So we don't have, for example, a domestic student exchange program, which I was hoping we could get. I think people will use this or oppose non-resident student exchange for this reason: "I'm afraid we'll get some bad apples here."

Do you feel that outsiders were involved in this recent demonstration to a large extent? And maybe you could sort of generalize the way you feel about . . . In most campus disturbances do you feel that there are predominantly a large number of outsiders?

I am afraid there may be people, and I have no idea who they are, but it's quite possible there are people who try to wreck an institution by first firing the ROTC building and then the Hobbit Hole. Now, this would be a great way to just get the confrontation going here and the fighting inside and bring down the people from the outside on us. So if the people are enemies—if we have enemies—they're as clever as we always contend they are. They really pulled the right thing. I don't know if this is true or not. Maybe. Maybe as the ag said, "Well, that's in retaliation, and that serves them right." Some of the aggie students have that reaction.

What actions or who do you think was particularly helpful in preventing more violence than actually occurred? Or do you think there was anyone that sort of held things down? Since you weren't there on Governor's Day, it might be kind of difficult to judge, but from hearsay perhaps. Do you think there's anyone that's done a particularly outstanding job, let's say, in those tense weeks there to keep things cool on the campus?

Well, I feel that the president of the university and the president of ASUN have done all they can to be effective. I believe the reaction of the men at the Hobbit Hole after that was quite good, quite civilized. I didn't see or hear anything vengeful quoted from them. I didn't hear anything like that. It was more sorrowful, I think.

What function do you think the university ought to have in focusing public opinion? Should they have a function in focusing public opinion or influencing public opinion, for that matter?

Oh, definitely. They should certainly try to ensure they're effective. I think Frankie Sue [Del Papa] and President Miller going on television—a lot of people saw that, and I think that was good for public opinion. To your previous question I think I should also mention the attitude of the ROTC people at the Governor's Day. I think they deserve a lot of credit for holding steady. Maybe this could have been disastrous right there if they'd have even flickered an eyelid.

Yes, true. What do you think the function is of a university? Do they have a political function, and if so, what, or if not, why?

I think that the faculty of a university should be active politically as individuals, but I don't think any department, any organized group, or the university itself should be politically active—especially partisan politics. You can't do it, and most any political issue quickly becomes partisan. But to say that no faculty member or no staff

member of the university should be politically active is, I think, wrong, because any of us here have real political interests and understanding, I hope.

Yes, so at least as individuals they can; but otherwise, it's best to remain neutral if possible. What about students? Should a campus be a place for political ferment or social action as far as the students are concerned?

Yes. And I think the students can even go a step farther than faculty. I mean, the Young Republicans or Young Democrats, the Young Independent Americans, or whatever you want can have a party. I should think they'd be allowed to meet on the campus and so forth. There is quite a heavy national process.

What do you think will be the direction of the peace movements in this area now? Do you think that there will be an increase in activity or a decrease?

I don't know. Probably an increase.

An increase?

I think, but I'm not sure. I mean, I don't know how things are going to go in the next few weeks here. Some things will depend on what decisions are made regarding the people that have been How would you say? Have they been indicted? Not exactly, was it?

No, I don't think so.

Well, they've been charged.

Right, right. In what way can the students and faculty be most effective politically, do you feel? What about a faculty member? How can he be effective politically? You touched on this a little bit

Well, I think some of the extreme faculty members here are effective politically, because

they help to create tension. I don't believe there are many solutions to problems today without tension. Unless some people in the South had insisted on sitting in the front of the bus, or going into a hamburger stand and waiting until they're served—it's creating tension. It started things moving. So this is one way to be effective politically.

Yet, of course, if lots of tension reaches a stage of violence, then, at that point, you can't have reconciliation; you can't have effective judgment or anything. So what we're looking for is somewhere between a complete unawareness and being dead on our feet or seat, and the other extreme of knocking someone's heads off.

If we could come to some balance somewhere around in the middle there and keep enough tension so people are aware that it could go up, it may go up, and if there's a problem, then we better get on it. This is it. Most faculty members, I think, prefer to work through the process, and they should go to the precinct meetings. They should get to the county meetings and all those political meetings and everything.

Students in your area, in agriculture and the related fields, do you think that they are politically aware? Do you think most of them are keeping politically aware now?

Let's say they are more aware than they were before Governor's Day. This is one good thing, I think, that happened on Governor's Day: it made students over in our college take notice, take sides, and some of them would listen to the other side. They never had before. And they never had any respect for the other side. They thought that it was an insult to be required to take an English course under somebody with long hair, or with a beard. This was obnoxious, and they couldn't tolerate it. That's what they felt.

And do you think some of them have changed in their attitude toward that?

A little, a little.

A little?

Yes, because they have less than a little.

So you think some very positive things may have come out of this, all of this.

In that direction, yes. And I hope it's going to happen in the other direction, too. I hope that someday the radicals, the extremes, and the agitators, the dissenters, and so forth maybe realize why the so-called cowboys are so far away from them. I hope they understand each other a little better.

Are there any other comments that you'd like to make? Any general comments or anything?

Well, one. I think most of our trouble dates to the Vietnam war, and now the Indonesian war and Indochina war. This comes out of a long-time, ill-conceived foreign policy that we have, which is to support stable governments all over the world. If we think they're stable, we think they're no threat to us, no matter how unpopular they are with their people, no matter how graft-ridden they are, and no matter how violent of a dictatorship.

Then, we insult the intelligence of people, and the students especially—our government does—when they say, “Well, the Domino Theory. Well, then, all we want is for the people of Vietnam to be able to choose their own leaders, to choose their own government.” Now, this is phony, because we don't care if the people of Haiti choose their own government. We know, right here at our back door, it's one of the most vicious dictatorships in the world. There's no question about it.

Paraguay, another violent dictatorship. I spent two nights in South America in 1962, and I tried to talk politics everywhere I went. And people loved Kennedy. They said, “Why does he support all the dictators?” I talked to communists and Peronists and everybody down there about it, when I had the chance to. “Why does he support the dictators?” So this is what happens: we sup-

port an unpopular government that gets overturned. Well, either we pull out and let it go, or we try to save it. If we try to save it, we either move in quickly and smash it like the Dominican Republic, or we move in little by little—like in Indochina. We can't do it.

Very good point. Do you have anything else you'd like to add?

No, I think I've said too much.

Oh, no. No, not at all. It's very fine.

CHARLES W. ROSS

June 1, 1970

Now, for the record would you like to give your name, your faculty position, hometown and so forth?

My name is Charles W. Ross, and I'm an associate professor of art and chairman of the Art Department. My residence in Nevada has been for the major part of my life, which may have some pertinence to what has taken place here.

And why do you think you were chosen to be interviewed?

I suppose because I have, to some degree, been involved at various levels in the situation that has taken place, the situations of the last two months. It'd just be a guess, anyway.

What was your own reaction to President Nixon's decision to move troops into Cambodia?

I was full of disbelief—that was my first feeling. The pronouncements preceding the move seemed to indicate that we were doing as many of us believed, and that was to effect our removal

from Vietnam in a phased kind of way. Then, particularly because of the Secretary of Defense's statement that American troops would not be used in Cambodia—without the reference to Congress—and it is to happen suddenly. It seems to be a little higher and arbitrary in nature and certainly against our best interests. There was a kind of outrage in it.

In what way do you think this decision about sending troops into Cambodia was related to what happened next on the University of Nevada, Reno campus?

It's very difficult to think of the Cambodian situation without also referring to the Kent State situation, both coming at a time when perhaps patience particularly was running out. It was coupled, also, with the general attitudes of the vice president and finally, the president, toward students involved, in a sense. It all seemed to add up to a situation which was quickly becoming intolerable.

And then you do believe, of course, that what happened here was related definitely to what happened on other campuses?



Charles Ross, 1970s.

Oh, yes. I think it's . . .

Yes. Well, that takes care of the next little question I have. [laughter]

What you're requesting is important. There was a phenomenon that occurred, I think, at this time. I think we learned about instant communication as we had perhaps not ever quite known of it before. One of the things that did happen nationally, and perhaps even internationally, was a sense of community in which each person felt their concerns were shared by many, many others. I think this was one of the contributing factors to what we saw nationally, at least, and certainly on this campus.

Regarding the Governor's Day activities here on this campus, what did you think of the arrangements for the observances, what was your reaction to the demonstrations, and did you feel it was necessary? Did you feel obligated to participate, or were you simply a spectator, or did you have personal reactions to it?

Well, I had many reactions, and there were mixed emotions. Like, I understand, on one hand, why the Governor's Day annual observance has some importance for the university in terms of tradition. And it was also, somewhat irrationally I guessed, that we would continue the practice in light of what had happened. My own involvement was more of a private nature than public, although I did march up to the stadium with the people. My greatest concern was what might happen, and I felt here I needed to be an involved observer, because I was afraid that there would be problems coming out of the demonstration—and as we've seen there were. I was perhaps more concerned there might be a degree of violence, which there was unfortunately.

I think the demonstration viewed from one point of view—that is, in terms of contemporary dissent—was a very mild affair. In terms of the university itself and its experiences with demonstrations, it was perhaps shattering to many people. So I think the conflict that emerged from it is understandable, and I think we all can understand it would happen in some way. A sense of reaction to the demonstrators was inevitable, it seemed.

Yes, OK. Well, then what was your reaction to the violence that followed: the fire bombing of first, the ROTC building, and then Hobbit Hole?

The ROTC building did not surprise me in the least. I think this was personally the result of participating in varying degrees in what was happening on campus—the attempt of students and faculty to somehow get together and talk and see what was happening. So the problems within the attempt to talk at the initial stages were very difficult; there was kind of a traumatic situation and various factions on the campus coming together. And this, coupled with what seemed to me to be a certain insensitivity on the part of the administration, almost made the potential of an attempt to bomb Hartman Hall very real.

I left one afternoon talk session at the student union fully expecting something like this to

happen. In fact, it was the afternoon and then the evening following a student senate meeting. The progress toward relating to each other simply hadn't gone far enough, and there had been nothing coming from the administration to help resolve the situation. What did come a day later was effective but belated; it was, in a sense, too little and too late, I felt. We're just fortunate the building wasn't burned down completely.

Then how does that relate, or does it in anyway, to the bombing of Hobbit Hole?

This is something that has me completely puzzled. It seems, it would appear . . . and this is purely conjecture—this is not fair to suggest anyone particular was responsible for it.

But because it was the Hobbit Hole, and because it had been a center of communication for the strikers and for, to some degree, the dissenters, one could suspect that more conservative elements on campus might have been involved. However, in what was taking place at that time, it took the students on campus to work out constructive and peaceful means to resolve problems. This suggests that if it were this group, it would have to be the extreme event, just as if it were the dissenters who fire bombed Hartman Hall. It just had to be of the extremes. I think the events that followed suggest to us that isolation of extremes had taken place rather rapidly and quite effectively. My guess is the bombing of the Hobbit Hole was not any part of the so-called cowboys as a group. It may have been one or two. They had reasons of their own to get even, just as, I think, Hartman Hall had—which I'm convinced was done by non-students now from information we've had. But whatever happened, I think, was done by extremists and the number of these extremists probably not more than twenty or thirty on this campus at the most. I doubt there are that many.

Well, that kind of leads into the next question we've been asking: What category of participant do you believe was the most active in fomenting

any of this violence? Was it faculty or student or outsider? The outsiders have been mentioned, and you spoke to that some.

Yes. Not because I'm trying to protect the faculty at all, because I've been very disappointed in the faculty in just, you know, in many ways in what's happened on campus—although there were a number who worked very hard to keep things together. I don't think faculty, in any sense, were the fomenters of the problem here. I think, on the extreme left, the group that attempted very strongly but failed to create more problems, create more trouble, were not students—a group of some ten or twelve who appeared on campus out of nowhere.

I think on the other extreme we have a long history of such groups as the Sundowners, who have not shown the most responsibility in their actions and who might be related to this non-student group. It seems to me that there was very little action by anyone that would have led to anything but peaceful dissent. I'm tremendously impressed with the ability of this campus to keep its cool during this period, and the attempts, primarily by students again, to pull together.

I think one of the serious mistakes we will make is to view what happened on this campus as events that would have led to potential violence, because I think violence was ruled out almost from the very beginning on this campus and essentially through serious efforts by a number of people and, again, primarily students.

You've almost answered this next one. I'll ask it just in case you might want to expand upon it. What actions do you feel were most effective in preventing more violence or cooling off the situation? You spoke of the people, mostly students, who prevented it. Was there any particular action?

I think the credit would have to go probably to a small group of the dissenters, who I suppose would have to be labeled somewhat to the left, but not far to the left—students like Dan Teglia

and others, a couple of faculty members. Probably Ben Hazard would be one of these who worked *very*, very hard to keep talk going. The other person, I think, who was probably in some way as effective as anyone else was John Dodson, from the Center. John spent hours and hours working with, moderating, leading, rap sessions. I think this attempt to talk things out and the efforts made by these people to set up accommodations for such talk was probably the most important aspect of the whole affair.

In contrast to this, I feel *very* strongly that the administration and the faculty as a body really failed to live up to their responsibilities. I think this carried right to the brink of a serious situation. If the students hadn't gotten a hold of it as they did, in time, it could have gone much further than it did.

This may or may not seem important to you—I don't know. How do you think events on campus affect the university's image with outsiders?

I think as predictable as the possible bombing of Hartman Hall, the response from the immediate community and the state was completely inevitable. But even here I was taken aback by what seems to be the inability of the community at large to understand what is happening here in context and what has been happening nationally. The overreaction was considerably more than I expected, and I think the state has an awful lot to learn. This is not over yet by a long shot.

Well, then what function does the university have in focusing public opinion?

I think it's become increasingly clear that the university has been a very strong barometer of what is happening to people collectively, at least nationally and—undoubtedly again—internationally. That if anything, the university, despite the problems it will have to go through, hopefully will be able to educate the state to its need to respond to conditions that simply cannot be ignored. I suppose in the same way the university

has always had the responsibility—not always, not just our university, but the university as an institution—and they not always live up to it. It must take these gambles and these risks to apprise those students that are responsible of whatever it is that has to be said and done.

The state of Nevada has been so conservative and so protected, and unfortunately provincial. And the shocks that have already taken place and the shocks ahead, I think, are going to force it in one way or another to realize it is part of the world, and it has to respond to that world constructively. Does that seem to answer that question?

Well, the university does, by your words, have a job to do to focus public opinion, you think—definitely within this state anyway?

I think at least it has to provide those issues in clearer terms that have to be met. And I think that's one of the things that has happened recently. Preceding the Kent State and the Cambodian situation was a serious unrest of a number of students on this campus, particularly minority students and particularly black students. And this certainly reflects a condition that exists in the state and has existed for a long, long time.

I think the university must understand that even though it'll run into opposition, and sometimes very strenuous opposition, it should not attempt to stifle the kinds of dialogue and discussion, and even actions, that may be contrary to traditional modes, because if we do not have these valves to release these frustrations, then they are going to be released in much more serious and much more violent forms.

The state simply, I think, is going to have to accommodate it, because nothing you can do, really, is going to prevent it. They can place all the National Guard troops on this campus they want, and we may have the same tragedy as happened elsewhere. It just isn't possible to stifle it. The proposals by chairman Hug of the regents for a code of conduct are simply not going to work when the frustrations become too great. They're

just going to build up, I'm afraid, issues which will become greater than they really should be.

And that leads beautifully into the next thing I want to ask you then. Do you feel the issues of academic freedom are involved in participation in demonstrations of this sort?

Yes, I do, and I fully recognize the dangers of talking about academic freedom, particularly in the loose sense it has been used in recent months, and perhaps even years. The fundamental of academic freedom is the responsibility—not the privilege—of anyone connected to the university community to speak and to do as he feels he must. Now, always will be the possibility that he can conceivably overstep a traditional interpretation of whatever the academic freedom is, and I think like all law and like all custom, we must constantly review our interpretations of what anything means. In this case academic freedom is one of them.

I think it's a very, very serious situation that's developing now, because not only locally but nationally there are serious attempts to control—and I mean control in the negative sense—the traditional means and outlets for voicing one's opinions and to act on those opinions. If that ever happens beyond a certain point, the university dies, literally, as an institution and becomes something else altogether.

And I think this is one of the dangers we're in right now. We've watched in the last several months, in the name of expediency, legal instruments violated to accommodate the immediate need. The ASUN constitution, I believe, was seriously violated. The proposal before the regents at this next session—Chairman Hug's—to bypass the normal procedures by which such things as he proposed are done sets a precedent for this to happen again and again and again. What worries me here is that we may be facing an issue that is going to cause more problems than anything to date has caused: the attempt to censor student publications. And I would argue forever that always this is exactly what happens When you start

talking about funds that go to the publication of that paper being possibly cut off, and that inferred, this has to be a form of censorship, and it's in direct violation of the very thing that was accepted after two years of serious effort on this campus with the student bill of rights. So, we're still going through the problems that were started on this year, and I don't see it ending with summer coming.

How can the faculty, or students if you want to talk about them, be effective politically? Should they attempt to influence political or government policies?

I think that's part of the bigger question, which is being argued very seriously today, and that is the question of the neutrality of the institution. I don't see how any of this—and this may include students and faculty of the university—can remain apolitical in the times we're living in, because, in a sense, it's a spiritual survival, and perhaps even physical survival depends upon it.

I certainly feel that every encouragement ought to be given to everyone connected with the university community to act as they feel they must politically. The question whether or not the institution itself—or as a body, the faculty, or as a body, the students—should take positions certainly is debatable. I find myself at cross purposes here. On the one hand, I would like to see a large group of people, for instance, the entire faculty, assume the position I assume politically to make me feel less like a pariah, I suppose.

But I think something may be seriously damaged if this happens. I suppose the faculty as a whole, the student body as a whole, and perhaps the institution as a whole ought to sidestep the issue of taking a position officially but encourage the individuals within it to gather into whatever collective groups they want to and to very actively foster. Essentially, we may endanger the institution in a way we don't see if we demand it, if as an institution and components of that institution, we act politically.

Well, the question was for the individual.

But in the case of the individual, I think, yes. I think everything ought to be fostered beyond what we do now. Now, how it's done in the classroom, how it's done outside the classroom, again raises those serious questions of what is the responsibility of the university and the individual faculty members in terms of instructional focuses.

It does seem to me that there are very few fields where one can sidestep those issues which are contemporary, whether they be political or economic or aesthetic or philosophic. So I think we need to look upon what is taught in the classroom in a very broad sense. That is, the instructor must be allowed to bring, into whatever it is he's teaching, those references to contemporary society and contemporary events that are relevant to that subject. And I think this leaves much room to deal with the contemporary world as well as the subject matter that's involved.

I guess what I'm trying to say is that there is a serious danger of using a classroom as a forum for one point of view or another, and I think this *must* be avoided at all costs. But if there can be affected a rational and objective discussion and learning process that deals with whatever there is to deal with, then I think we will continue what the university must have, must do, and has always done.

The peace movement in this area that we've heard of—an organization of students calling itself the peace movement—where is it going?

My guess is—and this is really guessing because it's, again, like the national movement—but it seems to me that the peace movement is moving away from highly abstract and philosophic positions and into arenas of action, that is, political action. A group of students who are attempting to get a certificate of election to place Charles Springer's name on the ballot in the fall election is a sample of this. I think the peace movement is probably stronger now than it has

ever been, and it corresponds with something of the national response to the peace movement.

I think it has changed its mode of operation to a fairly large degree. It has become realistic and understood that if there is to be peace, it's going to have to be done in a highly pragmatic way and in a way which gets to the heart of the operation of how peace and war are instituted by a nation. I look for less abstract and philosophic attitudes on the part of people who are concerned about peace and far more activity politically—in the broadest sense of simply going out and attempting to talk to individuals in the community and appraisal at least of the facts for you, perhaps what is happening.

And do you have any other comments which you'd like to put on record?

Yes, I do. I think the situation that we have gone through in the last four or five months may well be the pattern that most institutions have gone through. It seems it was a little bit frightening at least to realize that we have watched institution after institution go through this and not have them far better prepared to deal with it than we were.

I think we're still facing that, except for a situation which is highly explosive—what is about to take place and may take place at the next Board of Regents meeting—it may place students on the one hand and faculty on the other, or perhaps even collectively on a head-on collision course with the regents. A change in the nature of how a university is governed may be the outcome of this. I think my response to it during the spring semester has been that there's a serious vacuum of leadership on this campus now. I'm not sure that's what has happened on other campuses entirely or not. But I found that we have been officially reacting considerably after whatever accident that we were concerned about has taken place.

Oh, I think we should have been sensitive enough to the situation to have been able some-

how to lessen the build-up of frustrations that were taking place, and of course, something like these pessimistic moments. I'm convinced we must not lie awake at night trying to figure out how to make the situation more difficult. It doesn't seem possible that we could not have prevented some of the things that have taken place here: some of the anger, some of the feelings of hopelessness and futility that have emerged this spring. I do think that whoever it is—and in the process this means everybody, but certainly those people in official positions—must learn to act, and act constructively, and plan ahead. I think one of the ways is that they'll have to listen to find out really what is happening more quickly than they do. There seems to be a bad consensus, or a poor means of communication, on this campus—that oftentimes those who need to have information receive it much too late, or at least they act on it much too late.

ELMER R. RUSCO

May 29, 1970

So just for the record if you'll say your name and your residence and your position.

Elmer Rusco, and I'm . . . Well, and I have to say my residence. [laughter] I'm just the slowest in California, and I'm a member of the graduating committee of the AAUP chapter this year, because I was president last year, and the week after was not involved with it anymore.

Why do you think you were chosen to be interviewed?

I assume because this connection with AAUP is made in some statements and will undoubtedly have to do with some other things.

What was your reaction to President Nixon's decision to go into Cambodia?

Well, I thought and think of it as a catastrophe, because it has the effect of widening the war, and therefore making it less likely that the war can be ended. I just read recently two articles by Hans [J.] Morgenthau and George McT[urnan]

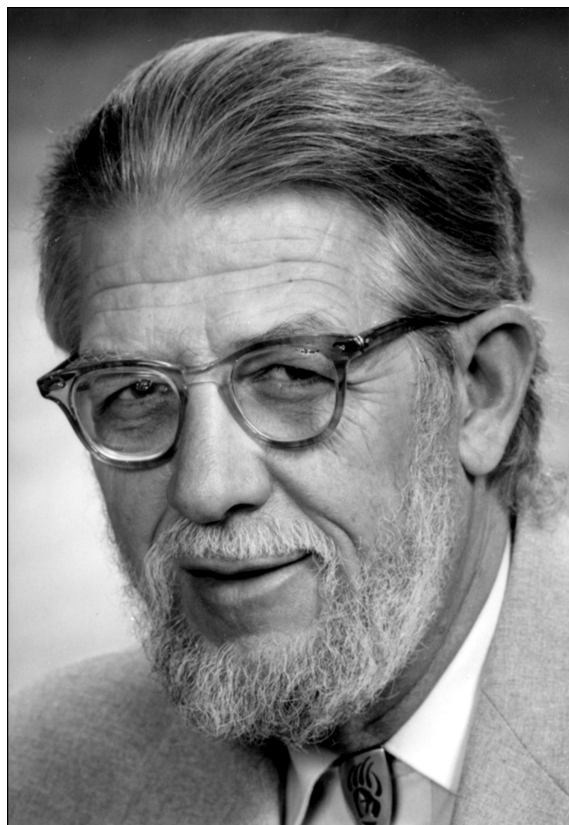
Kahin that argue this, and those are experts in that particular area and also in international politics.

And this is what I felt was the situation. I just felt that it was a really bad decision, unlikely to do what the President thought it would do there—exactly the opposite.

In what way do you think the Cambodia decision was related to what happened next on our campus?

Well, there's no doubt that it was the primary reason for student unrest and also faculty unrest. During that week around the country there were about two hundred schools that were closed and violent, and more than two hundred others that were partly closed by shots all because of Cambodia. We were getting the same thing here, only a much milder form. But the reaction to the war in both students and faculty is *less* here. Fewer people are reacting here, but, essentially, the same thing is happening elsewhere around the country. Obviously, that's what the basic situation was.

The accidental timing of the two things were very bad for us: one was that Governor's Day happened to hit just after that; and the second



Elmer Rusco, 1985.

was that the regents meeting happened to hit just after Governor's Day. If there hadn't been the particular timing, I'm afraid we probably wouldn't have had any trouble at all, I think. The results would probably have been different.

What was your reaction to the events in other parts of the country related to the Cambodia decision?

Well, I was probably surprised at the extent of the reaction around the country. I was not surprised that universities would be as corrosive at the scene, that it really wouldn't go so far. Well, some of the schools, you know, Princeton and Mills, are closed down for the rest of the semester, and Princeton is going to let the students out for a couple of weeks in the fall.

It is mobilized, more than any other event I am aware of, and I was surprised at the degree to which this reaction occurred around the country.

Also, this was, of course, due to the killing of the four students at Kent State on Monday. It was partly the reason the reaction was so extensive. In general, I mean, I have a conflict over this kind of thing, because while I approve of the objectives and think that is highly desirable that we do everything we can to end the war, I also think that universities shouldn't be solely devoted to any objective in society.

My position is the university should be involved with all sorts of things in the society. They're into society. They already are. To a certain extent I think they should be. But I don't think they should be closed down, for example, ideally, because of any event in the community. So I have a conflict over the extent of the reaction. I prefer the reaction that occurred on this campus, as a matter of fact, in which people expressed their sentiments and tried, at least, to talk about the issues, but it didn't really cause any significant disruption. We'll get to this later, but I don't think any significant disruption of anything occurred on this campus as far as I can see at this point.

So, regarding the Governor's Day activities, then, what did you think of the arrangements for the observance?

Well, I thought for some time that the university ought to be moving away from the situation in which the only official visit the governor makes to the campus during the year is solely to honor the military. I feel like the emphasis is wrong, and it carries with it the implication that it's the most important thing we do. It is obviously not that. There's even some question of whether we ought to be doing them, but we have a statutory obligation as a land grant college.

Anyway, I felt for some time that it's a mistake to have Governor's Day continued as it's been. It ought to be widened so that the governor comes and honors various aspects of the university, and not just the military. But there are so many things I am trying to bring about, and nobody else has. And I think the university has made a mistake by not moving earlier to change the

whole proceeding, because in the new climate there are a lot more people who share my view that this is not appropriate, or have much more extreme views. It's also been quite clear that attendance has been very poor the last few years at these things—that very small numbers of students or faculty have any interest in the purely military. I haven't been to any of them, because I don't approve.

So, I don't know from firsthand experience, but at least this is as it's been reported. For several years attendance has been so sparse that it's really a little embarrassing [laughter] as the governor of the state and all these dignitaries come out for something that obviously doesn't mean much to very many people on the campus, which is another factor. Anyway, I think it was a mistake not to have altered this format some time ago and to include another thing. There was a very minor change this time, in which the governor attended a reception that morning which was not solely military. I think we should have done much more to alter that. And if we had, we would probably have avoided this particular event, too. But it wasn't done, and nobody had brought it up, really, as an issue, as far as I know, within the university before, and that includes our failure, I think.

I think back, and the one thing that disturbs me about the event—the whole event since then—is that this aspect of it has not been brought up. Nobody has suggested that maybe there's something inappropriate about having Governor's Day as it has been held, because in the deployment . . . well, various people have been very careful about what they've said because of the dismissal charges. In addition, many people felt—and I have felt—the environment is such that . . . So many people in the community are so upset that they'd do more upsetting at *this* point if you suggested that there were more basic issues than they've even thought of. But I think we made a mistake by just letting each Governor's Day be continued as it has been in the past. Although, again, the pretty accidental timing was also important. If it had occurred the week before or even occurred two or three weeks after the Cambodian

decision, there would probably have been no problem.

What was your reaction to the demonstration?

Well, two reactions. Again, I didn't go, and I only got some accounts, but I got some accounts right away from some graduate students in our department who'd been there. I don't think I know a lot of students who were involved in any of the heckling (as I call it). At any rate, several had been there, and I got some accounts from them.

My first reaction was that it was, basically, a little amusing that, as I understood it, they had been rude and had heckled and had mocked the ROTC people, but hadn't prevented anything from being carried out. I thought, "Well, this is an interesting example of the kind of climate we're in." Then, I found out that there was a brief confrontation involving the cars, which were delayed for awhile (a few people seemed intent on keeping the cars from moving). I found out that there had been several points at which there might have been some violence, or might have been some attempt to keep the whole thing from being carried out. And I was very happy that we haven't had anything like that happen.

In the afternoon on Tuesday at three-thirty, there was a meeting in the Center. To students it was a faculty meeting to talk about revitalizing the Northern Nevada Peace Center. Jim Hulse, I guess, was the one who called it and was more or less presiding. He began the meeting by saying that because people had not been organized and had not anticipated what might happen, that we had narrowly escaped a really bad situation that day. Given his interpretation (which was similar to the one I've just given you), with the verse in point that some very serious things might have happened, and that we just barely escaped having them happen, he confirmed my feeling that we had really been quite lucky in the whole thing.

And I'm starting from the assumption that you've got the hundreds of students and many faculty people very upset about the war, and they're unhappy about having the governor there just for the military. Starting with these assump-

tions, I think we were relatively lucky that no violence occurred, and there was no attempt to prevent the ceremonies from being carried out. As far as I know, they were carried through. I haven't got a full account of it. As far as I know, there had been invasion of a military drill, so they had to do in an unfriendly environment.

I felt, when it ended up today, that the feeling was: we've really been very lucky that we have escaped something more serious.

You didn't feel it was necessary to participate yourself in any of the demonstrations then?

No. Personally, I don't feel comfortable in such situations, so I avoid them as much as possible, regardless of whether I approve of the objectives or not. If I had known they were going to go to the stadium, I would have disapproved of that, because I think that it's not desirable to try to interfere with somebody else's activities.

What was scheduled, as I understood it, was the same thing that happened last year, which I wholly approve of—while again I didn't participate last year—and that was the holding of the peace rally in the bowl. Partly, I was busy, too; that time of year is a busy one. But partly I don't like to participate in most things like that unless I think that they're really important, and I have a duty of some kind. Partly the *particular* events as occurred, I would not have wanted to participate in myself, at all, because I don't think that is appropriate, not that I don't think it's serious; but I don't think it's appropriate. I didn't go then, you know, for a combination of reasons.

What do you think was the most effective part of the demonstration and the observance of Governor's Day?

Effective? You mean, was it effective in creating a crisis for the university? [laughter] I was going to say it was the combination of the point at which . . . between the threat of the thing, in that the motorcade would be halted and, of course, not allowed to start and the heckling, then, that went on in the stadium itself. I don't think that it

was effective in any way from the viewpoint of the peace movement of the Nevada orientation. I don't think it had any effect or any positive effects in that direction at all. I assume those other events, obviously, were what really upset people in the community.

What do you think should have been the reaction of the various factions involved then—the ROTC, the demonstrators, the university administration—to the conflict that developed?

Well, I think the ideal reaction was the one that generally occurred on campus. Two things. Some realization that some of the events had not been desirable, that they shouldn't be encouraged, and that they it should be realized that they were undesirable. But mostly, the realization that it was necessary to try to get people in communication with each other and discussing these kinds of issues (that is, the wider issues of the war and also the issues of how the universities own the activities which would be connected with it).

I've forgotten what some of the Miller statements were, but Miller's statements at the Governor's Day ceremonies, if I got them correctly, were quite appropriate, I thought, and they represented a good response to the situation. Then, later in the week, I think that a good deal of communication occurred on the campus through various ways.

Well, the Tuesday afternoon meeting I went to was the one where it was decided to hold a memorial rally on the Friday for the Kent State students and to ask the president to endorse this and cancel classes for it. It was decided to hold the rally anyway, if he didn't endorse it, and to set up a committee to go talk to the president about this and plan, also, another committee, I think. Possibly the same people must have got to go to plan the events. So that I regard as a positive response to the situation.

There were a number of meetings. I know there were two on Wednesday, neither of which I went to. At one, basically a student meeting, what I heard was that they had been really upset, and there was some fairly wild talk that had come

out—not endorsing any extreme kind of behavior. While there was a good deal of hot rhetoric, nothing happened apparently, and they did not actually come to any negative conclusions. Then, as I understand it, there was a student senate meeting Wednesday evening, at which there were not just the peace-oriented people, but also the opponents present, at which apparently a good deal of communication took place.

On Thursday afternoon there was a meeting in the union at which a tremendous amount of communication occurred, although it was complicated by the existence of the outsiders. There were some people—I'm not sure whether they were from out of Reno, but they weren't students—who were there and wanting to do more radical things, but were pretty much ignored. Thursday afternoon, for all afternoon, people drifted in and out, but with a substantial number of people in the university—mainly students, but also the faculty and staff people—and they were generally talking about all the issues and getting some communication going. I thought this was a very beneficial kind of thing.

Apparently, it happened in small groups around the campus also, as well. I kept hearing about various groups that had sort of spontaneously formed in which—sometimes with some heat, but nevertheless—people had managed to communicate with each other about what they were concerned about. And I thought that was a very desirable thing. It seemed to me that at the end of the week a great deal of communication had occurred on the campus, and a great deal of releasing of tensions in a desirable, positive way had occurred on the campus. So, I thought that's what should have happened and pretty much what did happen on the campus itself.

What was your reaction to the violence that followed Governor's Day—the bombing?

Well, again, my feeling is that we were essentially lucky that nothing really serious had happened. The ROTC bombing occurred first on Thursday morning, and the reports that I've had on it from the beginning were confirmed later,

and this was that no real damage had been done. Then, at some point not long after that, some student government group—I think it was the finance control board—said that they would pay for the damage. So, the university isn't out anything, actually. No records were destroyed, nobody was hurt. No problem, really—it wasn't desirable, obviously.

I felt that it wasn't really a serious kind of thing, and we had, again, gotten off relatively lightly, because around the country in the last few years a number of ROTC buildings had been burned and some of them completely destroyed. And the sentiments which produced this are not absent on this campus, where earlier during the week people had talked. . . I didn't hear anybody advocating burning the ROTC building, but people had talked about the serious possibility that this would happen. It did not surprise me that somebody tried. And I was, again, happy really that it hadn't succeeded, and nothing really serious had happened as a result.

Then, it was next Tuesday—I think, yes, Tuesday morning early—that somebody threw a bomb at the Hobbit Hole. And again, my reaction was that we were lucky nothing really happened. Now, that could have been far more serious, because normally there were people asleep in that building at that time of the morning. Although later, when I thought about it, I realized that on the campus towards the close of the semester the chance that everybody around would be asleep was pretty slim, [laughter] because there were evidently all sorts of people who reported it immediately, all sorts of other people wandering around it. There's not too many places where lots of people are wide awake at 3:00 in the morning, but on campus, especially at the close of the semester, this happened.

Again, nobody was hurt. The damage to the Hobbit Hole was not great. They burned out a window, and they charred their porch. In this case it's more of a property loss than the others, because it's more revenge, and also because there wasn't any institutional choice to pay for it really. People who own the house have to pay for it themselves. But again, I thought we were lucky

that nothing enormous had happened and, especially, that nobody had been hurt. There was even an element of humor. The only thing that was entirely destroyed in the bombing was an American flag. Given the probable viewpoint to the people who threw the bomb, I think that's funny. That really is.

The other thing about both of those is that we don't know who did them. I thought that the ROTC fire bombing could possibly have been from an off-campus source, because this was the day that this group of people appeared trying, obviously, to stir up something more extreme. I don't know whether it came from California schools that have been closed down by Reagan that gave these people chances to move around the country, or whether they were locals. One of these people said that he had been a student at this university, and he was a native. The other people, I don't think, said. It's quite possible they were from out of town altogether. But anyway, I thought it was not at all improbable that some of these people had actually done the fire bombing, rather than some of our own students. There are radical groups around the country, and I don't think we have any representatives of it locally. But there obviously is a radical group which feels that we're on the verge of revolution, that they can provoke the establishment sufficiently, and that they can radicalize, especially, the university sufficiently that you have a chance for revolution. I don't think that this is at all realistic, but there are these kinds of people.

Consequently, there are people who are very happy if violence occurs, especially if it's going to be tied to their political objective. I think it's not at all out of the question that some of these people were the ones who threw the fire bomb. So, if that's the case, again, the fact that it did not produce more radical behavior on the campus, and that it did not do any real damage, we should be very grateful from that perspective. So in general, I mean, I can close with that. Obviously, it was bad. Nobody approves of people destroying property for political objectives, you know—most people don't. I don't. But, again, I thought we

were quite lucky in that nothing really serious happened to the extent of property damage—or the fact it did not extend the damage to people at all—and the fact that the reaction on the campus had been not to get things out of control at all.

In fact, the Tuesday bombing probably did cool things down on campus, because they had a meeting scheduled Tuesday. I guess it was students that called the meeting Tuesday night, at which Adamian and Maher were scheduled to speak, which I thought was a mistake. They should not be saying things at this stage. It was canceled, and I understand partly because the bombing was interpreted as a bombing by ROTC or pro-ROTC students. Again, we don't know, but this is the way it was interpreted. They felt that tempers were high enough over this that it was just simply was not wise to go on talking about the issues in this kind of meeting, and so they called it off. So, I think that meeting had the effect of tuning it down. But at any rate, again, I felt the university has really gotten off fairly well in this whole thing.

What category of participant—students, faculty, or outsiders—do you feel was most effective in fomenting the violence that erupted?

Well, I'd say I don't know. In the first place, I'm really sure from everything I know that there was no group— student, faculty, or otherwise— on this campus agitating or planning any kind of violence, either the kind that occurred or otherwise. I'm pretty sure that both bombings were the work of individuals, or two or three people, who got really excited and carried through these things they did. They were not connected to any movement of any sort on the campus, I'm still quite sure—I don't know, but that's my reaction. Whoever the individuals were, I don't think that they were acting for groups. It may turn out different, but I don't think so. I think it's quite possible the first bombing was done by somebody from off the campus. Again, we don't know, but it's the combination, the timing of the thing that suggests to me that it quite possibly was.

Just how important do you think the outsiders were, then? You kind of mentioned it.

Well, if an outsider did the bombing, that was quite important in terms of the community reaction on the campus. It was Thursday afternoon after the bombing that the discussion really took place in which these outsiders were not listened to, and there was a lot of people questioning their right to be there at all. No real attempt was made to remove them, and obviously, the general feeling was that they were there, and you ought to talk with them. But they didn't succeed at all in leading the affection of the campus in the direction of more extreme kinds of things, so that they didn't really have any significant impact.

What actions do you feel were most effective in preventing more violence, of cooling off the situation that developed from the bombings? I think you kind of answered this.

Well, there were several kinds. First, the students who are leaders of the student peace movement, as far as I know, are mostly locals. Some of them I know for sure, and I don't know if there are many of them. Most of the others I know have been here for some time, and I think this has some bearing on the question. They are not all state students or leaders, by and large.

But also, these people are very able people whose motivations, I'm sure, are primarily idealistic. They are not the kind who have reached the point that they feel revolution is desirable and is going to come, or at all. Some of them feel very strongly about some of these issues, but they don't have a really radical political orientation. I think this helped a great deal; that is, that there was no significant group on the campus at this time.

In addition, there were a number of faculty members who realized the danger, and I mentioned Jim Hulse said this on Tuesday. They did as much as they could to keep communication open. For example, I'm a member of the faculty senate, and on Thursday, I was called by Gary Peltier's office and told to go to this meeting in

the afternoon. And I was asked to go over if possible and try to keep communication going, and not let it get to the point where really serious kinds of things might occur. I didn't talk to Gary directly, but he was reporting on a meeting that President Miller had had with the deans Thursday morning, at which their conclusion had been faculty and staff ought to be participating in these kinds of meetings and ought to be trying to keep them constructive—not in any kind of repressive role, but trying to keep track of what is going on and keep them going in constructive directions. So, there was a deliberate attempt from Miller on down—through a number of faculty people anyway—to try to keep things from getting to an extreme point.

I think it is a very desirable kind of response from the administration and from the faculty. If you combine the fact that you've got this with the fact that you've got good student leadership who are interested genuinely in getting some communication going (and then in really doing something about the war), you get this kind of combination—and we had the results we had.

And I suspect also simply the size of the institution still had something to do with it. The student factions, the whole cowboy faction, didn't feel a complete gap between themselves and the peace people. Even though they got kind of mad at each other at various points, these two groups were able eventually to reach quite a bit of communication, and at least realize that they were all decent people who were agreed on *some* things, at least, even though they disagreed on some other things. I think partly this may be the size of the institution that permits this. With some larger institutions you probably have enormous gaps between sections of the student body, and they don't recognize each other as being in the same universe. And we don't think we quite have that yet. It may partly be size.

Well, that's kind of rambling, but I think there are several factors that have to be included, and for the record I think this might be important to include. The administration took what I thought was a positive attitude toward the whole thing.

Fortunately, no one in the administration took the point of view that all these things were bad and had to be suppressed. If they had, we'd have had some real violence, because the number of people involved and the depth of their concerns—they're too great to be turned off by orders from anybody. And nobody took that view, fortunately.

How do you think events on campus affect the university's so-called image with outsiders?

Well, in this state, obviously, they may have stirred up a great deal of hostility now. How much of this hostility was present already for various reasons and simply focused on these events, I'm not sure. With this sort of thing, you never really know, I guess. But at any rate, the response in the community, as far as I can perceive it, has been far more extreme than I expected—so extreme that it constitutes a really great danger to the university.

I think we're in a situation where the potentialities are far more serious than anything that's happened since the Stout affair of the 1950s. There's a potentiality for real damage. The university is in a very precarious situation because of the outside reaction. We've had not just people, but important political leaders, threatening to impose loyalty oaths on students and cut off funds for the university if anything happens, at any expression of dissent in any direction occurs, and all sorts of extreme things. You've had people defending the killing of students who were throwing rocks—and this sort of thing—out in the community. The reaction has been so strong that it's obviously quite unclear at this point just what's going to happen, but we're in a very dangerous situation, I think, because of that. Obviously, I think this is a quite irrational reaction in terms of what happened. I think the perception within the university, which is pretty widespread (and which is close to mine), is just simply not shared very widely in the community, apparently, and this is the problem. [laughter]

What function does the university have in trying to focus public opinion?

Well, I'm not particularly sure any more, in general.

We have this hostility on the one hand. Is there some way of focusing public opinion on other things in the university?

Well, I doubt if there's much we can do in that mind at this point, but I think the university should, and there have been a number of attempts to do this—libraries, people. I think the university should be attempting to try to get the community to see two things that would be quite important. One is that the . . . oh, how do I put this?

The university has its own procedures and standards, which are not solely determined locally, but on national standards of the profession. They're formulated partly in explicit terms and partly not. Insofar as they're formulated in explicit terms, they're usually in the statements by the AAUP, the most important of which are endorsed also by a number of other institutions that are representing various statements of higher education. Partly, we have to try to get over to the community that this particular community does not have the right to impose standards on the university which are at variance with those of the national organizations, and then the national profession. And that if it attempts to do so, it's going to destroy the university or seriously damage it.

This is the AAUP chapter who made that press release, which was in last night's [*Reno Evening*] *Gazette* and this morning's [*Nevada State*] *Journal*, pointing out some of these things, and that was in the letter where Frankie Sue Del Papa last week on TV made an appeal (I didn't see this, but heard about it), including in part this kind of orientation: asking people to let the university's internal procedures operate. I think we have to make more attempts to do that and to try to get across to the community that however deeply it feels about things, there are certain of the standards involved that are not up to them to decide.

Unfortunately, some of the comments that have been made by people in the community—I'm sure they don't come from a general political

ideology or perspective of this sort—but they essentially hold a totalitarian view of what the university is: the university is an instrument that the community uses to indoctrinate its young people in the dominant values. And it simply is not what the university is. I think we have to try to be allowed to communicate this sort of thing to a community which apparently doesn't have much comprehension of this.

Our particular problem at the moment is that the regents are acting like the outside community primarily, and not like part of the university. A big problem was communication over the weekend, since the latest thing this weekend was Procter Hug. Without taking into consideration what President Miller or anybody else within the university system said, except apparently Chancellor Humphrey, Procter Hug came up with a list of rules that everybody was going to have to observe on pain of expulsion, and he intends to ask the regents to adopt these at this June meeting.

This would be very bad in terms of relationships within the university. Nobody would approve of this, and there are people already talking about trying to go to court and get real blockage of this, which I doubt is possible. This sort of reaction is occurring at a university. We're in serious trouble if the regents can't be made to see that the institution's rules can't be ignored, and procedures for involving and making decisions with faculty and students can't be ignored as well, even by the regents. The other thing is, of course, the problem of the Adamian and Maher case. Do you want me to talk about that specifically later?

There's a question about academic freedom next, whether you feel that academic freedom is involved in participation in demonstrations.

Well, obviously, potentially the Adamian-Maher case is one of the things that makes it very serious. I don't know why these particular people were picked out and identified publicly—attacked publicly—during that week. I don't know that they even played any particularly important role in the whole thing, and I'm not even sure what

role they played. But, at any rate, they were singled out with many other charges, with demands on the university that they be fired. The regents on Saturday, I guess (yes, end of that week), singled them out by name in a public meeting and then in a private meeting about dismissal charges against them. Now, the regents, at least, did not just try to fire them on the spot and did refer the matter back to the university for appropriate internal handling.

There are two dangers with this, I think. One is that if the regents really intend to fire these people, regardless of what goes on within the university, we will certainly end up on the AAUP censored list. I'm quite sure of this, because the AAUP's rules governing these matters make it quite clear that in a dismissal proceeding what counts is a total performance of the person and not isolated events. And then, the charges made are by regard to those isolated events.

The other danger is that our procedures for dealing with this are not precisely those established by the profession. This is partly because the AAUP national statements on this were adopted just after the particular rules that we follow were adopted. At any rate, the president made a mistake, I think, in not checking with the AAUP in the regional office or the national office about procedures before he responded to the regents. The regents, in effect, told him he had to bring dismissal proceedings, so he had no choice. But he did have a choice in how he went about it, and he didn't check. It might not just be the regents that get into some problem, even though I'm quite sure Miller intends to follow all the proper procedures and certainly is in terms of ones he's using.

The outside pressures on the regents to fire people for actions are essentially because of the political context of the actions and not really the actions themselves. I don't know exactly what role they played in the events of Governor's Day, or what Maher said to his class, but it's quite clear that they didn't do anything, in whatever role they played, that would be regarded as seriously as it is, except for its connection with the peace movement.

Mackay Day has calmed down in several years. We still have students being thrown in the lake, which is closer to violence than anything that occurred on Governor's Day. Then we had one so-called hippie priest here about two years ago, Charlie Brown, and there were violent threats against him, that he had to be gotten off the campus. This didn't produce any response in the community of this sort. And we had lots of other things.

Well, during the same week, for example, there was the same kind of heckling of the peace meeting, because they saw what had occurred at the Governor's Day ceremony, but this didn't bother anybody at all.

On Thursday night when there was a candle-light vigil, while there was supposed to be silence, there were several rude students up on the walk. I did attend that one, and I was there. There on the walk behind me these two were talking loudly and laughing and obviously trying to be rude, in the same way that the peace students had been at Governor's Day. Now, I assume they were doing the same thing, but maybe it was something else.

On Friday at the Kent State memorial there was a radio turned up very high with some squawking during the ceremonies, and I'm sure that this was heckling of some sort. It could be that it was just accidental—a police radio, which for some reason had to be on and very loud. But I don't know any good reason why it was. I don't know what it was, but I assume it was some honest heckling.

Well, obviously, these kinds of things aren't even in the category with the things these people were threatened with—and are now losing their jobs over—but they don't bother people because they're from a different political orientation. That is one of the reasons why academic freedom is in danger in this kind of situation, because it is not just the conduct; it is the fact that the conduct is oriented in a way that is opposed by the dominant forces in this community. But it's really the philosophy. All the unhappiness has been in similar things, which have no political connotation, or have an opposite political connotation, and

don't produce this response in the community. And I assume that most people who respond in this way are not too naïve to see it, if this is the case, but I'm sure it is. I'm sure that nationally the academic profession is not going to be impressed by the local myopia in this matter at all.

So we run the danger, I think, quite clear danger of losing our standing in the profession, if these people are fired under any procedures. Well, I think the regents are going to let the procedures in the university be carried out in this particular case—then what they do when these operate, I don't know.

There's also another possibility. And there are some hints that possibly Adamian and Maher may not ask for a hearing, which I can't understand why they wouldn't, but they haven't yet. There's some reason I assume that maybe they're not going to, which would result in their automatic dismissal, and I don't know what would happen from that point on. It's possible that everything would be very different, because they may be following some strategy that does not involve using these processes. But, assuming that they do appeal the dismissal charges, and that the university procedure is gone through, I think we're in those dangers, unless the regents will ignore whatever is done in the university.

How do you think the students and faculty can be effective politically, or should they attempt to influence governmental policy?

Now, well, this gets back to this larger question I mentioned earlier. First of all, the university is deeply involved in public-policy making and in decision making, and it affects the whole community—whether it's the government or not—and it has been for a long time. Obviously, for example, ROTC is not for a normal academic purpose, but for carrying out a governmental purpose. And obviously the whole agricultural school, the extension; obviously the business school, which is partly or largely oriented toward serving business; obviously the mining school does this, and all sorts of particular sections of

the university—research and service—are in keeping and in serving interests, viewpoints, and values in the community already.

So, it's possible to take the point of view that the university could be solely concerned with ideas and not with the implementation of these ideas at all, but if so, that would call for a radical restructuring of the university—any university, I think—but it's certainly in a land grant university and state university. And I don't take that point of view. I can see that the university ought to be involved with attempting to improve things in the community. The critical point is whether this is done under subordination to the community, in which the community is simply an instrument of other groups in the community or the dominant forces, whatever they may be in the moment—or whether this is done according to the standards of the university. I think, obviously, it's the latter case, because if you don't have anything that'll be called a free university any more, you have a totalitarian institution.

If it's not incompatible with any of its other activities to do it any other way, the university must be free to determine its own values, standards, and what kinds of impacts it wants to have on the community. Now, the first danger of that, of course, is that if it goes too far, the teaching function of the university, the research functions, or fundamental function of serving truth may get shunted aside. The impact on the university becomes a situation where faculty aren't out there to teach classes, because they're all consulting and winning things in the community. We have very little of that around here that I can see, but that is obviously one danger. Closing down the university for whatever political goal, of course, is, I think, undesirable.

You also run the danger that universities value the standards that are for most of the people within the institution. Obviously, the institution itself should not attempt to impose any single standard, and doesn't. But the predominant standard of any university may be so strongly at variance with a community, that actually you produce negative results. That may be where we are—a long way

around, but that may be where we are with regard to peace and Nevada today.

I mean, I don't know what the predominant sentiment in the university is, but certainly in a large segment of the student body, the leaders of the student body, the most active student groups, and in a considerable segment of the faculty (I don't whether it is the largest segment or not, but they're also concerned about these things) you have a group of people who would like to have an impact on the community in the direction of ending the war. The problem may be that this is sufficiently unpopular in the community. They are simply producers; they uphold the authority for the university and don't accomplish anything towards achieving the objective.

Now, I think in this connection about the only thing you can do is to, well, first decide how important the issue is—and that's where the problem comes up, of course. If people have the feeling that the war is going to destroy everything somehow, including the universities, then it's more important than the day-to-day activities in the university, if you welcome people. So you have to make some kind of judgment yourself about how important any particular issue, speech, or otherwise in the community is in relationship to your other things. But, in addition it seems to me that about all you can do in this kind of situation is try to act as responsibly and intelligently as possible to try to convince people of your point of view.

I even noticed that nationally this has occurred with some of the students who, for whatever reason (and I haven't been able to figure this out entirely), have specialized in long hair and beards and so forth and all that, in terms of dress in the last few years. Many of these people have started getting haircuts and dressing in orthodox fashion in order to increase their possibility of really communicating to people about the things that are really important to them, and I think this is all very good.

If it's carried to the point that people don't feel they can do anything that they want if it's not conforming, that's bad. In this particular situ-

ation, it seems to me, obviously, if you want to be effective, one way not to do it is approach people on the basis of antagonism, just because you can be who you are.

I've personally followed this theory for years. I almost always wear suits. I usually wear suits and ties, and I've worn my hair in a crew cut for many years, mainly because it's inconspicuous and nobody's going to get . . . well, probably because it's easier. If you wear a uniform, you don't have to think about what you put on, and you don't have to comb hair this way. I do this largely because nobody ever gets upset at me because of the way I look, and, consequently, they will listen to what I have to say far more easily than if I looked eccentric. Of course, now around the university I look a little eccentric with short hair, [laughter] but outside in the community I still am inconspicuous. Actually, I think in general, that anybody who wants to try to influence what is going on for good and significant reasons ought to be sensible enough to conduct himself in such a way that he has a maximum chance of having that kind of impact. I think, in general, that that applies to this situation.

Now, whether in this particular community the peace movement, no matter how it behaves, is going to have much impact, I don't know. Activity may stir up more hostility for the university. If it does, then people have to balance these kinds of things off and decide how important the various things are to them.

So, that led into the next question, which is, where is the peace movement headed here?

Well, I assume, from what I know, that it's doing some of the things that it's doing nationally—that is, concentrating on practical politics, and really having an impact on the elections. A problem with that is that the only . . . well, now there are two possibilities for people. One is a peace orientation to be really effective in elections and not very much of a possibility, and that is supporting an opponent to Walter Baring in the Democratic Primary. [laughter] There is no pos-

sibility of electing a Republican to Congress, at all. And I don't think there's any possibility of nominating anybody else in the Democratic Primary. But there is another candidate this year, and he's obviously much more in tune with the peace people than anybody else. So, some students are, in fact, supporting Otto Ravenholt.¹

Then, there's a more serious thing, and that is Senator Cannon. Although he was a hawk for many years, he has become much more dovish and has indicated he will vote for the Cambodian resolution in the Senate, for example. He is running for re-election against someone who I think is a formidable opponent. I think the peace movement evidently is going to support him and should—because there's a practical thing they can do in keeping somebody in the Senate who is much more attuned to their point of view than Mr. Raggio. Again, the problem is that it would have to be done carefully, or Cannon would probably be hurt by being identified as being supported by hippies. [laughter]

While I'm thinking that this sort of practical activity is going on in Nevada, there's really only one race where it could be important. I don't think that there's any real prospect in changing anything in this town. I think the Senate race is competitive this year and could have some impact, and I think the students are working in that direction.

Do you have any other comments you'd like to make?

There is another element that maybe I could say about this. The problems arising out of this particular incident may have another potential for really serious effects on the university. And I don't know anything directly about this—I'm just speculating. They could lead to the resignation of President Miller if things get bad enough. If Miller feels that his admonitions or his viewpoints about how to deal with these things are being totally ignored by the regents and the whole thing, and the regents are doing things wrong, he could well decide that there are a lot more desirable

things for him to be doing personally. That would be a catastrophe if that happened. I've not talked with him, and I've not heard anything clear that would indicate that is an immediate danger, but I think it's a general danger in the situation.

Well, also, one of the things that we have to try to communicate to the community (and, unfortunately, the regents are included in this, too, I think) is the intelligent response to situations of tension and conflict and frustration. I'm afraid that a good bit of the community thinks that if there is student unrest that does occasionally lead to attempted bombing and disruption—no matter how serious the events—that the appropriate response to this is just simply to get tough. And I think this is a catastrophically wrong interpretation of the situation.

I think that on Governor's Day if the president, or anyone else, had attempted to arrest the people involved, we'd have had real violence and something much worse than happened before. I think what you've got here is a situation where a lot of people are very upset and have to have some way of expressing it. If you're lucky, you can get them to express it in positive ways, but you can't keep them from expressing it. All you can do is change the way in which they express it from a positive to a negative form. In addition, the community's viewpoint simply creates frustration and unrest simply by the fact that it's a community viewpoint.

Relationships the regents may have may put them in a category similar to that of an employer, but the university, or students or faculty alike, are not employees of anybody, and they are not inmates of any kind. If they are faced with a repressive attitude from the outside or from the regents, the reaction is going to be a lot of hostility based simply on the way that they have been treated. And I should think by now that it would have occurred to most people that this viewpoint that seems to prevail in the university—apparently President Miller's viewpoint—is correct, because it should have occurred to people.

For example, in California, Governor Reagan campaigned on the "get tough" policy regarding

universities four years ago, and things have gotten worse—and they have real violence now. They do have people killed on campuses in California, and they do have buildings burned down and battles between the police and students. So it's much worse than it ever was prior to 1966. Obviously, basically what has happened is the war has continued and gotten to be a more serious issue, but also the repressive atmosphere of Reagan has stirred things up. When he makes comments like, "We're going to have a blood bath—let's get it over with," he just increases the chances of a blood bath beyond any question, I think.²

I think the university has somehow to try to get across to community leaders that this is the case: in the situation which might be some potential for more disorder, the worst thing you can possibly do is to start cracking down as hard as you can, and start issuing admonitions against any form of dissent or any form of disruption. This is going to increase the danger that this sort of thing will occur. I think this is another place where within the university there is a considerable agreement on this. I think among the people who are influential there is general agreement on this, probably, but outside I think there's almost no comprehension in this community of this point of view.

I think that's one of the real dangers in the situation, and I can give you my judgment: I think Miller has behaved very well in the situation, and that many of the things he's done have reduced the magnitude of what has occurred to prevent anything serious occurring. But I don't think that's perceived that way out in the outside community. I mean, many people were thinking of him as not behaving in any strong way, which is just a total misreading. If the community then insists on imposing its conception of how to deal with these things on people who know better, we're in for real trouble, too. Anybody who tried to prevent all peace demonstrations on campus, for example, would be getting violence automatically, I'm sure.

I think that's a problem the university has. And I don't know just how you communicate with

the outside community with this sort of thing, but I think it has to be done somehow. I suppose the young people in the university have to start pointing this out, too.

Notes

1. In the September 1, 1970 Democratic primary election for Representative in Congress, Otto Ravenholt lost to Walter S. Baring, who won by over twice the number of votes. Baring went on to defeat Republican J. Robert Charles in the November 3, 1970 general election.

2. As noted in an earlier interview, Reagan said, "If it takes a bloodbath, let's get it over with. No more appeasement." His comment occurred during the question and answer session following a speech then Governor Reagan gave in Yosemite, California, on April 8, 1970.

ALAN S. RYALL

May 27, 1970

Alan S. Ryall, Reno. Position is professor of geophysics.

Why do you think you were chosen to be interviewed?

[laughter] I imagine because Ken Carpenter gave you my name.

I don't think he did, as a matter of fact. [laughter]

Didn't he? Well, Ken and I were together during the peace march. Or perhaps you'd have a list of names of people who took part in that.

No, there's just a list of names that have come from various sources. What was your reaction to President Nixon's Cambodia decision?

Well, I've been opposed to the Indochina adventure for a long time, and so I was opposed to that. When he went into Cambodia, I had the impression that perhaps he was convinced that some action could be carried out in a matter of a few days, which would prevent the North Viet-

namese from resupplying troops in Vietnam and give the president an excuse to withdraw completely from Vietnam. That hasn't turned out to be the case.

In what way do you think the Cambodia decision was related to what happened next on our campus?

I think that's difficult to say. I didn't follow the buildup of activities on this campus, and I'm not sure about the sequence, the chronological sequence of events. I think the Kent State killings had had a great deal to do with the emotion that had been generated here. But I'm not sure whether plans were formulated for the Governor's Day demonstration before or after Kent State. Kent State, I think, was Monday, wasn't it, and Governor's Day was Tuesday?

Yes, Monday.

Certainly, the Kent State situation contributed to the emotion-packed atmosphere.

Well, this leads us to the next question. What was your reaction to events in other parts of the country, stemming from the Cambodia decision?



Alan Ryall, 1965.

Well, again, in general, I've been opposed to Vietnam. So I was in sympathy with the reaction that was taking place across the country, and I hoped that this would lead the president to perhaps recognize that there was a significant amount of dissention in the country about the administration policy.

As far as the Kent State students being killed, I think this is something that has happened before in American history, in the union movement. It was a case of overreaction. It was probably inevitable, given the number of demonstrations that were taking place and, you know, demonstrations taking place in new places. It's something that could possibly happen here, I think, if a situation ever got out of hand. I wasn't surprised that finally something violent happened of that nature in a place where police and National Guard are not really used to engaging in riot control activities.

Now, regarding the Governor's Day activities here on campus, what did you think of the arrangements for the observances?

I wasn't aware of the arrangements. I was aware that there was going to be a demonstration and of the time that the demonstration was supposed to take place. You're talking about the demonstration, not about the . . .

No. The observances, the Governor's Day..

Oh, the Governor's Day? I think on hindsight I would agree that perhaps it was inappropriate to have a formal military observance with classes dismissed at that particular time. I think that probably Governor's Day should have been called off at the last minute or postponed or held somewhere else.

Then what was your reaction to the demonstrations?

Well, by that time I was suspicious that the Cambodian misadventure was not going to pay off. So I was in favor of the demonstration, of any demonstration at that point, and took part in part of that demonstration.

So you did feel it was necessary to participate in some kind of . . . ?

I thought it was timely.

What do you think was the most effective part of the demonstration, first, and then of the ceremony?

That's very difficult to say, and this is something that we've all been discussing for weeks. I'm sure the more conservative people on campus and the conservative liberals (if you want to call them that), objected to the sort of violent activities that took place in the grandstand and disruption of an official ceremony. Given the state of affairs in Nevada—that is, the attitude of the

average voter and so on—one wonders if a peaceful demonstration has any effect at all here. Certainly it doesn't have any effect as far as getting national recognition or the other things that seem to affect the stock market and the administration.

I didn't stay around long enough to actually witness what went on in the grandstand. I dropped out of the march after the first time around the track and then left. I stayed long enough to see demonstrators go into the grandstands and sort of stamp their feet and shout around for a while, but I didn't see the whole series of activities.

But it's very difficult to make a judgment about what's proper and improper at a time when I think the national government is not particularly responsive to a large segment of the population. This brings up the whole question of whether a people is entitled to go beyond the bounds of socially acceptable, even legally acceptable means to make themselves heard at a time of national emergency, or when a government is not responsive.

What do you think should have been the reaction of the ROTC, the demonstrators, and the university administration to what developed on Governor's Day?

The safe thing for the administration to have done would have been to first call off Governor's Day, and second, not to allow the demonstration to go into the stadium. Once it had gone that far, though, it was a kind of an explosive situation, and I think we're fortunate that it only got as bad as it did. It could have been worse. There were a couple of times when the atmosphere was very tense, and one could see that something, you know, bad could happen just in a moment. One thing I witnessed outside the student union, when a student jumped up on a car and was dragged off by a military officer. As far as the nonparticipation of the university police and what was apparently good discipline on the part of the ROTC, I think the situation was handled well by non-demonstrators. I'm not sure about the contribution or non-contribution of demonstrations like that.

What was your reaction to the violence that followed Governor's Day: the firing of Hartman Hall and the Hobbit Hole?

Well, there was a good deal of overreaction on the part of individuals. I think immediately after Governor's Day, with the discussions and threats and things that were going around campus, there's a tendency on the part of almost everybody to cool it and tone down the demonstrations—to try to convert what was on the verge of becoming violence to a kind of a "talk-a-thon" that went on for several days. But apparently there were some individuals (perhaps people from off-campus, I don't know) who felt that matters had to be taken into their own hands.

Again, given the situation that arose here, I think this is the kind of thing that can happen. If anything, it was probably an object lesson to all of the students on campus as to what can happen when a situation like this takes place. It shouldn't have happened, but I'm not particularly disturbed, since nobody was killed and damage was rather minor. I think we came through the whole business with a minimum of damage to the university. And there are people downtown who would not agree with that.

Now, what category of participant—people in categories of student, faculty, and outsider—do you feel was most effective in fomenting the violence that erupted?

Well, again, this is something that's been discussed for a long time, and there have been a couple of individuals named as leading this whole business. And, well, I suppose we can name names here. Paul Adamian is the faculty member who was given credit for a lot of it, and certainly he stood out as a person who was participating in the demonstration in a very energetic fashion. But I think perhaps if Paul Adamian had not been here, and if Maher had not been here, that somebody else might have taken that role, and the demonstration might have gone on.

It was a situation where people who really were opposed to the war were confronting the

group observing Governor's Day, a military observance by those who were on the other side, and this created a situation which sort of fomented itself. I think what happened probably would have happened, more or less, no matter who had been there. There were some sort of cheerleaders whipping up the crowd. But if they hadn't been there

I don't think it was instigated from outside. It wasn't planned from outside. I think the people who took part in it were sincerely opposed to the war, and it just became a situation that got out of hand.

What actions do you feel were most effective in preventing more violence or in cooling off the situation that had developed?

I think it was a self-limiting process. I think once it reached an explosive point and people realized what could happen, it began to cool itself off. But I think after Governor's Day, participants in the peace demonstration and those opposed to them, for the most part, were trying to keep the situation in hand. Perhaps one might also characterize that demonstration as a thing that wasn't very well planned. It's something that came up on the spur of the moment. The people that I've talked to who participated in it don't seem to feel that there was much communication between the demonstrators and the administration, or between the planners of the demonstration themselves, so that it was kind of a happening.

The afternoon after Governor's Day a number of people got together and began planning for the two or three demonstrations that occurred on the following days. And there was a definite attempt then to keep these demonstrations at a very somber sort of cool level, to have them outdoors with plenty of room and so on, so if the situation intensified at all, it would be intensifying from a rather low level and wouldn't reach the sort of critical mass that the Governor's Day demonstration appeared to.

So I think these were people who had not been participating in anti-government demonstrations for the last year or so, since the time that Nixon announced that he was going to begin withdrawing from Vietnam. But with the Cambodian situation, I think more people came back into this protest movement, and these are the people who began to take over the planning and toned it all down.

How do you think events on campus affect the university's so-called image with outsiders?

Well, our image with the average worker or voter in Nevada is poor at the present time, and I think one could say that about a number of universities around the country. But at the same time, protest in the universities has created a chaotic situation, which I believe has finally had its effect in areas like the stock market and has finally forced the administration to begin to listen to, I think, a rather significant group of people in the country. And given that, well, our image is suffering at the present time and that of other universities is also suffering. Still, when it's all done with, if this contributes to a redirection of national goals in new areas that are more appropriate at the present time, then one has to consider all these effects, I think.

Well, what function should the university have in trying to focus public opinion?

Well, obviously, I'm on the side of groups like this, trying to make their dissent felt in areas where this can do the most good for whatever cause. In this case, perhaps events in Nevada have received recognition in areas outside Reno. Public opinion has been focused on the university in a negative way. The result of all of this activity here has been negative in the sense that it's contributed to a chaotic situation in the country. But, again, I think perhaps the end result may be beneficial.

Do you feel that issues of academic freedom are involved in participating in demonstrations?

I feel that anyone in the country should have the right to peaceably assemble in dissent. When a demonstration is improperly planned—or planned such that it gets out of control, people are hurt, or property is damaged—and individuals are named as having fomented this trouble, the leaders of those demonstrations have to expect to be treated as anyone is treated who breaks the rules a society has set up. So as far as academic freedom goes, I don't believe that professors and students should be completely free to demonstrate and burn down buildings on university campuses and that sort of thing. I think there should be strict rules regarding any kind of protest anywhere—which isn't to say that I think everybody should follow those rules exactly. [laughter] But one has to take the consequences.

How can students and faculty be effective politically? Do you think they should attempt to influence governmental policy?

Yes. I think what has happened in recent weeks has affected governmental thinking, at least. And in general I believe students and faculty should participate in the political process. We appear to be sort of reaching the end, perhaps, of the violent days of college politics now. Students from universities and colleges around the country are cutting their hair and preparing to go out and ring more bells and try to influence the upcoming vote in a legitimate way, and I think this is a good thing. I think the discussions which took place on this campus as a result of the Governor's Day demonstration were invaluable, actually. People began exchanging views here who would not have thought of exchanging views prior to that. Sometimes it takes a crisis to develop a meaningful dialog.

Where do you think the peace movement in this area is headed now?

I've been trying to find out. [laughter] The people I know are waiting for the semester to be over—and probably to begin planning for the elections and to get back into the legitimate process of the precincts and all the other things you do.

Do you have any other comments you'd like to make about the whole situation?

No, not unless there's something you can think of.

JOSEPH SELLERS

June 19, 1970

OK, now for the record if you'll say your name and your residence and your class and major.

I'm Joe Sellers. I'm a graduate student. My residence, where I'm from?

Yes, yes. Hometown.

I'm from Bakersfield, California.

Why do you think you were chosen to be interviewed for this?

I suppose because I was the president of Sundowners.

What was your reaction to President Nixon's decision to go into Cambodia with troops?

Well, I'm completely behind the president, if it will help our cause in the war, to go into Cambodia—it seems to be where a lot of supply routes are, in Cambodia. And I feel that it was justified to go into Cambodia if it would help our

cause and end the war, because I don't see why they should just completely stay out of a place where the supplies are coming from. Why just let them come right into Laos and Vietnam untouched? They should try to win the war and in the best way they know how, and I think that by doing this, it was justified.

In what way do you think the Cambodian decision was related to what happened next on our campus?

Well, I feel that it was just another excuse to cause dissension on the campus. I think that the Kent State thing is similar. It's just another excuse for them to stir up trouble on this campus.

What was your reaction to events in other parts of the country related to the Cambodian decision?

Could you repeat that? [laughter]

How did you feel about events in other parts of this country that were related to the Cambodia decision—the other demonstrations, the Kent State affair, and things like that?

Well, I mean, I'm completely against this type of thing. I don't think they should allow it on the campuses. I think that the administration doesn't have any backbone to allow this type of thing to go on. And I think that the schools are supposed to be a learning situation, and these type of disruptions—they've been closing down campuses all over the country.

If they close down this campus due to this type of violence . . . I know that if classes were cut off and it interfered . . . if you worked all semester toward earning a degree or four years, I mean—I don't go for it at all. I don't think it would happen here, because we wouldn't let it happen. I think they should do something about it, the National Guard or whatever, and do whatever it takes to make these people listen.

Turning now to the Governor's Day activities: what did you think of the arrangements for observing the Governor's Day ceremony—the arrangements made for the ceremonial observance of Governor's Day?

You mean the official Governor's Day? Well, they've been doing the same thing for as long as I've been here. I mean, they bring the governor in, they recognize the ROTC people, and so on and so forth. It seemed in order to me as far as that goes, but there were other problems, too. [laughter]

What did you think of the demonstration? What was your reaction to the demonstration?

I just wish I'd have been there. I wasn't here; I was umpiring a university baseball game that day, [laughter] and I just wish there had been a few more people around such as the Sundowners and the aggie people over there, because I don't think it . . . well, there might have been some violence, but I don't think they would have disgraced the governor and the president of the university and gotten away with it as they did. They walked right through the Governor's Day ceremony at

Mackay Stadium, and they catcalled everybody. And I think that if we'd have been around, they'd have thought about it twice.

But you didn't feel it was necessary then to participate in either the observance of Governor's Day or the demonstration?

They didn't have anything to do with Governor's Day. I mean, their demonstration, I thought, was a disgrace to the governor, General Edsall, and the university, in what they did. I thought it was pretty poor taste, really, and the fact that is really bad is that they got away with it.

They also got away with running the leaflets off over in the ASUN president's office and distributing leaflets saying that Governor's Day was canceled, and there was nothing done about it. I think that the administration . . . I know if I would have been involved in something like that, I think that there wouldn't have been any doubt that they would have kicked me out of school. [laughter] But, I mean, these other people, they get away with it, and I don't see why they should be any different just because they're long-hairs and whatever-have-you. Just because everybody else is getting away with it throughout the country, they want to let them get away with it here, and I don't feel they should.

If the Sundowners did something like that . . . in fact, they already did. [laughter] They're more worried about twenty-five Sundowners than they are of three hundred or four hundred or five hundred or whatever-have-you of the so-called demonstrators or liberal segment or whatever you call it. It's kind of disheartening to us. I mean, I don't have any respect for the people that run this school at all because of their justification of that. Some of the things the student judicial council has let people get away with . . . then they found us guilty before we even went in there, and I don't see how they can justify letting these things go on. I just can't see it.

Well, what did you think was the most effective part of the Governor's Day ceremony and of the demonstration?

The most *effective* part? Well, see, I wasn't there. I mean, I wasn't there, but as far as I know You mean, as far as . . . ?

Either positive or negative.

Well, again, I'd say the fact that they did this and that the administration let them get away with it; I'd say that. I mean, it just shows that they don't have any intestinal fortitude over here, and that they're afraid of these people. And there's no reason to be afraid of them, because all they got to do is boot a few of them out of school and knock on a few heads, and they wouldn't have these types of problems around here.

What do you think should have been the reaction of the various factions involved up at the stadium that day—the ROTC, the demonstrators, the university administration?

Well, first of all, they let them march right through. They should have just closed the gates off and had some of the university police, because they should have known to expect this type of trouble. They should have known that it was going to come off, especially after they sent out these leaflets canceling it. They should have known better, but yet, they just let them walk right through. I mean, I think if I was the governor, I would raise some questions to President Miller and the people on down the line if they let this go on. If they had to bring twenty National Guard troops and line them right up there in front of Mackay Stadium at the gate, that's what they should have done, but they're more worried about their trouble over here. There's not going to really be any trouble, because I don't think that this group that we have here on this campus . . . they're not allowed because they're afraid. If they thought they could get away with a great disruption or violence, I think they would do it. But I think

that they're afraid, and I think they have good reason to be afraid.

What about the other factions? What should the ROTC have done out there at the stadium that day?

Well, I mean, it was an organized ceremony. I mean, I don't think that would have been a good idea for them just to cut loose on those people, really. I mean, it wouldn't have shown very much class, really. I mean, they didn't show any class by walking in there, but their hands were more or less tied. I know most of the guys that are in the ROTC, and well, their hands were tied. And I know deep down inside probably most of them wanted to go right up in the middle of the harassment, [laughter] but they're military people. I mean, if somebody would have given them the command to go do it, they would have. But nobody did, and they just had to sit there, you know. That's all. They were more or less following orders, I think.

What was your reaction to the violence that followed Governor's Day—the fire bombing?

Well, I hate to see that type of thing. I'm glad nobody got hurt, but again, there was no justice there either, whoever did it. I know that they have names of three or four people that were suspects; yet, evidently, they couldn't prove anything. And I don't like to see that type of thing go on—it's too bad.

What category of participant in these various affairs—the students, the faculty, or outsiders—do you think was most important in stirring up violence on the campus?

Oh, I'd say definitely the student leaders. How should I refer to them? I mean, I hate to call them long-hairs if they're something else.

OK, call them that. [laughter] That's fine—use your own terminology.

[laughter] All right, the long-hairs. OK, fine, the leaders of the long-hairs are definitely the ones that are organizing everything. And, of course, there are faculty members involved, a couple of professors that were mentioned that they're investigating now. I mean, they're the ones that, I would say, stirred up the trouble. When they had that Kent State moratorium or whatever they want to call it, it seems like there were a lot of outsiders on this campus—and this campus isn't that big. When you go to school here for three years, four years, you generally know most of the people. You're going to miss some, you know, but I mean, you'll see them around. And there were a lot of people that I've never seen before that were up here that day, as far as that Kent State thing went. But as far as the Governor's Day deal, like I said, I wasn't here. From what I've gathered, that's the only thing I can go on.

Do you think the outsiders were important?

I would say yes, because I think if they came, say, from Berkeley, they have probably more violence or a different attitude. I mean, they know what they can get away with at Berkeley, but they don't know what they can get away with here. And they probably had a great deal of influence on this group here. I mean, they know what they've done there that they probably see no reason why they can't do it here.

What kinds of actions do you think were most effective in cooling off the situation that developed after the fire bombing?

Finals and school's getting out, really. [laughter] Well, evidently they had a patrol around, but I'm sure if they wanted to do something . . . I think that a lot of people—maybe the ones that did it—probably didn't want to see it get out of hand, especially after they bombed the ROTC building. Then someone came back and threw a fire bomb in this Hobbit Hole or whatever it is over here. And I think when they got a taste of their own medicine, it probably made them think twice.

I mean, no telling who did it. I mean, they might have done it themselves—you don't know—just to stir something up, but that's one possibility. Another, I think, they probably realize that with the people around here and the students that aren't part of their group (the aggies, the Sundowners, and so on and so forth), it could result in violence. I mean, you meet violence with violence. I think they realize that, because in other areas a lot of people just sit back and let them do what they want. There's nobody to combat the situation. And here on this campus we have groups that will stand up against this type of thing now. I think they realize this.

How do you think events on campus affect the university's image with outsiders?

Oh, I think the community has a great pride here. Well, they have the one in Las Vegas, but I mean, this is their university. And I think the people in the community, they don't want to see this type of thing go on on campus. I know, myself, people come up to me and say, "Well, why do you let them get away with that?" They expect us to just take care of it. But then we run into problems, because the administration doesn't favor the Sundowners as a group at all, as you know. Yet we're the ones that the people turn to and say, "Well, why do you let them do that?"

One minute you're the bad guy, and next minute think you're the good guy, you know. The image of the university—it's this type of thing, like San Francisco State. People around here aren't used to this type of thing like maybe they have been down there for a long time. But people around here are a little more conservative, as the general community is, and they don't want to see this type thing going on at their university. I don't blame them. I don't either. I'm completely for them.

Well, what function should the university have in focusing public opinion?

Well, I don't really understand your question. How can the university justify this?

Well, how can the university tell its story if the people outside are unhappy with this situation? How can they focus public opinion on the other things that are going on up here or keep the image straight?

Well, through the news media, I guess, and they have their alumni letter—that type of thing. I mean, whatever the paper gets a hold of. But the paper is going to generally butcher anything, you know, as they do. I don't know.

They have like this N. Edd Miller Day, you know. Everybody is for N. Edd Miller. I think that was kind of a phony thing, really. So, I think he tries to keep everyone happy, and he's afraid to step on anybody, which he should. You got to have some guts. I think he should have stepped on somebody for what happened around here. But they had this N. Edd Miller Day stuff, and everything was la-la. Then, they had these demonstrations that the paper gets a hold of. I mean, they make a big deal out of it, television does. I mean, one little thing happens, and they make a big deal out of it.

Maybe they need some type of a public relations person for the university. Of course, they have that on there, too. They do probably have somebody, but it doesn't seem like they really do to the public. Like say, for instance, I'll bring up the Sundowners. We do something. We give a scholarship, give blood, or something like that, you know. You can call them up and tell them, "Hey, we did this," and they're not going to put it on, you know. It's something like that. It's just *our* image is terrible because well, we probably do some things that deserve it. But still, I mean, we're not all bad. I mean, but still we never get any credit for anything. Maybe we need a P.R. man.

Do you feel that issues of academic freedom are involved in participating in the demonstration?

Well, you mean that if they do participate in a demonstration, and their academic freedom, that they should be thrown out?

No. Is participating in a demonstration part of your exercise of academic freedom?

Well, I guess it's supposed to be according to . . . they do it. I mean, I don't think they should get away with it. I think that if they want to demonstrate, why don't they go downtown or out in the hills somewhere? I mean, that's the way I feel about it. I mean, everybody says, you know, they have their right to do this, and to a certain degree, I suppose they do, but I don't like to see it at all, myself.

I think there's other ways, but they get the attention they want, and it's on television and everything. But I don't really feel it's right, and they ought to go downtown or something and see what happens if they go downtown.

How can students and faculty be effective politically, or should they be trying to influence governmental policies?

No, they get the right to vote. The thing is, they should have a voice, but they want to completely take over and dominate everything. They want to make it the way they want it; they want everything their way. That isn't the way it should operate. I mean, they're paying the administrators money to do a job, and if the students could do it better, why don't they just hire the students? I don't know. I've always gone with "you do as you're told, and you're here to learn," and I think that's the way it should be.

I think that times are changing, I suppose, and they want more voice, but I think it's getting out of hand. It's like this school paper. You know, they do what they want. And then the board of regents was trying to crack down on the school paper. Well, they just say, "Well, you can't do that." I think with some of the garbage that they put in that school paper, I don't see how they let them get away with it. I mean, they sit there and call the administrators every name in the book and so on and so forth. It's just that the paper is controlled by the long-hairs. And with everything you see in there—you'd think that the whole uni-

versity is all long-hairs to read that *Sagebrush*. The people like the board of regents are perturbed about this, but I don't really know exactly what the setup is as far as the governing of the paper goes. They seem to do what they want and get away with it. I don't think that the paper stands for what the university stands for. I think that a newspaper like that should be representative of the school, and I don't think the school is a long-hair school. (What was the question again? I got side-tracked.)

It was about political effectiveness, but I think you've answered it very well.

Well, that's one phase there, yes.

Where do you think the peace movement in this area is headed now?

Well, it gets worse every. [laughter] It's growing. Well, I suppose it'll stop when everybody has grown out long hair, or something—I don't know. I mean, when I came up here three years ago, there was maybe one or two hair hats, and now I don't know how many there are, but it seems to be growing more and more. And no matter what the president does, they're against him. I just wonder if all of a sudden there's peace in Vietnam, if this is going to stop this whole movement. It won't. They'll find something else. It's more a form of rebellion than anything—going with the peace movement. I mean, I did my time in the service, and a lot of other people have, and a lot of these guys haven't. And I don't think they'd make very good military people anyway. But it's a growing movement; it's growing more every day, and I don't know when it's going to stop. [laughter]

You have some other comments you'd like to make about this whole situation?

Well, not really. I said probably most everything—unless you have anything specific that you'd like to ask me.

If you would like to comment about this whole situation as it is here. You're a representative person, and if you'd like to comment more, you're welcome to.

Well, that's about it, I guess, really. I'm not very expressive today. I kind of had a bad day. [laughter] I wish you'd caught me at another time, really, you know, when I could rattle pretty good. I'm not too much on the rattling today. [laughter]

Well, I think you've answered the questions very well.

CHARLES SEUFFERLE

June 5, 1970

Now, just for the record, if you'll say your name and your residence and your position.

My name is Charles Seufferle, associate dean in the College of Agriculture.

Why do you think you were chosen to be interviewed?

My guess is because I was a member of the governor's party at the Governor's Day ceremonies.

What was your reaction to President Nixon's decision to go into Cambodia?

Well, I have kind of a mixed reaction on that. I was in the army long enough in World War II—from ranks starting out as private and ending up as one of the staff officers in Eighth Army—to know that the only people who can really make a *good* decision on something like that are the people who are right close there, directly involved. They're the ones that make the decision. I don't know enough about the situation in Viet-

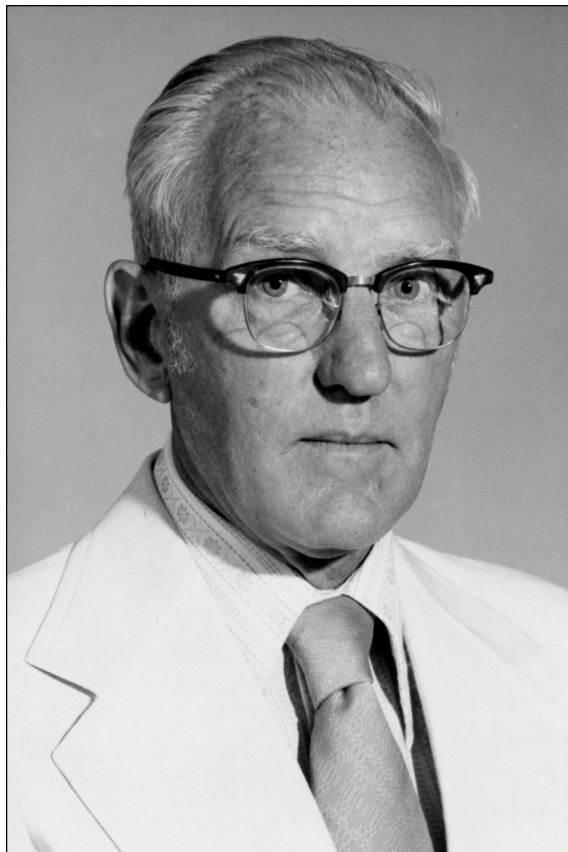
nam and Cambodia to know whether from a military standpoint this was desirable or necessary. I assume it must have been, or they wouldn't have made the decision. Now, here again, and I'm talking about this strictly from a military standpoint, I'm thoroughly confused about the war in Vietnam, as I was also about the one in Korea. I don't know how you fight a contained war. It seems to me you either fight a war to win it, or you get out of it. So whether or not that was a good decision, I don't think I'm really qualified to say, because I don't know that much about it.

In what way do you think the Cambodia decision was related to what happened next on our campus?

You mean from the standpoint of the Governor's Day?

Well, to whatever you felt followed.

Well, I think that the decision to enter Cambodia triggered off several things from the standpoint of a large number of students and faculty and townspeople here in Reno who are in opposition to the whole war in Vietnam. I think this



Charles Seufferle, 1972.

was just, well, like the old saying “the straw that broke the camel’s back” that triggered off some of the activities that took place in the way of some of the demonstrations.

Turning now to other parts of the country related to the Cambodia decision: what was your reaction to things that happened elsewhere, stemming from the decision?

Well, frankly, I don’t think the demonstrations that we’ve been seeing really accomplish a whole lot in the way of tangible results. I mean, they cause a lot of problems. Frankly, I’m awfully disappointed that it seems people have to use this method in order to make their point. I would much prefer seeing the less physical type of demonstrations, to be able to use these rather than to have to go out and demonstrate in order to put a point across. Of course, I think in some

cases many of the people who are involved in these demonstrations are using this as an excuse rather than as a reason, but that’s purely personal opinion on my part.

Speaking now on Governor’s Day, what did you think of the arrangements made for the Governor’s Day observance?

Now, on this could you define a little more closely what you mean by arrangements? You mean the arrangements for the overall program, the way it was set up?

Yes, for the Governor’s Day program observance and ceremony.

Well, I think one thing that was a distinct improvement over previous Governor’s Days was the idea of really making this a Governor’s Day, rather than an ROTC day, in having the governor here prior to the ceremonies up in the football stadium—to have the coffee hour over in the union where people could go in and meet the governor and talk with him. I think that was a very definite improvement over previous Governor’s Days where the governor has arrived, gone up there, reviewed the ROTC group, and then departed, and that was it. I was quite surprised at what took place after we left coffee hour. [laughter]

Well, what was your reaction to the demonstration?

Well, when we left the union, I was with Dean Hathorne in car number eleven, and we were so far back from the front of the procession that we didn’t know just what was taking place up there, except that we could see that there was some sort of confusion—while some rather agitated students (I assume they were) were moving back down the line. So we proceeded to lock the doors in our car. We didn’t know quite what was going to develop. Of course, the only thing I have are secondhand reports about what actually did transpire up at the head of the line.

When it came back to where we were in car number eleven, nothing happened. We just followed the parade on into the football stadium. So as far as we were concerned in our vehicle, there was no violence or anything of this sort, although I guess up front there were some cases of students getting on top of the hoods of the vehicles and so on.

And what about the rest of the demonstration? What was your reaction?

Well, as far as the parade around the football stadium, this was, I think, fairly well organized and was kept under control. However, after the parade terminated and the group went up into the stands—part of them in the stands and part of them down on the field—this is when things got very much out of hand.

Personally, I don't think that the one group of students who were down on the field should have been allowed to remain there. The only ones who should have been on the field should have been the ROTC group. I think this was sort of inviting trouble to have that group down there on the field, and later on, of course, it did develop into a rather touchy situation when they started moving out into the area where the Sierra Guardsmen were drilling. But I think that those students (I'm assuming here once again they were mostly students, anyhow) should have been up in the stands rather than down on the field. I think there would have been less trouble if that hadn't taken place.

As far as the demonstration by the demonstrators in the stands, I think this was completely uncalled for, out of hand, bad taste. If you want to cite individual instances, I think whoever the student was who had the trombone, well, it's the most vulgar display I think I ever saw when he played taps while the parents of a former student who was killed in Vietnam were out there giving a scholarship in their son's memory to one of the ROTC boys. I think this is quite typical of what took place during the whole ceremony, where the demonstrators were ignoring the rights of the

people who were there to be able to have their own function. As I understand it, the demonstrators were supposed to be allowed to march around the field and then supposedly were to leave, which they didn't do. But the stomping, the whistling, the obscene names they were calling people, I think were totally uncalled for.

What did you think was the most effective part of the demonstrations and of the ceremony?

Well, from the standpoint of the demonstration, I think the most effective part of it was the marching around on the track around the stadium. It seems to me that this was the most effective part of the demonstration. If the demonstrators had done that and then behaved, I think they would have made their point. Everybody would've held them in much higher esteem than what developed later on. I think that their demonstration in going around the field with their banners was quite effective, but I think what they did after that just detracted from it.

What about the effective part of the ceremony or the observance? What did you think was the most effective part of that?

Well, I don't know; that's kind of a hard one to answer. Of course, I'm very much interested in the awards that are being made to students, particularly those things such as the scholarship awards and this type of thing. To me, if I had to label one thing, I think that would be the most effective part. As far as the awards for proficiency in certain aspects of military science, well, this leaves me a little cold. I mean, these things are desirable; they're deserved; those kids are out there working hard. But, frankly, I can't get too enthused about an award for the fellow who's most proficient in the hand salute. Having been a G.I., I have some rather strong opinions about that. [laughter] But I think, actually, that as far as I was concerned, the most effective thing was the presentation of certain scholarship awards to students.

What do you think should have been the reaction of the ROTC and the demonstrators and the administration to what developed up there at the stadium?

Well, I don't know who the commander of the Sierra Guardsmen was, but whoever he was, he did an awfully good job. He made a spur-of-the-moment decision that was the right one when the guardsmen were going through their routine—and they did have fixed bayonets, which is part of the routine. When the group of students or demonstrators who were on the field started getting into their ranks, at one point they had not gone quite as far as they normally would in marching towards the group, but he gave them a flank movement, which prevented them from marching right into the group with fixed bayonets. If he hadn't given that command, the Lord only knows what might have happened after that. But, well, I think he did an awfully good job on that.

I was very much impressed with the guardsmen—well, also, with the entire corps of cadets. When they were marching, passing by in review, when there were a number of demonstrators who were shouting rather obscene terms to them, shaking their fists directly under the nose of many of the cadets, the cadets kept their eyes forward, and, well, they stuck to marching, and that was it. Well, to me, the cadets indicated that they are a good group of students; they could very easily have gotten out of control—and there could have been mayhem. But it was the fact that they were kept under control that nothing did develop. I don't know whether that answers your question, really. [laughter]

What should have been the reaction of the administration to what was going on up there?

Well, when you say “the administration,” are you referring to the president, to the dean of student affairs, or to those of us who were there? I mean, in what level?

Well, whatever level you'd like to cover it on.

Well, I think, of course, part of the reaction of the administration that *has* taken place in starting to pinpoint some responsibility here on individuals is what is, I think, much needed. Of course, with some of these things—the fixing of responsibility on students, faculty, whoever it might be—I think that much of this should have been started a long, long time ago, and then maybe we wouldn't have had the fiasco that we had out there at the Governor's Day.

However, here once again, we've been having some discussion over at our place here recently on this proposal of the Board of Regents about this document that Procter Hug has drawn up. Well, much of what's in that document is already in the university catalog as it relates to students or in the university code that relates to faculty. However, when you look through those things in terms of the university code for faculty, although it describes what a faculty member *should* be, it does not spell out anything that would transpire if he *isn't*. This, I think, is part of the reaction now of the administration.

I think that many of us have come to realize these things; that in the past we've always assumed they weren't necessary. It wasn't necessary to spell out what you would do to a faculty member if he didn't behave in the prescribed manner. Well, now I think the administration is realizing that some of these things are necessary. Maybe this is locking the barn door after the horse is gone, but I think this is part of the reaction the administration is taking. Perhaps these things should have been spelled out many years ago, but here again, whether this is an administrative responsibility or the responsibility of the faculty itself I think is a moot question. Some of these things were discussed in faculty senate meetings several years ago, and at that time the faculty senate took no action. So perhaps the administration will have to take over responsibility, because the faculty senate did not assume the responsibility.

I think the reaction of the administration is that some of these things have to be spelled out; some of the penalties have to be spelled out if people violate the rules and regulations. Frankly,

I don't think that the administration should start going pall-mall expelling or suspending everybody who was involved in the demonstration. This has happened on some campuses. I think that this is totally uncalled for. I think that discretion has to be used, but there has to be some penalty on perhaps certain individuals who got completely out of line.

What was your reaction to the violence that followed Governor's Day—the firing of Hartman Hall and the Hobbit Hole?

Well, I wasn't here on the campus during that week. I was up at Montana State [University] when that happened, and I got some rather wild reports from some of the other members on this accreditation team who had heard that there was all sorts of rioting going on down here at Reno and the like. Frankly, when I got back at the end of the week, I was sort of happy to find out that the only thing that had happened was rather minor.

But here once again, this is the sort of thing that I think is totally uncalled for. However, I think that it's a matter that once it starts, then retaliation starts setting in. In many instances I don't think that the people who are accused of doing this are the ones who are actually doing it. I mean, as to who threw the first fire bomb or who threw the second one, immediately the assumption is made that, well, the group on one side threw the first one, so the group on the other side threw the second one. Whether this is the case or not, I rather doubt. In many instances I don't think it is. But immediately this assumption is made. For instance, well, in the *Sagebrush*, the local papers, here we have the terms being used to describe the two sides on this argument, labeling one side "the long-hairs," the other side "the cowboys." I hate to see groups get pinned down with labels. This indicates that they are different.

On that Friday afternoon of the week of Governor's Day, following the ceremony over here at noon, there was almost a confrontation. We had a couple of group meetings over in our building of representatives from the two sides in

this argument. In the group that I happened to be meeting with (up in Room 305) these were mostly students, and there were about three or four faculty members who were there part of the time, not the entire time. This group, I think, after their discussion finally found out that there were not just two sides on this—and the sharp division between them.

They put it up to a vote: how many of the people in the room were in favor of our troops being in Vietnam? And if I can use these terms that I don't like, the long-hairs, however, found out that most of the so-called cowboys were opposed to being in Vietnam. So it wasn't the simple case that the long-hairs were opposed to Vietnam and the cowboys were in favor of it. The so-called cowboys, as I gathered it from the discussion, were primarily concerned about not having the violence on the campus. They objected to the picketing that was going on that Friday morning.

I talked with the pickets over at our building. The pickets said that they were picketing the entrance to the campus. A large number of our students in our building thought that they were picketing the building, particularly. So, when one of the pickets came up on the second floor, there was almost bloodshed about that time, because a group of these students objected to having somebody interfere with their going to class. They claim they're working their way through school; they're here to get an education; and this is what they want. And they didn't particularly like the idea of having pickets trying to stop them from going to class.

Well, anyhow, that afternoon we got a group of the pickets together with a group of the so-called cowboys. They found out that they had much more in common than they thought they had. And this is coming back to the point that I made before that I dislike very much these labels of "cowboys" and "long-hairs," because it indicates differences where differences don't really exist.

What category of participant—the students, the faculty, or the outsiders—do you feel was most important in fomenting violence on the campus?

Well, here again this is all hearsay. However, in talking with, well, several of the campus police, with several of my colleagues on the faculty, with several of the pickets, and with several of the so-called cowboys, I was under the impression that the thing that caused the biggest part of the trouble—that precipitated the trouble that almost developed on Friday—was the presence of outsiders from California being over here. Now, how much these outsiders actually did, I don't know. This would be strictly hearsay or rumor.

However, I do know that in talking to a large number of the so-called cowboys, this was one of the things that they were particularly stirred up about—the presence of outsiders. And I guess these same outsiders had been at the student senate meeting on Wednesday night, and when they were asked to leave, they refused to do so. Many of the cowboys felt that this was a violation of the ASUN, the students' rights and like, and, at least as I understood in talking with many of them, this was the main thing that they were concerned about—the presence of the outsiders. So whether these outsiders were themselves involved in stirring things up, in fomenting trouble or not, I don't know. But I do know that the reaction from many of the students with whom I talked was that it was just the mere presence of the outsiders here that got them all stirred up, and that this was the main thing that they were opposing. Or, well, that this was the thing that triggered it, anyhow.

Yes, it's interesting. What actions do you feel were most effective in preventing more violence or in cooling off the situation that developed after the bombing?

Well, I think, of course, one of the important things was the actions immediately before the bombing of the ROTC building: that was the lengthy discussion that took place over there at the student senate meeting. As I remember, that was on Wednesday night, where Colonel Hill, Paul Adamian and various ones on both sides spent many hours over there discussing pros and cons on this. Here again this is strictly hearsay,

but I understand that Lou Test, the senate president, did an awfully good job in the way he handled the meeting that night, that things could have really broken loose there, but they didn't (from what I've heard—I was not at that meeting). I was not involved in those discussions, but I think those discussions had a tremendous amount of good.

On the thing on Friday, I think one thing that helped very much there were a number of faculty members who participated directly, getting involved in preventing a direct confrontation. (Of course, Bob Malone, the campus police chief, I think did a pretty good job of policing on this.) It was a very mixed group, a group of the ones that are called the cowboys, once again, a lot of Sundowners, a lot of ag students, quite a few engineering students, and members of a couple of fraternities were pretty much involved. But that group—I know I'd had a telephone call from them the night before at home about 11:00, at which time I was told a little bit about what they were going to be doing. Well, the student who called me happens to be one of our students. I talked with him and got a promise from him that *they* would do their bit in demonstrating at the noon-time ceremony, *but* they were going to do it in a peaceful way, that there was not going to be any violence.

They congregated over by the Mackay statue, and when they came marching into the bowl, several things could have happened. They didn't, because I think there were several faculty members who were involved in this in keeping those students cool. They went over; they sat down; they behaved themselves. Of course, they did get quite agitated, because they felt that a promise that was made to them had been broken: in that, they had been promised that they would be allowed to have the microphone for two minutes at the end of the ceremony. However, they were not given the microphone at that time, and they got quite agitated about that. Well, here once again I think there were a couple of faculty members who were with them, who prevailed upon a couple of their leaders, reminding them to keep their cool, not to blow up, and I think that this helped con-

siderably. Then these couple of meetings were set up for that afternoon to allow the two sides to get together to try to discuss things and see if they could arrive at any kind of understanding.

But I think that there were several key individuals there who were involved in this, who kept anything worse from taking place, because there could have been a terrific blowup there because of the way tempers were about that time. I don't know if you've interviewed any of the faculty members I'm referring to or not. Well, I'm pretty sure that if you haven't, that you will be. I'd rather not . . . Well, if you want names, I can give you names, but . . .

Yes, well, it doesn't matter. How do you think events on campus affect the university's image, so-called, with outsiders?

You mean outsiders like the taxpayers in the state—this is a group of outsiders? [laughter]

Yes. [laughter]

Well, I don't think that it helps it very much. In fact, as an economist, I was making the prediction that what took place on Governor's Day probably cost the university at least five million dollars. I don't know whether you can measure these things in terms of money or not. But I think this hurt the university tremendously in many respects. One of the worst ways I think it hurt us is that it put us in a relatively bad light compared with the University of Nevada at Las Vegas. Right now they are somewhat the fair-haired boys of the state, because they haven't had anything of this sort down there. So I think many of the taxpayers are thinking, well, that the group at Reno shouldn't have our support; the group in Las Vegas should. I think that it's hurt our image across the state very much from what I get.

What can the university do to focus public opinion?

Well, of course, I guess this is the old story of you fight violence with violence. I hope we

don't get into that. I think effort should be made to let the people in the state know that the demonstration and this sort of thing is a relatively minor part of the total program here at the university, and that this is not an everyday occurrence. Well, actually, if it's compared with other institutions, we haven't had anything on this campus compared with others. But I think within the state, and particularly as it relates to comparing us with Las Vegas, it put us in awfully bad light, compared with them. And I think this is going to hurt us when it comes time for the legislature to appropriate funds. Knowing some of the members of the legislature, they just don't like this sort of thing. And several of the very influential people, particularly on the finance group, are of this type. And I think it's hurt us a whole lot with them.

Now, as to what we can do to improve the image, well, of course, I think, from the standpoint of the cowboys versus the long-hairs, once again I think maybe the fact that the cowboys finally woke up and started arguing back a little bit on some of these things instead of just ignoring them—this type of thing maybe will let the people know that there are two sides on this argument, that there are many, many students here at the university.

And here again I probably sound like I'm anti-demonstrator on this, but I think this is the thing that's hurting the image of the university from the standpoint of the state. For instance, we've been trying for years over there in our college to get more of our students involved in student activities, campus affairs, ASUN participation, and the like. I think in the last election there was something like 29 votes cast for the senator—and the same sort of apathy is typical over in engineering, mines, and those students just don't get involved in campus politics. My guess would be that next year, if we have an enrollment of 400, there's going to be about 350 votes cast. I think the affairs a couple weeks back have finally got our students over there waked up to the fact that they should become involved in some of these things. I think maybe now that they are going to start getting more and more involved. I think these

things are going to help improve the image of the university if they become known now to the general public.

Do you think that issues of academic freedom are involved in participating in demonstrations?

Oh, boy. Well, yes, I guess so. It certainly would be a violation of academic freedom to deny anybody the right to make himself known as to what his feelings are on any particular subject. However, academic freedom—at least my concept of it—relates primarily to the classroom rather than outside of the classroom. In this sense I don't think there would be any relationship whatsoever between academic freedom and the right to demonstrate, because the demonstration generally is outside the classroom. Academic freedom to me, anyhow, means the right of the instructor to express opinions, to be able to talk about his subject in order to do the best job he can in trying to instruct his students.

There are certain restrictions on that in that if this is a controversial issue, he's supposed to discuss both sides of it. He's not supposed to dominate his students onto one side, regardless of which side it is. He's supposed to provide for, in other words, learned discussion. Now, I don't think demonstrations are quite the same thing as learned discussion. So in this sense I don't think really there's any relationship between the two, because one is in the classroom and the other one is outside. I suppose, though, it could be construed to say that it would be a violation of academic freedom if, for instance, a regulation were passed that no professor would ever take part in any kind of a demonstration that involved parading or what-have-you. Yes, I would say this would be a violation of academic freedom. But to me academic freedom relates primarily to what takes place in the classroom rather than what takes place outside of it.

How can students and faculty be effective politically? Or should they try to influence governmental policies?

Oh, sure. Sure, they should. Here once again, though, I think that from a standpoint of both faculty and students. If they're trying to influence, let's say, members of the legislature, that they should be doing this as citizens rather than either as faculty members or students. From the standpoint of their position as faculty or students, the channels are set up already, going through the president's office and the Board of Regents as it relates to the university. It seems to me as citizens that they have the same responsibility as any other citizens that try to influence legislation. But I think it should be done in their position as citizens rather than as students or professors or what-have-you.

Where do you think the peace movement in this area is headed?

I don't know. I don't know what to expect. I think I could make a prediction on that if this were the beginning of the semester instead of the end of the academic year—but with the summer coming ahead, and a three-months interval from the events that took place couple of weeks ago until those students come back in the fall, I really don't know what to expect.

Do you have any other comments you'd like to make about the whole situation?

No, I think I've done enough talking. [laughter]

RICHARD W. SHERWOOD

June 4, 1970

If you will say your name, your residence, and your class and major.

I'm an economics major. I'm Dick Sherwood or Richard W. Sherwood. I'm presently living in Reno. I'm a senior and will graduate the end of the first summer session, 1970.

Why do you think you were chosen to be interviewed for this project?

Probably because I was an on-the-spot viewer of the happenings at Governor's Day, I'm an active student on campus, and I—from my standpoint, seeing it where the students are—can see a change in the campus activities and the students' desires and interests and activities. I can probably have a pretty good idea and experience from what's been happening in the last semester.

Yes, good. What was your reaction to President Nixon's decision to go into Cambodia?

Well, basically I was very shocked. I never thought he would, and I had discussed with people

beforehand that I didn't think he would. And after he did, it was quite undesirable on my part, you know—nobody wanted to go into a further war situation. But then after reading many magazines and articles from a strategic standpoint of what you're going to do, it was in its own way a good move, strategically.

In what way do you think the Cambodia decision was related to what happened next on our campus?

Oh, I think it almost had a direct relationship. The apathy on this campus has been pretty much the situation for a long time, and just the Cambodia incident—moving into Cambodia—has removed a lot of the apathy and brought interest to the students in their own desire to get involved and find out what's happening, and get into it, essentially. It actually stimulated student activity—good or bad, I don't know—but it did.

What was your reaction to events in other parts of the country related to the Cambodia decision?

Not knowing the situation well enough, you know, that's a hard one to answer. My reaction

was that I was a little disgusted, basically, because many students, I think, feel that they are in a position themselves to make a sound decision. Naturally their reaction would be anti-movement into Cambodia, because nobody wants to go into another effort or elongation of the war or anything. I'd have to think about that one, you know.

Turning now to the Governor's Day activities here: what did you think of the arrangements made for the observance of Governor's Day?

From my understanding, the arrangements were made fairly well. It was made very plainly clear to everyone what was going to take place where. The protestors had their place and were given permission to use their place for activities. The Governor's Day's activities were arranged in another part of the campus, given their place to take place. And this was drawn out very clearly—on who was to be where. As far as what actually did happen, it was in my opinion a direct violation of what was arranged, as far as what activities took place where.

Well, what was your reaction to the demonstration?

I was just downright mad. I was *really* ticked off about it. It showed to me almost a complete destruction of the actual point that the protestors on this campus were trying to put across, because they were—or they are—preaching peace, non-violence, and constructive creation of various things—you know, wanting to divert the economy's expenditures from destruction to constructive activities. Yet, on a smaller scale, they themselves diverted their activities from a constructive, peaceful movement at one end of the campus and came up and destroyed a movement or an activity that was happening at the other end of the campus. They just did a complete turn-about of what they are supposedly saying that they're for, and that's constructive activities towards a betterment.

Did you feel it was necessary to participate in any of the activities or the demonstration?

Myself? No.

What do you think was the most effective part of the demonstrations and the Governor's Day observance?

I don't really know if there were any effective parts. By coming up to the area where they had the Governor's Day ceremony, I think they completely ruined all effectiveness that they could have had. They made a big scene down by the student union. (This was after they had moved from the area where they were designated to have their peace sit-in or whatever, which was the bowl, as it's called now.) I think most people were aware that they were there, but then when they moved through, coming to the football field by way of the student union, their effects, constructive effects, were almost completely lost, because from then on most of it was destructive action—not physically destructive, but destructive in its own way.

What do you think should have been the reaction of the various factions involved in the Governor's Day—the ROTC, the demonstrators, and the university administration?

Well, I think that the most effective reaction that anyone could have had is what took place a day or two after all this happened on the Governor's Day activities. They were meeting in the student union. One carried on as late as three o'clock in the morning. Everybody got together. They talked, discussed, hashed things out. And when I say "everybody," I mean protestors, faculty members, and the people on the other side of the protestors (referred to sometimes as the "cow-boys," and at this time, are the people who are supporting the war). This took place a day or two after Governor's Day activities, where they got together and just kind of B.S.'d for awhile. This

was more constructive, and this is what should have taken place instead of all the others, because I feel that there were a lot of people involved in the Governor's Day activities that really weren't sure where they stood as far as protestors.

And a lot of people that I had talked to noticed that a lot of kids in the protest movement were freshmen and sophomores—not just a few, but quite a few.

What was your reaction to the violence that followed Governor's Day—the bombings?

I feel the bombings and the fire were just the part of a very few people. I really don't think this was a massive, organized thing. Like I say, the talks that they had and the get-togethers that they had in the student unions a few days afterwards showed some kind of progress, showed some kind of intellectual interest. Instead of actually physically going out and ruining something, they showed some kind of progress, even though the meetings that they had that day or the day around this area, there were all kinds of people yelling and screaming, "We should burn this," or "Let's go do this," or "Let's bomb a building." These reactions I think you get a lot when people are angry or hot, you know, or really intensified and involved in what's going on, and they really want to go do something physically.

But the bombing and the burnings were, I think, on the part of just a couple of people. And I think everyone realized that it was a drastic mistake, because this campus *was* on the verge of being ruined. I think the majority—and I mean a vast majority—of the students realize this, and they don't want this to happen.

We've got a pretty nice campus here, and I think everyone realizes that. *Everyone* realized that that was a mistake and the first step in a wrong direction, and I think that's why things kind of cooled down rather rapidly after this happened.

What category of participant in all of these affairs—the students, the faculty, or outsiders—do

you feel was most effective in stirring up or fomenting violence on the campus?

It's a combination of the outside speakers that have come to the campus, that aren't involved in the campus, and that tour all over the country (we had a few of those a couple of weeks beforehand), and a few of the professors, which *were* involved in the activity. I have known these professors through having classes with them, and ever since I've known them or ever since they've been at the university, they have more or less preached along this line: "If you want something changed, you can change it yourself." I think this is what mostly got the campus moving, mainly because it had to take something like this, because the apathy on the campus was very, very high.

I mean, the situation of apathy couldn't seem to be seen very clearly through athletics, through various activities that are thrown on the campus—where you have five thousand students, and only two hundred turn out. Well, in the first twelve or fifteen weeks of the 1970 year, there were many people coming to the campus, and they were having discussions out on the grass. They weren't discussions. They were mainly just speeches, telling kids that they're not doing enough as far as making themselves known. And that's all it takes—just a few agitators (to use a word that's very commonly used anymore). I don't really know if this campus has experienced any real professional agitators, but there have been a lot of amateur agitators that have caused rise for this.

You think the outsiders are important then?

Definitely.

What actions do you feel were most effective in preventing more violence in the situation that followed the bombing?

Basically, that would be the actual students' realization that destruction and violence on this campus was not the answer. The town is a small

town. It's a tightly knit town, and they understand. The people of the town don't want the university ruined. In a smaller town like Reno, when there is a university, it does affect the town people a lot more than it does townspeople of New York or San Francisco or other areas, and I think this has an effect on quite a bit.

How do you think events on campus affect the university's image with outsiders?

The university's image, the image of the students of the university, is affected almost directly with its activity. I was talking with some outside businessmen. I've talked to businessmen that own prominent businesses in Reno just because I happen to know them, and they have told me that they don't feel that the students, the total volume of students, are actually represented in what has happened in the first part of this year. Since most of the members of the community (I shouldn't say most, but quite a few of them are prior students at the University of Nevada), they feel an alliance to the school themselves. And I don't think the image of the university has really been ruined or changed that much except that they do believe (or I think they believe) that it's just a small number that is creating this image.

What do you think the university can do to focus public opinion?

The university itself? I don't understand what you mean. Tell me what you mean.

Well, what should the university—broadly construed as the students, the faculty, the administration, and so forth—be doing to focus public opinion in a positive way? What function can the university have in producing its own image?

Well, now we're talking about an image that the university should express to the public. I really don't think that there is any one image more important than the actual image of education that the university should want to be responsible to portray. In my estimation, or in my belief, the

university is only responsible for fulfilling the needs of education, which is what the taxpayers are paying for. I don't really think it's their responsibility to focus a view on itself of giving students this or giving students that or trying to make everything just real nice. I mean, I think part of the problem across the country is that the role of the university has changed so drastically that education is no longer the primary role. And some people think this is the way it should be. Some people don't. I don't.

I think the university should be primarily concerned with educating the younger people of the world or the country, because if it's not, the education system starts going downhill. Once education is over with, the whole country is over with, because every one thing is founded on education. And this should be their only primary responsibility, and that would be the only view that they should show. Now, how they would do it would just be by producing graduates, high-standing graduates, and maintaining university integrity—keeping the university a university and not letting it become a battleground for student desires, decisions, and expression.

Do you think that issues of academic freedom are involved in participating in demonstrations?

Definitely, I think this is . . . What do you mean by academic freedom?

Well, academic freedom is presumably the right to learn what you will, the right to teach in a free atmosphere, the right to teach without fear of reprisal, and to learn without fear of being brain-washed, I suppose.

Right. Now, would you repeat the whole thing?

[laughter] Do you think that issues of academic freedom are involved in participating in demonstrations?

Yes, and it's a basis for the demonstrations. The student wants the faculty and the adults to

realize that they want, that they know what they want, or that they think they know what they want. And they want to be able to pursue their way of learning in their way . . . (I'm trying to say something, and I can't get it out).

Students more and more are wanting to plan their own course or their own road to follow through education, and part of expressing this is through demonstrations. They want academic freedom to learn what they want to learn, but in the same manner I think some restriction should be put upon this, because it is the responsibility of the university to produce a certain grade of personnel that goes with that diploma when you graduate. I mean, you should have something. I mean, there is not a diploma yet that says, "This student studied what he wanted to. He's got a diploma for this," you know, because there are certain things that the university was created for.

And academic freedom is really a great thing. I mean, I think there are a lot of fallacies in the system, the educational system, where there's a lot of repetition, and there's a lot of nonsense learning. Yet, at the same time, there is a lot of essential learning, which is part of the discipline that you have to take when you attend a university. In a country of ours where everything is so free, where the chances of going to university and what you do when you get there are much easier than they are in, say, a large country like Russia. It's a lot of freedom left to you. I mean, the grade range is a good example of how far you can go before you flunk out. And I know from studying school systems of other countries, especially communistic countries, that only the very, very prime students go to universities. They must maintain that high grade level and that primacy throughout, or they will not finish. And this is bad in a way. This is your brainwashing, as you put it.

Academic freedom—there should be more of it, I believe, but not too much more. And even though there would be more academic freedom, that does not mean that they should throw away some of the disciplines that go with academic freedom. I think through the protest movement, people are realizing it. The important thing is: I don't think they should throw away so much of

the other academic aspects which go with the course of education.

How can students and faculty be effective politically, or should they try to influence governmental decision?

In my belief I think it's very hard for a student who is at the college level to be able to effectively criticize the actions of the government. Granted, they should know what's happening. If they're a voter, then this right or this ability to politically affect what is happening is theirs naturally through the right to vote. But I really don't think the students that are involved in protest, the vast number of kids that are involved, are or should be that effective on what the role or the course the government takes.

What I'm trying to say is that, politically, the whole system works when you're voted into office, so you have to do what the people say. Yet the people that vote you into office are supposed to be twenty-one years of age and mature enough to know what's happening and all this, whereas students believe that they know exactly how something should be done. And they know that when a decision is to be made, they feel that after the decision is made, and they have seen what's happened by the decision, that they know for sure what should have been done.

There's always the old saying that hindsight is twenty-twenty vision. You can always tell when a decision is made, and the mistakes have happened—you know then what should have been done. This, I think, gives the students a false sense of intelligence or ability to know what's happening—they actually feel that the decisions they would make would be 100 percent right. And I don't think that they know or understand this. I'm the type of person that feels that when it comes to making a decision and having very much force or effectiveness, I'm on the bottom of the limb, because I don't know. I'm not well enough informed on what's happening.

Faculty members? I think it takes a mature faculty member to understand that young students want to be impressionable, and they want to feel

like they do know something, but yet I don't know if they're well enough informed to actually make accurate and good, sound judgments on decisions at the government level. And this is a big thing.

Where do you think the peace movement in this area is headed now?

At this point I'd say in the right direction. As school let out, there was a pretty good understanding that a lot could be accomplished on this campus just by talking and get-together. The image of, for example, the ROTC Department is directly related to the image of the army. With the changeover in staff that has happened up there in the last year, students have realized that the staff that is employed at the ROTC Department is very much interested in what's happening. And I think at the close of the semester they realized that they could really get a lot out of hashing things over and talking, you know, and getting together. That particular aspect of the peace movement is headed, I think, in the right direction. I mean, the kids are learning as they're talking, and they're gaining more information that they need to make sound decisions and make—well, it's hard to say accurate votes, but they have a basis for their vote. They're not just guessing when they vote, and they understand.

As far as movement towards peace in creating an image in the community: to carry on an activity where you are spending so much time involved in a peace movement, I have a hard time finding out where these people find time to study. And we're back again to the point of, well, what's a school for? You spend all your time involved in peace movements, protests, and various activities like this, then something else is sacrificed—mainly your study time. I myself pay out money to go to school, and with the little I have, I can't throw that away just to go out and have a peace movement, because I know ten years from now I'm going to be a lot more intelligent, and I'm going to understand a lot more of what's happening. I may look back and say, "Boy, all that B.S. that went on back in school—I didn't know what I was talking about, until now."

Do you want to make any other comments about the peace movement?

You can probably get me to, if you ask me some more questions.

[laughter] Well, maybe you have some other comments you'd like to make about this whole situation.

Well, I think all in all the students learned an awful lot about themselves and about the community and about the college. At the end of their activities on Governor's Day, we saw this by the rash activities and disrespect that occurred on Governor's Day, the extreme disrespect to the president of the college, and the extreme disrespect to the governor of the state. These students actually believed that they knew more and understood more than the president of the university or the governor of the state, which is hard for me to believe. After this activity there was the bombing and the firing, and after the fire at the ROTC Department, there was the bombing of the house across the street from one of the girls' dormitories—where supposedly you could pin the name of "headquarters for the movement" on there (I wouldn't really want to, but, you know, a lot of the fellows that live in this house are involved very strongly with the movement). After this, the mood of the campus was, "This shouldn't have happened, and this was a step in the wrong direction." And I think the students learned a lot about themselves and learned a lot about what actual direction they should head in along this line of protesting or a peace movement or whatever. And I think they learned.

I was directly a participant in the Governor's Day activities. I was one of the ROTC cadets that was on the field during the activities of the demonstration and more or less had a front row seat as to the activities that took place. I was also a senior ROTC cadet, and I understood, I think, better than some of the underclassmen what actually was happening—the meaning of Governor's Day, what the activities were that took place. And I think I have a pretty sound under-

standing or a sound background to support most of my opinion that took place on Governor's Day.

I was the recipient of one of the awards. The awards mainly pointed out the various cadets who are considered more outstanding in the cadet brigade, and there is naturally a little bit more pride in these cadets. They feel proud to be out there. They receive an award for achievements which they have accomplished. And being in this particular group, feeling pride for what you've done—you're doing a good job—and then noticing activities such as the demonstrators interrupting this, your chance of recognition—this gives you cause to have a definite opinion upon the activities.

Yes, that's very good. OK.

RICHARD L. SIEGEL

May 28, 1970

My name is Richard Louis Siegel. I am an assistant professor in the Political Science Department, and I came to the University of Nevada in September 1965. I was born and bred in New York, and this was the first time I had been out West, and it was my first teaching assignment.

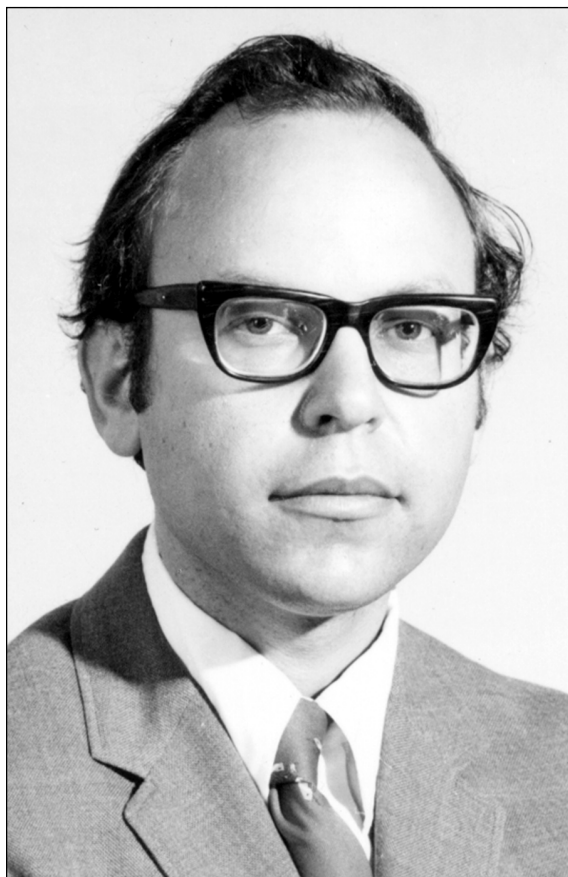
I was particularly struck in the spring of 1970, well before the Governor's Day events, by an upsurge of a semi-radical student feeling on this campus. I attended two student-faculty-administration combined meetings that were held during two evenings in, I believe, April of 1970, and these meetings brought out a great deal of heat, and very little light, in regard to the resentments that had been building up.

Most of the legitimate resentments that came out of these meetings had to do with minority problems here on the campus. The non-white students were more vociferous in many cases, but their problems were very often non-problems—primarily problems of communication here on the campus, where the students did not know what the university has been doing. I generally regard that the university has been moving quite fast in most areas to accommodate student problems,

and I think that I've had something to do with this in some areas.

The basic problem, the legitimate problem that did come out of these meetings—and other meetings of the time—on the part of the students, was an absence of knowledge of the system and how it operates here on the campus. We have a moderately good system for accommodating demands on this campus, but it can't function if the students don't know where they should put their demands. Many of the students have the conception that the president of the university is in a position to solve all of their problems. Others are convinced that nobody on this university campus can even begin to solve their problems. Very, very few students, except those most closely involved with student government, actually have a real conception of the complete system on this campus (committees and so on) that deal effectively with problems.

From my academic point of view this comes out in a theoretical way to say that the students on this campus are all parochials as far as the political system of the campus is concerned. They react to the campus in much the same way that a Vietnamese peasant reacts to his governmental structure. Some of the Vietnamese peasants be-



Richard Siegel, 1970s.

come Vietcong, and some of the University of Nevada students would sooner or later lash out at the system.

Now, I was not present at Governor's Day. I was ill at home. I feel very regretful that I was not present at the time that these events took place, so I can have my own personal observations of what happened that day and the immediate days afterwards. I was ill at home for four days from Tuesday to Friday of Governor's Day, and I returned the next week and became involved in the faculty efforts to deal with the regents' action on Adamian and Maher and so on.

I developed a position on this campus where people looked for me to write things, I guess. I prepared the draft of the faculty statement that was issued under the name of the executive committee of the faculty senate, although I'm not a member of the faculty senate. This statement was designed to try to mollify reactions, particularly

the regents' reactions, and to try to minimize the feeling of the regents that they were under severe pressure and also to try to ensure that due process would be observed in any hearings or anything of this sort that took place.

Now, if I might address myself to some of the broader issues that are involved in this. I know myself I very much felt the full reaction that the most intense liberal and radical students felt in regard to Cambodia and to Kent State. In the past, I have been involved in statements and public appearances involved with the Vietnam War. I made my first statement, speech, on this campus against the Vietnam War in the first year that I was here, and my attitudes have hardened ever since. I've been involved not only on this campus, but I've been involved through the Democratic party. I'm on the state central committee of that party and have worked to get platform statements and other activities in opposition to the war, so I felt myself very close in terms of point of view in accordance with the people involved.

At the same time, I'm not very oriented towards the kind of demonstrations that took place, I believe, on Governor's Day. And if I had been there on Governor's Day, I would tend to think that I would not have gone to the stadium or, if I had gone to the stadium, would have taken either a totally passive role or a role of moderating those elements that took a less moderate role.

I would address myself now to this question of leadership on the campus as far as any expression of dissent is concerned, and I think the basic overall problem is a general vacuum of leadership in most areas. The peace movement (so-called) on this campus did not have any significant faculty participation until the spring of this year. It was dominated by students, both graduate and undergraduate students. I think I would identify Tom Myers, an undergraduate political science student, and Jim Reed, a graduate student of political science, as the two leading ones—perhaps Dave Slemmons, too. There is a strong Political Science Department orientation. But I think it's less the fact that political science students are a hotbed of revolution than it is that

these are the naturally most politically interested students on the campus.

There was no significant faculty involvement, as far as I know, in the fall 1969 moratorium activities on this campus. Myself and other people took what we fully expected to be (and what turned out to be) very peaceful, symbolic gestures of walking down Virginia Street and attending what struck me as a kind of a church service at the gym in regard to the peace moratorium in October or November. But there was no actual faculty direction, partly because many of the faculty had gotten a little earlier idea than the students that the moratorium activities in the fall of 1969 were counterproductive. They turned out to be disastrously counterproductive at that time. Myself, I marched, because it made me feel better that I was doing something, although at the same time my political sense told me that what I was doing was not going to help my cause. But it helped me in a very personal way, I guess.

The point again is that there was no direct faculty leadership in this area, and there continued to be none through most of this academic year. The central leadership of the group last year—people who had been most involved in earlier years—many of them had left. Bill Scott, who was director of the official peace group on campus up until last year, had gone on sabbatical to England. Arturo Biblars, who'd left a few years ago, was one of the more potentially radical faculty members on the campus. And there was nobody really filling their place—only to a very limited extent, the very moderate, liberal types like myself and Bill Clapp and Joe Crowley, and perhaps Stan Lymon, Dave Harvey, and people of this sort. There is not much radical blood in us. This left a vacuum, I would say—a vacuum as far as faculty leadership. The students *wanted* faculty leadership. I guess it legitimizes their points of view if they can have some kind of authority figure associated with them; they're quite eager to get it.

Two people sort of emerged to fill this role in the very later part of the year. One was Gunter Hiller, and another was Paul Adamian. Gunter Hiller, however, was less directly political. He's

not a very political person, I don't think—although I don't know him as well as Paul Adamian, who I consider to be a personal friend. But Gunter Hiller is primarily involved in more philosophical and more introspective kinds of activities, and his involvement and, I think, his overall impact was more moderating than anything else. The question of Paul Adamian is somewhat different.

I would not at the present time go into the factors in Paul Adamian's life history and personal life that led him to assume a position of leadership over the student radicals. I am, I believe, as familiar with Paul's childhood, and particularly his marital life and its effect on his activities, as anybody else on the faculty, but I would not go into detail at this time. I think that perhaps I would feel differently at another time. I don't know whether I'd be more or less willing at another time. If anybody is interested and who is doing work and serious research in this area, I would consider going into this area with them at a future time, but not at present.

Paul Adamian probably was the faculty member who assumed this most direct leadership role, probably together also with Ben Hazard. I should also mention that Hazard, also like Hiller, assumed generally in some ways a more moderate role and was reflecting the particular ambiguities of a lone, black faculty member on this campus. His basic instincts, I think, are moderate; sometimes his rhetoric is militant. All these people—Hiller, Adamian, and Hazard—are almost by definition one of the more interesting types of people to study if anybody was interested. Most of us on this faculty are much less interesting people in terms of the chain of emotions and undercurrents within us, I think, and it led us to not be in their position at the time of this activity.

The Adamian case has to be seen in the perspective of the pressures that have been developing within the state community in regard to the faculty and faculty rights. I could say that I was very directly involved with this in its broader dimensions because of my role as the leader of a group in the spring of 1969 opposing capital pun-

ishment in the state of Nevada. This brought the largest amount of heat, I think, onto any individual faculty member since Erling Skorpen and the Vietcong issue about 1966. My overall reaction was a relatively reassured one, because I received some very good support from everybody involved at the university level, although I received many direct and indirect pieces of information that pressures were being channeled through the legislature and through the regents and elsewhere. I was not a tenured member of the faculty in 1969, but I did receive tenure in January of 1970.

This question of tenure hanging over a faculty member is a very important one and is quite relevant to the Adamian case. Presumably, Paul Adamian also received notification of tenure about January 1970, the same time as I did. I understand he, like I, had some difficulties in having this tenure awarded. I believe that the main issue in his case was the fact that he was the only faculty member publicly identified with the unionization of the faculty here on the campus. This was about two years ago, and he had gotten to the *Sagebrush* several statements that the faculty ought to organize a UFT or AFT branch. In fact, he went to the trouble of getting the national UFT or AFT people to come to his house, and there was a dinner—which I was at—with these people. I believe that it was this that most likely the regents were reacting to, although it did not come out in the form that they denied his tenure because of this. This would have been rather irrational in many respects, in that the unionization of state employees is now much more legitimate after the 1969 state legislative session than it had been before, and perhaps this is why this did not become a decisive issue in his case. But there was some question raised at various points, and there were some difficulties in getting his tenure, as I understand it. And, of course, this word only comes out rather indirectly.

The present Adamian-Maher case is going to have, I think, a very substantial impact on the overall question of the freedom and rights of faculty. As of this week, the last week of May in 1970, I sense already that the regents feel the

pressure to try to put in some new rules and restrictions. A new code proposal has come out in regard to the faculty, and I am disturbed about the question of denying the faculty's prerogatives in terms of being given a opportunity to work on this code before the regents take action. Only time will tell what ultimate action the regents can take.

I appreciate the fact that the regents presently, after the intermediate aftermath of the Governor's Day events, are under the most severe pressure—at least in the decade of the 1960s—in terms of doing something in this general area. This makes it very important for the faculty to become highly sensitive about losing any prerogatives in this area and to see that none of their freedoms are unduly denied. And so I see the Adamian case most broadly in the context of the preservation of academic freedom, as I recognize it here on the campus. I do not feel it necessary to have unrestricted rights to disrupt campus activities of any kind to have academic freedom. On the contrary, I think it's vital that we have total freedom for anybody to say anything, or virtually anything, on this campus without anybody disrupting him unduly. But this could be a hole through which we could have some very *serious* limitations put on campus faculty, on the student newspaper, and anything of this sort. So we're now moving into a very important defensive period, I believe.

This is interesting, and it's also because at this time I was involved with the code committee of the faculty senate, and we were moving before the Adamian case towards the expansion of certain faculty prerogatives in terms of control of the educational program, particularly in terms of the right of faculty appeal outside of the existing administrative process on questions like tenure. I have great fears that the activities that have happened in April and May of 1970 will make it very, very difficult, if not impossible, to advance faculty prerogatives for the time being, and we may move in the same direction as California, where we will lose them one by one. It's interesting, though, as a reaction to California, that the regents in California have been taking away many faculty and administrative preroga-

tives in terms of tenured faculty members, untenured faculty members, and so on. I'm struck each time by the fact that, here in the University of Nevada, we never had these rights that are being taken away from faculty [in California]. The faculty of University of Nevada never have advanced in terms of prerogatives anywhere near the level of the University of California. In that sense, perhaps we have less to be taken away, because we never had it.

RICHARD C. SILL

June 18, 1970

For the record, if you'll say your name, your residence, and your position.

OK. I'm Richard C. Sill. I live in Reno. I'm associate professor of physics and on tenure, which has some advantages: it gives you a platform from which to argue important cases.

Why do you think you were chosen to be interviewed?

That's a moot question. My understanding is that John Dodson, with whom I've worked closely for the last semester, may have turned my name in. And, certainly, I have worked as much as I could on both the black problem, on the environmental problem, and on the more recent campus disturbances relevant to Kent State and Cambodia. But I've gotten no publicity and have sought none. So it probably was John Dodson. Some of the students might have indicated it, because I've worked with some of them, too.

What was your reaction to President Nixon's decision to go into Cambodia?

I remember Hitler very well. You want more than that?

Yes, if you like.

I recall being shocked at the Anschluss, horrified at the invasion of Poland, very much disturbed at the Sudeten takeovers, if you wish.¹ And I regret to say that I have not seen much of favor in Richard Nixon since the days he took on Helen Gahagan Douglas.² As a consequence, I fear that perhaps I expect the worst in the man, and whatever he may have said as to why we went into Cambodia—as far as I'm concerned, it could very easily be window dressing.

Yes.

I might note also that the articles in *The New Yorker* about John Mitchell in December last year only confirmed what I had already suspected would be the case regarding this administration. Shall we say I did not vote them in?

In what way do you think the Cambodia decision was related to what happened next on our campus?

I would say that it is probably intimately related, perhaps with a chain of events that is a little more elaborate. The students had certainly been quite correctly disturbed, I think, about the Vietnam War. Many of them were disturbed at the environmental problems—perhaps not enough, in my opinion. But then they were lulled to a degree by Nixon's comments earlier, I guess last year, that we were going to de-escalate and back off, and the moratorium seemed to have been having some effect. To have him, if you will, claim 150,000 troops to be removed shortly and then invade (whatever the term you want, I guess he has a different term for it, so did Hitler) the hitherto neutral—nominally neutral—country of Cambodia simply made them realize they'd been duped.

And it's a curious thing, I might note incidentally, because some things undoubtedly are going to come out relevant to this: I'm a twenty-five-year member of the Sierra Club and just completed a three-year term as a member of the national board of directors of the Sierra Club, and have just been re-elected for another three-year term on the national board. One of the things I see from *that* point of view gives me some sympathy with the students, because we—the club—have been aware since 1892, and I myself since twenty-five years ago, that disaster was occurring in the way we were treating our environment. And we have been in the same position that the students have of *trying* to get somebody to listen to us. So most of us in Sierra Club I think are pretty sympathetic. Some feel Cambodia is all right, but nonetheless there's considerable amount of sympathy to the students' difficulty in trying to be heard. So it's no surprise to me to find extraordinary response to extraordinary frustration. And this is, as far as I can see, the students' response—except, perhaps, to note that they're simply using what's available to them in the form of Madison Avenue techniques.

The disaster at Kent (which is what it is, as far as I'm concerned) to this immoral and sociological disaster—even though there are fewer people involved than often are killed in automo-

bile accidents—has been a second turning point. The first is the invasion of Cambodia, or I should say the second, really. The involvement in Vietnam might possibly be the first. But anyway, the next succeeding one is the killing of the students at Kent State. And our students were dismayed (I guess is as good a word as any) at the invasion of Cambodia and were horrified at the Kent State killings. The day that the news broke, I was walking across the campus, and student after student would stop and say, "What do you think?"

And I'd say, "I can't think. All I can *feel*, I feel as if I were carrying a lead weight in my stomach."

And they said, "That's exactly the way I feel, too."

So it's more than frustration: it's the feeling of disaster.

Turning now to the Governor's Day activities here: what do you think of the arrangements made for observing Governor's Day?

Well, I think, in the first place, I didn't know much about it. I never pay much attention to Mackay Day and ROTC Day and things like that. I'm over in a corner of the campus which normally is sort of an enclave against such things. And I heard after the fact that there were some arrangements made for a (what would be the word?) civil, in the other sense of the term, protest, demonstration. I didn't know about it beforehand; I wouldn't have been there anyway. That's not my cup of tea.

But in any event, I had class, and the class was from nine o'clock to ten-thirty. There were four students at my theoretical physics class, and the students in the class were not terribly well prepared in their own fashion; and, as a consequence, I saw no reason to dismiss the hour for it. So when the class actually met, and the time came for ten o'clock, I said, "What do you think about this? Shall we terminate or not?"

And they said, "Stop this just so the governor can review the troops? Hell, no. Let's go ahead."

So I was continuing to lecture on theoretical physics while this whole episode was going on. I went across the campus several times on my bicycle and happened to miss everything. The campus was totally quiet all the time I crossed. So what happened there, as far as I'm concerned, was hearsay after the fact.

I knew nothing about the arrangements beforehand. In fact, I'd almost forgotten that that was the ROTC Day, and this is a great admission for a politically involved person. But I do say this: that it was *incredibly* poor judgment, maybe not on the president's part—for whom I have a lot more respect than some people seem to, even when I disagree with him, as far as that goes—but certainly on the part at least of the regents of not recognizing that holding the review of the troops, if you will, so shortly after Kent State could only provoke trouble, unnecessary trouble. *Everybody* knows, even Abraham Lincoln, that you have to allow a cooling-off period. (I'm not sure that answered your question.)

Well, what was your reaction to the demonstration?

My first response was, "Well, of course." The second one was, "Well, I'm glad that Jim Hulse and others were there to calm it down."

The press reports of what Adamian and others had done I don't really believe. The only things in the newspaper that I've seen so far that are correct are some of the editorials from Paul Leonard, which oddly enough are much closer to the truth of what's been going on than some of the news reports. This is novel, because normally, I think, Paul Leonard's editorials on conservation often show the mark of a man that's not, shall we say, well informed.

But, nonetheless, in this instance the only thing that I've been able to see in the press that looks to me to be valid in every instance . . . where it has any bearing on things that I've seen happen myself, they were correct, whereas the newspaper articles were hopelessly off the

mark. [laughter] Now, what was your question again, because it seems to me I distracted myself.

Your reaction to the demonstration.

Oh, yes. Then after that I got thinking about it: OK, this defines where people have to go. There is no way out now except political. The demonstrations will serve the purpose, if they don't go too far, of letting other people in the world, or the country, know that there is concern. And it can serve as a flag, if you will, for the students and faculty and intellectuals and liberals and whatever to let them know they exist. *But* if they go too far, what they're going to do is provoke reaction.

And so I started talking with the students at that point—Larry Dwyer is one, and some others. At that point I said, "Look, you guys. You've had your fun now, and you've served a useful purpose, but are you aware of the fact that there is no way out now but political?"

"Why?" they said.

And I said (to the ones I spoke to about the environmental problem), "Well, you're as informed as I am, or almost as informed as I am. You may not be aware of the fact—have you thought that the society can't stand disruption? Because we have over-stripped our environment so severely now that in the event that the thing is disrupted for two or three weeks, it may suffer such dislocation, it'll be never able to recover. And we're supporting far too many people in this country now. If you were to disrupt the flow of oil for three or four weeks, the factories would stop—communication, transportation would stop. With this development of spare parts, people would go into a starvation situation. Pretty soon panic would develop after this; and after you go into that far enough, there is *no* way to recapture. As a consequence, you're stuck now. There are two ways to go. Under ordinary circumstances, even twenty years ago, there might have been under such a situation two ways to go: one would

be revolution, and the other one would be working within the system. And thanks to the environmental stress, whatever else you may think about, a revolution is foreclosed now. There is no possibility of going that way without destroying the very things you're trying to achieve. You're opposed to genocide, you're opposed to oppressing the disadvantaged, and so on. What more oppression is there than invoking starvation and ultimately the four horsemen?"

And they listened, much to my great, well, not surprise, because many of them . . . Dan Teglia, for example, had attended this marvelous seminar that Roelofs and Crowley had held (the name of which is so complicated, I never can remember it), a superb seminar on the quality problems of the environmental crisis. Many of these people are aware enough of this aspect of the thing that they were willing, at least, to entertain the thought. And over the country there *is* some awareness of this aspect of the thing, and it seems as if much of the campus disturbance is gradually quieting down and shifting toward political effort. But thus far I'm very, very concerned that what we'll find is a reaction against the campus disturbances that have occurred in the past, which are relatively minor when you examine what a huge number of universities there are in the country, and only a handful or a dozen or so have had significant disturbances. All right, so at Oberlin College they sat in the dean's office for fifteen minutes. Tough. But, anyway, this to my mind marked the turning point in what are possible ways of achieving success in any sort of a reasonable world.

You know, one of the things that disturbed me very badly about this whole episode is the gross lack of understanding that exists on both sides. And as a short-haired professor, I can mingle with the business world very easily—I play handball with the businessmen and so on. I can go into the office of the president of PG&E, or the president of Standard Oil, anytime I want to. I can talk to the chief forester of the United States; you can just name it. Thanks to being a member of the national board of directors, I can

do all these things, as well as being a short-haired physics professor. But at the same time, as a conservationist and a mountain climber, I have good deal of contact with the students. And many of them chuckle among themselves that I'm short-haired. I'd really be long-haired, you know, if it weren't for the fact that I'm allergic to my own dandruff, which happens to be true, so I do have to have my hair short. But honestly, I don't think I could stand all that fuzz around if I wanted to.

In any event, I can talk to both sides of the thing. And the thing I've discovered, essentially, is this: that the students, by and large, are *marvelously* idealistic. Ten years ago I was deeply distressed at the way the students tended to be concerned primarily with, oh, retirement benefits and some fringe benefits and this and that, and *way* at the end they say, "Oh, by the way, what's the name of the job?" God help us.

But the students nowadays seem to be extraordinarily idealistic, and as an idealist myself, of course, it is naturally pleasant to see. But they haven't figured out how to get their message across. They're misusing Madison Avenue techniques, as I've said before. They have caught the message of the society, I'll say that for you, all right. That is, it isn't what you are, but what you can appear to be that makes some of the difference.

But in any event, they are also as patriotic in their own fashion as some of the American Legion. [laughter] There are all sorts of students who say, "I'd be happy to go fight in Vietnam *if* I really thought it was buying time for the administration or for the establishment *really* to come to grips with the problems of war, oppression, and so on. This is the important thing." But this has been going on since time immemorial, and it's about time to call a halt. We have chemical-biological warfare; we have atomic bombs, inter-continental ballistic missiles, and all sorts of crazy things; and it's about time we realize that there is no victory in war anymore. We want our country to be the greatest country in the world. And we have the ideals, or at least we say we

do—all right, let's live up to them. Now, in a way this is a more constructive patriotism than the person who quotes Stephen Decatur and says, "My country, right or wrong," and so on.

But on the other hand, the people downtown, for the most part, don't grasp this at *all*. To them patriotism is virtually that of being a computer. And I mean, it's your country, and you wave the flag, and by God, you march off a cliff if necessary. And there's room for that sometimes, to be sure, as in the second World War when you *had* to sort of call a halt to everything for the sake of buying time, if you wish, to do something. But now we're on the other side of the fence, and so that disturbs me. On the other hand, the students in many instances don't grasp the situation of their elders, and they are responding by letting their elders think for them. In many instances they're totally unaware of the fact that this is serving just as much as a flag to wave as to wave the flag.

I've been trying to get them to realize that if they wish to decide that *the* important issue that they face is freedom of dress and appearance, then that's all right. But if they really are concerned and serious about these ideas, that the environmental problems, the invasion of Cambodia, the black and Puerto Rican and Indian and what-not situations are significant, then it is essential for them to recognize that they *must* find the best way to influence the doubtful middle group.

They say, "But it's ridiculous to have anybody make a decision on the basis of whether or not we have whiskers and long hair."

I said, "That's right. But which is more important to you?"

"Well, I don't know." And some are thinking about it. And if it is truly the case, as I've said to many of the students . . . Well, let me give you an example. Just a little more than a year ago, a student in the engineering physics class came up to me in the hall, and he said, "Dr. Sill, I think it's very unfair of you to disapprove of people who wear long hair."

I said, "I would agree with you that's unfair of me to say that. But what makes you think I do?"

Then he said, "Well, because you wear short hair yourself."

I said, "Well (whatever his name was), it's none of your damn business why I wear my hair short any more than it's any of my business why you wear your hair long. But I'll tell you, anyway." So I told him about the dandruff problem. It's a ridiculous thing, but there seems to be no way to control it except to keep it short.

So gradually the frown disappeared, and a smile appeared on his face, and he said, "Oh, you mean you have a medical reason to keep your hair short?"

I said, "Yes."

He said, "Oh, thanks a lot! Well, that makes me feel so much better. I thought that you were opposed to people who wear long hair just because you had your own hair short. I feel so much better about the thing. Thank you very much," and went off, and I had no more trouble with him. It's *ridiculous*. [laughter] *Absolutely* ridiculous. But so be it.

The truth of the matter is that people are reacting to flags on both sides. And I must confess that you can wave more flags individually by having long hair and whiskers than you can by sticking one up outside your business. And if the businessmen *really* wanted to provoke a confrontation, why, they should start carrying flags with them. Well, to some degree short hair serves that same purpose. (Now, I'm far off from your question.)

That was very interesting. Returning just for a moment to the situation up there at the stadium: what do you think should have been the reaction of the various factions involved?

Well, you'll have to put a time base on this. As of when? Before the Governor's Day celebration or whatever it's called, or once the . . .

Yes, the Governor's Day celebration. What do you think . . . ?

At the time that the people started going wrong?

Yes, in the conflict situation up there. What do you think should have been the reaction of the ROTC and the demonstrators and the university administration?

Well, the truth of the matter is, not having been there I can't say anything but hearsay. But the impression I get is, how could you have asked anybody to handle it any better? The soldiers, or ROTC if you wish, stayed in ranks, tried to do what they were asked to do. Maybe the idiot that had them turn and do a bayonet charge, which was scheduled anyway, right in the direction of the demonstrators could have been redirected in some fashion. But that still is the sort of mistake a person can make if he's got a programmed thing, and he's nervous and doesn't realize what the implications might be. But other than that, many of the demonstrators themselves—the ones I've talked to—were, in their own mind, at least, trying to see to it that things didn't get out of hand.

I have at this stage *no* idea as to . . . I haven't talked to either Maher or Adamian on this and have no idea what they themselves think on matters. But, generally speaking, they had apparently some sort of permit from the year before, I guess, reaffirmed before this that some representation of their own point of view would be appropriate. Some people apparently, allegedly, tried to stir it into greater flamboyance, and others tried to calm it down. Well, now, whether the others tried to stir it up appropriately, and whether they did, I don't know. But if they did, or if it naturally tended to go in that direction, the ones who tried to calm it down certainly acted appropriately.

As far as I was able to tell, the president acted with restraint. Oh, there seems some evidence that Regent Hug may well have overreacted. And reports I have from the regents' meeting the following Friday and Saturday suggest that the first response of the regents and possibly Hug—though I'm not absolutely sure about this—was one of vindictiveness, perhaps. At least that's the way it appears from reports I have secondhand

of the regents' meeting in Elko. But, people who came back said the first thing they wanted to do was to take vengeance, if you will, on everybody that participated. And he said, "I can't understand how they came out with such a relatively mild representation."

I said, "Well, they went into recess, didn't they?"

He said, "Why, yes. As a matter of fact, they *did*."

I said, "Well, there are some of the regents that didn't talk while this other protest was going on in the regents' meeting, weren't there?"

He said, "Yes."

I said, "All right. What do you think they went into executive session for? As a matter of fact, so the ones that were quieter in the meeting could point out what a mess the others were making of it."

"Well, I never thought of that."

And, well, be that as it may, but I've served on too many boards now, and I know exactly what you have to do when things go to hell. You even have to get out of the public eye for the sake of talking sense to somebody so that you don't force them to look like a fool in public. Let's put it this way: that with the political climate that exists in this state and certainly perhaps even in the country at this stage, they had to take some action. And if, indeed, they sought an investigation of the people whom they thought to be the instigators, under the established procedures of investigation and law, so to speak, within the university system, I don't know that they can be faulted for that, if, indeed, they stick with it.

So in answer to your question, with the possible exception of those who may have stirred the protest beyond its authorized limits, the rest, as far as I've been able to tell by hearsay, well, could you have asked them to do any different?

What was your reaction to the violence that followed Governor's Day—the fire bombings?

The first reaction was of considerable surprise, because by then I'd been working with Dodson and others with a lot of the students. I

know many of the students, not all of them by any means, but quite a number through various connections: mountain climbing, seminars, friendly meetings with the black students, and so on. And it seemed to me that this was, shall we say, incongruous. I was glad that it was put out.

And then the presence of the outsiders on the campus first led me, of course, to assume that they may have contributed in some fashion, and perhaps they did. Certainly, there *appears* to be a national tendency for agitators to move around and see that things are stirred up. But the more I have listened around the university community and among the students and others, the more I'm coming to the conclusion that probably nobody was involved from the university or even the group that was here from outside the university, though I think they would have been happy to have the fire bombing occur. But I'm sorry to say that I'm inclined to feel right now that if it was done at all, it was done by a single party, including the Hobbit Hole, or whatever they called it. And if I were to direct an investigation, one of the facets of that investigation would be to see whether or not it might have come from downtown someplace on the grounds . . .

Let me say this, that in my own home state of Nebraska, it seems to me, as I recall throughout my childhood and through my university career, that about every two years the state legislature would meet and say, "Why do we want a university?" because they made a study of the graduates of the university, and most of them who graduated left. "Why are we draining our resources for the betterment of the rest of the country?" So every couple of years they go through this routine of deciding whether or not there should be a state university and why they shouldn't just maybe provide scholarships to students. And nobody ever bothers—as far as I know, they *never* have bothered—to look at how many university graduates come in from outside. That's harder to get a hold of. And so each biennial budget period they finally, grudgingly decide that they're going to keep the university going *this* time, "But we'll look into it more carefully next time," type of thing. And I know enough of the

people around the state who are in a pecuniary situation with regard to their own aspirations in life, anyway, who tend to feel virtually the same way with regard to university here.

I'm drawing inferences here that are probably totally invalid, but you ask my response—I'll give you my response. And that is that I think there's more than negligible possibility, shall we say, that the more trouble is stirred up at the university, the more they'll get back to those long-hairs up there that are draining money out of their pocketbooks that can better be spent on other things, I'm not sure what—fur-lined bathtubs, perhaps.

What category of participant—the students, the faculty, or outsiders—do you think was most important in stirring up violence on the campus?

Would you try that question again?

What category of participant in these various affairs—the students, the faculty, or outsiders—do you think was most important in fomenting violence on the campus?

I don't think I'm capable of answering that. The faculty that I know—oh, with the possible exception of Adamian, (and I can't really judge his situation, really) and perhaps one or two others—but with the rest of them, they almost *all* were attempting to try and see to it that violence was, you know, curtailed, that constructive efforts were developed towards whatever ends most of us agree to.

The students involved at first were fractionated. The long-hair/short-hair is a simple, but oversimplified breakup. But all the meetings that I attended, of which there were a fair number, the students by and large were trying to talk to each other. I didn't see any *overt* effort, and certainly, except in one or two instances of students who tended to talk a good game—if you will, a violent game—seemed to me the students by and large were trying to calm things down. The ten or a dozen outsiders who appeared at the rap session—I guess they termed it—in the student union

building were arguing essentially a standard and a nihilistic game, but they were heavily isolated.

(I've forgotten what day it was—a Tuesday, perhaps, in April. No, it would have to be after that. It was probably—well, I don't know. That certainly could be pulled out of somebody's head. I guess, oh, probably Thursday. I'm guessing Thursday, May 7, now that I think about it.)

This is too small a community in its own fashion. They were picked up immediately by the student body and the faculty as not having a normal or ordinary connection here. And it seemed to me that they were encrusted by response, at least publicly—there may have been some they met with privately that responded in some other fashion. But in the long run I wouldn't be a bit surprised if the peculiar pressures that were brought on the university from the business community might have tended to provoke more violent response than anything else.

I'll say this much: I don't believe in violence myself. I had a meeting with some other people and myself in the university with Mike O'Callaghan, the proposed candidate for governor. And he was saying at that point that there was *bitter* antipathy to the university throughout the state. And he said, "Never in any . . ." You know, he's had a position with the federal government, wandering all over the Western eleven or twelve or whatever it is number of states. In none of those states has he seen such antipathy to the academic community as there is in Nevada.

I said, "For God's sake, why?"

He said, "Because of the things that they claim are going on in the university."

I said, "All right, damn it. What are they talking about? Are they talking about the few things that hit the press, or are they talking about the fact that the students and faculty are spending a *hell* of a lot of time trying to see to it that nothing blows up?"

"Well," he says, "They don't hear about that."

I said, "Of course not."

But he says, "Nonetheless, they are so disturbed at the things that have occurred already that they're ready to close down the university."

I said, "If they're disturbed at the things that have happened already, it's about time we in the university got busy and showed them what we could do." And this is a response of a person who does not believe in violence. How would people respond who *did* believe in violence? I can very easily see how the pressure from the outside might provoke the more violently inclined towards more violence. And the fact that there has been no additional violence is perhaps either a measure of our apathy—which I am sure does not exist here—or the fact that people are beginning to be aware that you've got to solve the problems in other ways. And I hope it's the latter.

Yes. What kinds of actions do you think were most effective in cooling off the situation?

Getting people to talk to each other as individuals. The procedure that Seufferle used in ag, that Dodson used in ag, that Fremlin used with the black confrontation earlier—and was used in various other sessions that I and others were involved in, and I've heard about—was, essentially, that as long as you talk as a group, anything can happen. But when you give this man over here a chance to talk, and then this man a chance to talk, and this man a chance to talk . . . And in a few instances they did even a better thing—that is, asked people at each instance to identify themselves by name, so that pretty soon people were saying, "I'm talking to Charlie over there. I don't agree with what you said," type of thing. It's an individual thing.

The *Homo sapiens* is a most peculiar . . . And in fact, I think he's insane in every sense of the term, at least as far as animal life is concerned on the earth. But, nonetheless, what you can countenance as part of a group is not at all the same thing. You can countenance as an individual in the public eye—even with people who may more or less sympathize with you. So getting things on an individual basis, I think, was an extraordinarily important thing *and* having one person talk at a time. And this was started, I'm *very* happy to say, by Ron Fremlin early enough in the game so

that by the time this other thing showed up, that there was some at least casual acceptance of it on the university campus. But as long as you get thousands of people looking blankly at thousands of other people, why, anything can happen.

And, incidentally, I think there's one interesting thing about this: I think that it's absolutely unlikely—impossible perhaps—for us to solve these problems without knowing more about man. Anthropology, many years ago, was thought of as the platform from which man would be able to understand himself, stand off from afar. I think now ecology serves that purpose. But, nonetheless, you take a look at . . . It is claimed, you know, that man is infinitely malleable, that you can train man to live under any circumstances, and I think this is false. I'm reasonably sure, intuitively, it's false, but I think there's more to it than that. There are at least four or five different things you can point to, all of which are suggestive that maybe man does have instincts. And if man has even *one* instinct, then you have to recognize your society will have to be built to accommodate that.

The simplest one is the one that was discovered, as far as I know, first by the Schallers in their discussion in the book, *The Year of the Gorilla*, in which they found that a direct-eye view constituted a confrontation among the gorillas, and so does it among dogs and chimpanzees, and it certainly does with man.³ And it seems to be entirely beyond civilization. This is true, as far as I know, in every society. And, of course, the Indians are even more extreme in this than we are. In many Indian cultures, if you really want to communicate, you look over the fellow's shoulder. If you look at him straight in the eye, why, you're ready for trouble. But walk down the street, a busy street, and just practice looking somebody in the eye. You'll find they'll fiddle with their cigarette lighter or their cigar, or they'll pause and tie their shoe or look up at the sky or whatever it is. And this is *exactly* what the gorillas did, exactly what dogs do, exactly what some others . . . cats don't, by the way. But in any event, it looks to me as if we have to be very, very careful

about devising civilizations that are based on the concept of infinite malleability of man. Man is very likely so wrapped up in himself that things that appear to him to be perfectly natural in their own fashion are perhaps quasi-instinctive.

OK. So what I am saying, more or less, is that you're not going to solve the problems of the city by city planners. It's going to take a multidisciplinary effort, and certainly the anthropologists are going to have to be there. And I wouldn't be surprised if the ecologists will have to be there, too. And so it goes. (I'm afraid I've just gone off from your question. Try it again and see how far off I went.)

[laughter] No, that was very good. How do you think events on campus affect the university's so-called image outside?

Hardly at all, because the real events on the campus are never correctly reported.

Well, how can the university focus public opinion?

This is not so easy. We've been fighting that battle with the Sierra Club for many years. Our executive director is . . . he *was* (he's now gone, thank God) a missionary and devoted captain in his own fashion, but he was also an either-or man: you either are with me, or you're opposed. And we managed to get rid of him after he started in embezzlement and in grotesque problems. But to this day we're still having a problem with people thinking of us as this organization which goes out of its way to make people mad, and it's either all or nothing. Well, we're pretty strong as far as conservation is concerned, and I'm distressed we're not stronger. But, at the same time, you can disagree with somebody intensely and retain respect. I've worked this out myself. You may think this is off the mark; I'm not sure it is.

Take the Humboldt National Forest in eastern Nevada. I've worked very, very closely with the Humboldt National Forest on a number of conservation problems. I know the district rang-

ers quite well, the forest supervisor, and some of the other staff. And when I disagree with them, and I'm going to have to take some public position with fundamental disagreement involved in it, I will talk to whoever is involved, usually the forest supervisor and maybe the district ranger. And, say, they both happen to be Bobs, so take your pick. "Bob, I'm going to have to make a public statement on such-and-such a date on this matter, and I think you better hear what I'm going to say first. Then it won't catch you by surprise. Here's the reason why I'm making it; here's what I'm going to say." And I'll read it to him or, if possible, send him a copy. "Are there any serious errors in this? Do you have any comments about it?" I'll have to make it, so you can't do that. So they'll think about it, and they'll respond to the thing.

I say, "OK. Well, now you know it's coming," and so I do it. And they'll do the same with me. And the net result of it is that we're on *excellent* personal terms, even though we disagree fundamentally. There's no reason why this can't be done with reasonably rational people, I hope. Maybe this is what the university has to do. But who does it? Mr. Olsen, I don't think in the first place can do it, partly because he may not have the energy. He's crippled, as you know. And secondly, because the truth of the matter is this is *not* "a university"; it's a collection of people. And in order, in the first place, to achieve any measure of public relations or communication, the university has to have considerably closer relations in itself. And this means, among other things, the departmental barriers have to be broken to a considerable degree.

I'm fighting this battle in my department right now. I'm practically the only person in my department that is interested in things outside my department, to that extent anyway. Oh, everybody has interests, but, you know, I'm a mere physicist, and so you stay with physics, and that's that. In fact, I'm having a fight with my department chairman on this right now. As I say, as a tenured professor, it gives me a platform from which to fight. But be that as it may, *if* the only chance we

have to solve the problems involves multi-disciplinary effort, and we're forced by the accounting and bookkeeping procedures to stay within our own departments, then we will not solve the problems. Just as simple as that. If they are solved, they'll be solved from outside the university. And the university's role in the community will certainly suffer.

Some argue the university should not be contributing to the solution of such practical problems. It should be off on cloud nine, dealing with academia in the old sense of the term. Well, perhaps, but historically I think the university has been the innovator of essentially new ideas in many respects, and perhaps it still should be. But if we're going to get these accepted by the community, we are going to have to find ways of achieving a relationship with the community; and before we can do that, it seems to me we have to know ourselves. And here we go back to the premise that to solve the problems is it necessary for us to break down departmental barriers? But even if we got those solutions, we'd have to break them down. To my mind this is the *sine qua non* of any progress—not break them down, throw them out.

Take this Roelofs-Crowley seminar. They had, I forget, twenty-four to thirty faculty members they called in from time to time to participate as experts in the seminar. And I was one of those selected, I suppose not because they think physics had anything to do with anything, because most of them don't (which is another C. P. Snow "two-culture" problem), but in any event I was called upon to participate in the thing, and I chose to participate as a student. So I went to all the meetings and I participated as much as I could in all the committee work. Most of the committees . . . well, I won't go into that in detail. You may have heard that elsewhere, and if you haven't, that's another very worthwhile thing to look into, because to my mind this has broken through the process barrier, if you will, for dealing with such problems. They have shown, I think, in that seminar how you go about setting up a working committee—a shirt-sleeve task force, if you will—to

cope with some of these problems. It would have to be more intensive, but in any event, this does in my mind point towards a future mechanism—or present, hopefully—but it'll take a lot of doing. In any event, the faculty members that were involved . . . well, they'd spend their spare time. And I was chewed out by my department chairman for wasting my time on this.

But let me give an example. Several years ago I had some talks with the president, President Miller, about what I will mention shortly, and he urged me to submit this to one of the university committees, and I've forgotten it—the university committee on educational planning or something of the sort. And they thought it was really quite amusing, as a matter of fact, to present the thing I shall mention here to them, because they're a very conservative committee, or they were at that time, Ken Carpenter being the *only* man—he was then chairman—who had any imagination. And it was amusing to watch how embarrassed they were at a faculty member, a colleague of theirs, coming in with such a *goofy* idea as the one I presented. And so after hemming and hawing and fumbling around, somebody finally found a way of giving me and giving themselves a process for getting me out. So I went back in considerable distress to the president and talked to him some more. And so he suggested I go to the Laird committee of the College of Arts and Science, which I did. The Laird committee took it seriously, reviewed the matter in considerable detail, did not act on it last year, but the continuation of the committee under Jim Roberts did act on it this year, and then fell flat on its face at the tail end or the end of the semester. And I don't know how we're going to get our results out. Well, be that as it may, the basic thought, essentially, was that . . . and I'll give you or the tape here the model rather than the whole discussion. But the reason for the preceding, I think, is to point out the difficulty of getting ideas established, even by an idea factory. And the report, I might note, that I wrote in response to my discussions with the president—the proposal, if you wish—I could

not get typed by my department secretary because it wasn't department business. So I finally had to sneak around and find somebody who was a friend of mine on the faculty, whose secretary wasn't actually busy at the time, to get it typed up.

OK, the model. So picture a large, if you will, infinite field covered with meter-high, white stakes. (Have to be white so you can see them—green, they'd disappear in the background.) Each stake represents a problem: nuclear fission, for example, or aid to dependent children or whatever. But it so happens that in the university, at least, the stake that's labeled with a physics title has to be hammered on by somebody who has a coverall labeled “physics.” And if it happens to have a hybrid name, it doesn't get hit. Now, the advantage of this model is that you can drive things into the ground, of course, and that is an accidental benefit. But the thing that is important to notice is this: that the disciplinary effort is successful in working on such a concentrated basis, but the things that involve more than one field don't get worked on. And as the disciplinary successes occur, and the others are left, apparently, higher and higher, which can very easily come to the conclusion that the disciplinary, or academic, or whatever you will, effort or rational effort fails, because look at these terribly important problems which exist over here: racism, for example, and poverty and, oh, Lord knows, all the many problems that exist.

So that, in any event, I was suggesting, then, that there ought to be working committees composed of people from ten or fifteen different disciplines that a faculty member could devote time to as part of his regular assignment. Well, this, of course, is *hopelessly* naïve, as far as the book-keeping processes are concerned, because it doesn't work that way. And it's been now, I think, almost two and a half years of effort on my part to get this to the point where a committee has reviewed it sufficiently that it's coming out with a recommendation that things be changed. Well, it's no wonder the students get disturbed. [laugh-

ter] Because this is only getting a recommendation out for the faculty to consider, let alone do something. Well, so it goes. And that's again a wild digression, I suspect, although it is philosophically related to your question.

Yes, and that's very interesting. Do you feel that issues of academic freedom are involved in participating in a demonstration?

Now, let me think. Yes. Academic freedom, to oversimplify it, gives the university professor or student the right to take an unpopular position with respect to his society. And tenure gives him a right to take an unpopular position with regard to faculty and the university. And if you're taking, essentially, an unpopular position with regard to the society's mores or whatever, then academic freedom is automatically involved, yes.

Now, destruction of property adds an extra element to it. And my general feeling on that is that this is the thing that you do in the last resort—1776, if you wish. Whether that was the last resort in those days, I don't know, but, in any event, de facto it was. You don't start something like that unless you're going to carry it through, is what it amounts to. As I've said earlier, I am myself not an exponent of violence at all, and I have to admit, a pacifist who would fight for peace, if you will, and that's a curious admixture. Well, in other words, if I felt that my fighting would constructively produce peace, I might be willing to do so, and I understand that many of the students think that way. But was it [George Bernard] Shaw who made the statement that—I never can quote it right—about youth being such a great boon, that it's a shame that it's given to the young, who are too young to appreciate it? Well, he said it better than that, of course.

But one of the biggest problems with the youth right now—and I suppose it's always been true—is, in the first place, impetuosity (which I share even at the age of forty-seven), but perhaps not the breadth of experience to realize that even the guy they disagree the most fundamentally with

has an argument on his side. And once you recognize that point, I think perhaps you're a little more in a position to stop and say, "Now, if *he* has a point that's valid on his side, maybe a few of mine aren't." And hopefully out of this comes something that's better. But there are a lot of people who are expressing what for all practical purposes is the *Götterdämmerung* approach—in other words, either me or not, that it's either got to be all right, or there isn't going to be anything. Now, this, in my opinion, is an evidence of gross societal paranoia or even species paranoia, because where else in nature do you find any animal that *has* to have things his own way, and, by God, if that isn't the case, you'll kill everything around.

We're doing that, or we're thinking to do so. And you can argue with new ecological knowledge that in order for any stable structure to exist, you must have the maximum degree of complexity and things of this sort—one of the few fundamental principles of ecology that are pretty well recognized, with a few exceptions, of course, such as in the arctic-alpine zone. But fundamentally, if you're going to have anything that constitutes stability, you have to have extraordinary complexity with all sorts of feedback loops. And man ostensibly hopes to survive, and if he does, then it's essential for him to see to it that the trumpeter swan will survive, and the tule elk, the condors, the creosote bush, and so on. So that even in self-interest . . . though admittedly the knowledge that this is self-interest is not thoroughly understood yet. But even in terms of self-interest, man can't afford to act any further in this fashion. But here we go: "You're either going to do it my way, or we'll all go down together," including *all* the rest of life—4.5, 5 billion years of development. I can't take that exalted a position of human life on earth any more than I can take that exalted a position in regard to myself: "I'll have things my way, or I'll destroy everybody else." We, as humans, will have things our way, or we'll destroy everything else—to me this is, as I say, an advanced form of paranoia, which man as a species seems to be subject to.

How do you think students and faculty can be effective politically, or should they be trying to influence?

They have to be. They have to be. How they can be . . . ? Well, to take the simplest and stupidest example, is cut their hair and whiskers off. [laughter] And the students react pretty badly to that thing, and they say, "That's just because you have short hair on yourself."

And I say, "No. I don't think so. The point is, what do you think is important?" And when you consider the fact that if you could shift—what was it in the last election, fifty thousand votes or something like that—you'd have had a different president. Now, is it worth paying three bucks a haircut for a while or even taking the trouble of cutting each other's hair for the sake of shifting fifty thousand votes? Well, maybe it'll be more than that. All right, so a million votes. And the answer is, "What do you think is important? If you really take these problems seriously, if you *really* take them seriously, then these other things are trivial." And if the time came that in order to influence people you had to have your hair long, well, then you'd have to do so, unless perhaps In my case I have a medical reason.

But the truth of the matter is that, "What are you trying to do?" And if you're trying to make some substantial changes that work, basically Remember the case of Korea? Syngman Rhee (I never can pronounce his name correctly) was put in, essentially, as a puppet by the Americans, by the American military.⁴ And I should have realized at the time, I suppose, that we were moving in a bad direction. But at the time, well, it's awfully hard sometimes to recognize turning points, and I *hoped* that that was simply a pause on the way of something better. So how was he eventually overthrown? By the students. And for all practical purposes, he had a military dictatorship at the time, and who overthrew him? Students. And it was after the fact. Don't wait that long. Let's do it right now. And the only way to do it now is politically.

And how can the university be effective? Well, one of the ways the university can be ef-

fective, and probably the students more than anyone else, first of all, is do whatever is necessary in the way of trivial matters, like dress and haircuts and what-not. And then go home and inform yourself thoroughly. Go home to your home environment: "Joe's boy wouldn't do any of that type of thing." And there's the chance to influence the whole state.

These are local matters. People say, for example, "Well, we tried that in 1968."

I said, "Yes, *but* there you were trying to elect one man." Now, everything is on a local basis. Essentially, you have the entire House of Representatives, one-third of the senate, and half the governorships are up for grabs right now. And all of these are local issues: "You can all go back to your own homes and make the minor sacrifices, if that's what it amounts to." Although in the summer I should think that much hair wouldn't help them, anyway. But in any event, "Go back to your homes and talk to people as Joe's boy. And in the process you can change the whole future of civilization. Isn't it worth it?"

"Well, yes, but if you go along with somebody partway, why, in effect, you've sold your soul, and you're going all the way."

I said, "All right, then you're saying that it's all going to be my way or else, and that's what's important. What right do you have to assume that you are right on *everything*?" I happen to feel very strongly that there should be complete freedom of dress, that if somebody wants to go along without anything on, that's his business. As far as I'm concerned, it doesn't affect me at all. But at the same time it does affect me if, in adhering to something which is essentially a triviality in its own fashion—because in the long run dress is trivial—you destroy something which is infinitely more significant. You'd be nuts—to use the simple term. [laughter] I hate to say "insane"; it isn't quite as bad as that, but "nuts" is right.

Where do you think the peace movement in this area is headed now?

I don't think I'm in a position to comment on that. I don't know. You mean Reno or Nevada?

Yes. Locally, as in which way you see it locally.

Well, at this stage I don't know. I hope it's going political. Dan Teglia says that he's going to run for assembly or county commissioner or something, not that he expects to be elected, but so that he can bring out some issues along the line. And when we had a meeting with him—Jim Hulse and I and some others had a meeting with him and some of the other students on this matter—finally, Jim said, “Well, you realize, of course, that if you're going to have any chance at *all* to be listened to, you're going to have to be clean-cut.”

And Dan said, “We will be.” [laughter]

But they are naïve to some degree, because in the purpose . . . it's a little like McCarthy in its own fashion, because in putting up somebody that is idealistic—or at least would be satisfactory in their own opinion—even though you're going to lose, it's better to go down in a good cause than win in a poor cause. There may be some point in that, except that it has such fierce overtones now in terms of life on earth.

But the idea of supporting Charlie Springer . . . the only thing they're going to do for sure is get Ed Fike in. And when I was talking to Mike O'Callaghan, I said, “What *should* the university's position be with regard to political things? Is there such antipathy to the university now that what we ought to do is to get out and ostensibly support people like Bill Raggio so that people react against us and support Cannon?”

And he said, “Well . . .” and he thought that was pretty transparent. But finally he essentially agreed, I think, that the proper thing is for the kids to cut their locks, if you will, and go home and talk to people on a local basis. “And,” he says, “if you can keep your long hair and fold envelopes and stuff envelopes and run mimeograph machines and keep out of the public eye, you can do a lot of work if that's what you're willing to do.”

The students are serious, all right, but I don't think they're serious enough. In some respects I consider them fly-by-nights politically, because

they haven't yet, in *my* opinion, recognized how terribly serious these problems really are.

Do you have some other comments you'd like to make about this whole situation?

Well, maybe. It's refreshing to see people thinking and reacting and being aware of things. As I say, ten years ago it was *appalling*. But there's lack of understanding. And I don't blame those young people, I suppose, and I don't really blame the society as a whole, because for many years we've been distracted from any real knowledge. Take the case when I was an instructor. A student came in to me one time—this is the start of the McCarthy era—and he said, “Mr. Sill, I *really* think we all ought to be investigated by the FBI every six months.”

And I said, “For God's sake, why?”

He said, “Well, we might have become a Communist and not even know it ourselves.”

I said, “What do you think this is like, venereal disease or something? And even there at least you'd have some reason to suspect you *might* have contracted it along the line.” Well, needless to say, that didn't get anywhere. He didn't understand.

But in some respects so much of the business community and even the student body in many instances don't understand what communism is all about or how it works. And I regret to say that I don't, either. I know more about it than they do just because I've lived longer in some cases and have been in an aware situation in some respects. But the environmental problem has reached the stage now, I'd say, where the question of whether we shall be communistic or capitalistic or whatever it is, has become trivial. It's archaic. It has no bearing on things, except in one respect: and that is we don't have time to experiment. Let's hypothesize, for example, that (oh, I don't know) that capitalism will turn out as I suspect it will—to be *the* effective way to deal with the environmental problem. As, for example, every two years we can practically overturn the whole government if we really put our mind to it.

And in the meantime we can, by pressure, change political complexion of the legislatures, national and local, substantially if we really want to. You can't do that in at least the more tyrannical forms of government.

So, well, be that as it may. Back to the original hypothesis. I think that you could say, "OK. If capitalism or democracy—whatever—is the effective way to solve the environmental problems, the Russians are stuck." They don't have time to experiment, because they've over-stressed their environment almost to the same degree that we have, more effectively in many ways than we have, I mean, more destruction per square citizen, if you will. And by the same token, we don't have time to experiment.

My wife and I took a hiking vacation in the Montana wilderness area on spring vacation, and there we met two youngsters from Palo Alto High School who were deep in the ecological movement. And at that time they were preaching that revolution is the only possible way to solve the environmental problems. And rather than argue with them on that particular basis, I started talking in terms of the problems of, oh, for example, how long you can be deprived of coal or iron or steel or gold or whatever it is and still have the society pick up. After an hour or so of discussion on that basis, some of the facts they'd known themselves had been put together. One of them turned to the other one and says, "Sean, you know what that indicates?"

And he said, "Yes, Doug. It means that we *have* to solve the problems within the system."

Why isn't that information made available to us? Because they . . . well, I don't know. Well, I will say this, that Larry Dwyer is working with me on a Nevada Environmental Foundation project right now, attempting, among other things, to begin to collect that information. We are finding all sorts of places around the state where information exists. They will not give it to us, because they're afraid it might get in the hands of the enemy. Now, as the deputy—I can't ever remember my title—director or deputy chief of the production committee of the Office of Emergency

Planning (Jim Anderson is the head), we spent a fair amount of time dealing with the crisis situation in the state and how much food there is and things of that sort. And as far as civil defense is concerned, one knows very, very well that if you deprive goods and services or petroleum or whatever it is, even communication, for a substantial period of time, all disaster ensues. And yet the information that people have to have . . . and their national televised interviews with young people who have flatly said, "The only way to solve the problem is go to communism or socialism or something along the line," have *no idea* of the severity of the stress problem or how the structure works, or the fact that if you disrupt it even in *trivial* fashion, that the thing can fall completely apart. And Walter Voskuil pointed out that if the air controllers, the Bell Telephone, and the post office had all gone out at the same time for two or three weeks, we might be in a starvation situation just from that *alone*. And that's not even resources; it's just services.

About the degree to which the society can survive: well, let's document that with a few very obvious examples. Let's go back to, say, 1870. How long could the country have survived and maintained its level . . . or shall we say, survived? I guess I'm trying to say, how long can you be deprived of something and then have that resupplied in some fashion and still pick up where you were before, without having a significant degradation on the level of organization or population or whatever you want? Back in 1870 how long could you be deprived of oil? Forever, for all practical purposes. Sure, a few hundred years later society wouldn't have continued to develop, but certainly for one year or five years, ten years, you probably could have got by without any severe deprivation by not having any oil. How long would you be able to do so now? Well, hell, we're using four billion barrels of oil a year! And much of this is being used, among other things, either directly to synthesize fertilizer or in the process of providing energy to—oh, for example—precipitate, if you will (to use a non-correct term), nitrogen from the atmosphere in making ammo-

nia fertilizer and things of that sort. So that since we're running *unheard* of Oh, the corn. We're nearly a hundred . . . maybe, I guess, it's over a hundred bushels per acre now. This is *fantastic*. You just can't do this without advanced technology, without the use of fertilizers and, God forbid, even insecticides, although the conservationists . . . I think we've gone haywire on that, too. We usually do. And we have food, for example, in Nevada that would enable a society to survive for the order of three weeks. And we have more food available here than California does partly because of the Freeport Law, and we have stuff that we'd have to cabbage (no pun intended) in order for us to survive three weeks without going into at least a semi-starvation configuration.⁵ Anyway, as time has passed on, the time that we can go deprived of any given thing has got shorter and shorter and shorter, and according to Walter Voskuil, who's an economic geologist at the university here, we've now reached a place where some of these things are almost beginning to be negative. And once any one of them does go negative, there isn't one damn thing we can do to keep the society going. It'll *have* to collapse in one fashion or another.

Suppose, for example, that we aren't able to produce enough, oh, well, petroleum or get enough petroleum to keep the society going; we just can't get it. Then this means something has to be turned off. Well, the first thing, of course, there will be gas rationing, and there will be private automobiles and such that will no longer be usable. And this will probably stabilize things for a little bit, but think of this: the cost per oil well is increasing, partly because you have to do more exploration, partly because you have to drill more deeply, partly because, oh, just the additional technology that's associated with it. The only way that you can maintain any reasonable and competitive price with other forms of energy, let's say—even some of them being restricted—is by having volume of business, as the old joke had it. This means that you have to go to an ever-expanding use of resource, which you *have* to have an ever-expanding use of, because you're run-

ning out of it. So the environmental aspects of the problem

Let's go someplace else. There are four things we're doing right now that I know of, any one of which is seriously threatening higher life on earth, exclusive of war. One of them is DDT and the polychlorinated biphenyls, which are used in industry in making plastics and degradation of plastics and so on. They have some of the same effects as DDT does. There's a very famous article in *Science* by Charles Wurster at the Woods Hole Oceanographic Institute, in which he points out that as much as ten parts per billion of DDT will reduce the oxygen productivity of phytoplankton by perhaps 50 percent.⁶ In case you're not familiar, phytoplankton are the small plant cells in the ocean that are the base of the food pyramid in the ocean. And if you get as much as a *hundred* parts per billion, you may, depending on the subspecies of phytoplankton, reduce it to 10 or 20 percent—someplace in that range—of the total productivity that exists in the absence of DDT. The phytoplankton in the ocean produces 65 to 70 percent of the oxygen in the atmosphere. OK? How much DDT do we have? Well, oh, there's enough DDT. DDT is showing up throughout the world in one form or another.

And the famous example, of course, is the penguins in Antarctica that are receiving it. Well, all right, not an enormous amount, but the point that they're getting it is dangerous. You're finding DDT is being concentrated in the pelagic birds, for example, which is to say the ones that are far removed from the coastlines. Maybe enough, in fact, so that some of the concentration is damaging the ability of the birds to survive at all. And so it goes. Plus, the fact that if we were able to stop even the manufacture of DDT right now, there's enough in the soil and the atmosphere that the concentration would undoubtedly increase. At this stage it's almost impossible to estimate what the consequences would be, but it's sure there are going to be some. The only effect may possibly be

The trouble with ecology is though extraordinarily complicated, it's difficult to anticipate

all the way. But, nonetheless, you can tell what some of the possibilities are. One of them is that it can result, as Paul Ehrlich had said in *Ram-parts* last fall sometime, in the destruction to death, if you will, of the ocean. He didn't happen to draw the conclusion that 70 percent of the oxygen would no longer be available to higher vertebrate life or any other. And it's interesting to notice that if you reduce the atmosphere to 30 percent, that no ordinary higher life form could survive any more even at sea level. Where if you cut it to five-eighths, you could . . . oh, it would be equivalent to living at 14,000 feet, which can be done. Some human species are even able to reproduce if they stay at such altitudes. Some of the Indians in South America and the people in Nepal, for example, certainly can do so, and Tibet. But you and I could not, probably.

In any event, this is one of the things that we're doing that can very easily damage the fundamental life support system and is indeed doing so. We don't know quite how much. It might end up by changing the . . . by selectively encouraging certain types of phytoplankton to take over, and they conceivably could produce more oxygen, but they probably won't, at least on the basis of what we know now.

Another thing we're doing is the oil spills. Now, when the oceanographic vessels are making studies, and they put out phytoplankton nets, which are very, very fine-grain, almost a Millipore in structure, they're picking up oil all over the world. And the estimates of the amount of oil that are in the ocean now is that the actual mass of oil that's been spilled by Torrey Canyon disasters and what-not is now equal to the biomass in the ocean itself, and this is also extraordinarily deleterious.⁷ And although people had not thought until recently that oil after a little while was particularly dangerous, it's now recognized that even after the volatile elements have evaporated, that which is left also is highly dangerous to life.

So there are two extraordinarily important things that we're doing. The famous disaster, disaster of the Aswân Dam in Egypt, is another one. And if you want to be patriotic, boy, as I am, you

can certainly thank God the Russians beat us out on that. They put the dam in the Nile. Of all the insane things—it just drives me wild sometimes to see the way we do things. But here is the Nile, the fertile soil that has remained fertile since before man's recognition of the thing and has made it possible for some integrity of civilization for almost ten thousand years, I suppose, now, and certainly five or six. And it's done so by periodic flooding. So what do the damn fools do but put a dam up without the flooding. Guess what? They have to use fertilizers. And who's surprised? Well, of course, the trouble with fertilizers is that they, as usual, are not broad spectrum; they don't provide all the nutrients that you need to have. And as a consequence, you run the soil out, which is what we're doing in this country with our use of artificial fertilizers. But the incidental by-product of this is that the nutrients are no longer going on into the Mediterranean; the result is that the fisheries in the eastern Mediterranean almost totally disappeared from things like . . . oh, I forget the number, exactly. Well, it's something like 250,000 tons of sardines or something of the sort that they used to pick up there; they're down to around 90 tons. Why are they disappearing? Well, the answer is that they're disappearing because the nutrients that the phytoplankton have to have to live on are no longer there. And in California there are thirty-eight major rivers, thirty-five of which are now dammed, that are not reaching the ocean. Throughout the world the supply of nutrients to the ocean is gradually being cut down by the increasing use of dams. The effect of this, of course, sooner or later over the whole world wide, is to reduce the productivity of the phytoplankton, because they haven't anything to work on. So here we go again.

And the *last* thing is that the particulate matter, some of which is cirrus clouds (well, it produces nucleation for cirrus cloud formation in the upper atmosphere), is increasing the reflectivity of the atmosphere, so there's less solar radiation that's reaching the surface of the earth. It's compensating the greenhouse effect from carbon dioxide, so that the earth is getting cooler rather

than warmer, which the greenhouse effect would predict. But among other things, it's also reducing the insulation that you have to have for the phytoplankton to produce oxygen.

There are four things all going on simultaneously, all fundamentally aimed at the life support system on the earth. In addition to that, projections—for what they're worth—say that in five years one-half the vegetation in California will be dead or dying. On the order of one-third of the oxygen in the atmosphere is provided by the vegetation on the earth.

So, why, I want to know, why is it that man can't ever achieve any compromise? Why is that we always swing the pendulum as far as possible in one direction or another? I wish I knew the answer to this. The Greeks certainly were aware of it. The striving for the golden mean couldn't have been pursued as intensively if it hadn't been that even in those days man was not inclined to take a middle ground—be moderate in all things, including being moderate, so to speak.

There are some interesting possibilities, and I speculate as to what it may mean. But, for example, we know that the brain, among other things, works—at least in detail—as a computer, and as a binary computer with neurons either firing or non-firing, as the case may be. It's like a switch, either open or closed. Is it conceivable that our fundamental emotional response to things is determined by one or at least a very few neurons? If that's the case, then it wouldn't be surprising that it's extraordinarily difficult for people naturally to take some intermediate ground, because an intermediate ground involves a greater spectral range of decomposition of information than simply to yes or no. And so I've examined this and tried to see if there's any hints in my own existence, and I find there is such a hint, though it may only be a peculiarity of myself and not others.

I have a very poor memory. This may strike you as odd from the way I rattle off here, but the truth is that arbitrary things I can't remember. And in the nature of my profession, usually if you remember something, it's probably wrong, anyway;

and if you do remember it correctly, the chances are you shouldn't, because you should think it over fresh, because the chances are you'll have a new point of view, and it'll come out better than it was before. So use of memory, per se, is sort of discouraged in my profession; at least it is by people who think as I do. There are others, of course, who once they memorize . . .

In fact, it's very interesting—I'll get off on that for a moment. Sam Goudsmit, one of the great physicists of the century—candidate for the Nobel prize and didn't quite make it, but certainly discoverer of the electron spin—adopted this university as a second home. And he and I have been on rather good terms for a long time, and we published some papers together. But in any event, when he was here one time, he'd been editor of the *Physical Review* for a long time, the bible of physics, the unreadable green horror. And he was saying by then he had known almost all the great physicists in this century. He said they fall into two categories: there is the group that strikes it big while they're young, and there is the group that produces all their lives. He said the essential characteristic of those that strike it big when they're young is perfect memory. And that group essentially makes its contribution at the time it's learning a subject in the first place. [Wolfgang] Pauli, for example, wrote the definitive article in the *Handbuch der Physik* on theory of relativity at the age of eighteen. And it's still essentially the definitive article on the thing, other than the original one from Einstein, of course. And then there have been further developments of a minor degree, but this is the article.

Pauli was a man who had fundamentally perfect memory. So, when he was working and trying to understand and grasping the thing in the first place, then all the powers of his mind were brought to bear, and he saw a new thing. Well, once he got it done, why did he have to go back and look at it? He could write anything he wanted down from memory. So his contribution was fundamental at that stage and thence forth. But there are other people who have very poor memories, and every time they hit a subject, they start all

over again. And this group contributes even to the same old subject all the rest of its life. So there's hope for me, because I have poor memory. But, nonetheless, I have asked myself, specifically, what would you expect under these circumstances? And I find just what I would expect, which is a very dangerous thing in physics, incidentally. If you find what you expect, the chances are it's coincidence.

But I don't remember either-or things. You have a choice of two possibilities; they're entirely arbitrary. And you find that one way works, and the other way doesn't work, perhaps, and get by. Or you have a lot of switches that control your apparatus, and you throw one up, and something will happen, or you throw it down. Well, I go away for a week's vacation and come back; I can't remember whether it's to go up or down to do what I want it to. But if I have to go through a sequence of three or four switches, then this involves an hypothesis: a larger number of neurons working involves a larger amount of interconnections in the brain; the result is more complicated, and there's greater likelihood that some of this will be stored someplace, and you'll pick it up. So it's a hypothesis; it can't be taken very seriously, but maybe there's some significance to it. And, certainly, somebody has to figure out some way so that people do not . . . or at least you understand why it is, somehow, that the people tend to take such extreme positions at all times. And it may possibly be simply that the fundamental emotions are governed by a very new part of the brain that deals with essentially an either-or operation. For what it's worth, if it's true, it's extraordinarily dangerous. Maybe the idea of making problems complex is the only hope we have, because thereby a larger fraction of the brain will be involved, and if that is the case, perhaps we'll be less likely to go to extremes.

Yes, yes. OK then.

There may well be other things that you have in mind that don't fit in your regular question pattern; I don't know.

Well, I think it would be nice sometime if we got together, and you can continue. [laughter]

[laughter] Well, I digress too much, but it's fun.

Do you want a restriction on this tape?

No. Well, I might say one thing about this. At the tail end you ask me, "Do I want a restriction on the tape?" and the answer is no. I do strongly feel, and I don't recall whether I said this earlier or not, but I think you should have it on the tape that this is a trying time, a time that tries men's souls and so on, and it's a very critical time, and it could very easily end up, I think, with the destruction of American democracy as such—not only the destruction of life on earth, but it might go through this other process on the way. But I think that the noble effort on your part to restrict it, the more sensitive parts of the tape, perhaps, or those who wish them restricted, is desirable. But if it turns about that we end up with something, in effect, like the—well, maybe not quite the Hitler program—but something where you have secret police, then you can't. And this does not mean that I have held back in any question that you've asked. I wouldn't intend to do so. But I do feel that you . . . some other people, who predict as I do, that there is at least a distinct possibility of a military or industrial military takeover, a southern state takeover, in effect, of the authority in the country, may possibly be holding back just because of the recognition that your tapes might be compromised by a night raid by the Staat Polizei or something.⁸ And it's possible in the years to come, when the rest of us have gone to hell—where we probably should be now—that whoever looks over these tapes should be aware of the fact that *some* people who are predicting that sort of thing may actually be holding back. I am not, at least consciously. I would not like to implicate anybody else, and to that degree I would, but so far I haven't had to. Your questions haven't compelled me to.

[laughter] OK.

One of the other things that occurs to me in getting a playback at the tail end that is perhaps important for futurity is that this is taped on the order of eight-thirty to ten-thirty in the morning of . . . what is it? Thursday?

Yes.

Thursday, June 18, 1970, new style.

[laughter]

Notes

1. The Annexation (Anschluss) of Austria into the German Reich occurred in March 1938. After protests from Britain and France at the Munich conference in September, Adolf Hitler was permitted to take the Sudetenland, roughly 16,000 square miles covering nearly one-third of Czechoslovakia.

2. In 1950 Helen Gahagan Douglas and Richard M. Nixon fought a vicious battle in California for an open seat in the U.S. Senate. Nixon claimed Douglas had communist tendencies. He won the election by roughly a ten percent margin.

3. Schaller, George B. *The Year of the Gorilla*. Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1964.

4. Syngman Rhee was elected the first president of South Korea in 1948. After a national uprising in 1960, he was forced to resign.

5. Under Nevada's Freeport Law, materials or goods can be stored in the state, for later shipment, without taxation.

6. Charles F. Wurster, Jr. "DDT Reduces Photosynthesis by Marine Phytoplankton." *Science* 159:3822 (1968): 1474-75.

7. On March 18, 1967, the Torrey Canyon ran aground off Lands End in England. Approximately 850,000–875,000 barrels of oil were dumped into the sea.

8. The German State Police.

ANTHONY SPRINGER

June 2, 1970

Now, just for the record, if you'll say your name, your residence, and your position. You don't need to fool with the microphone—it picks you up real well.

Right. My name is Major Anthony Springer. I'm the deputy professor of military science here at the University of Nevada, Reno.

Why do you think you were chosen to be interviewed?

Well, perhaps I'm a very obvious personality, being a soldier, and much of the focus at Governor's Day was directed towards our portion of the ceremony or activity.

What was your reaction to President Nixon's decision to go into Cambodia with troops?

I would have to preface by saying that I'm not privy to the vast amount of information that he has, and therefore I can only speculate. As an army officer who has spent two tours in Vietnam,

one as a rifle company commander who has fought near the Cambodian border, I can say without equivocation that it was most frustrating to be involved in a firefight and have to halt at a certain line or a certain buffer zone which marked Cambodia. We knew at that time (and this is 1967) that there was a very large cache of enemy arms and equipment, within spitting distance almost, across the Vietnamese-Cambodian border.

I expect the president feels that since we must withdraw from Vietnam, and the pressure at home is such that it's not a matter of "if" anymore but "when," that he would like to get out as fast as he can, but, concurrently, as gracefully as he can. He doesn't want to feel that we are running with our tails between our legs. If, for instance, he can in some sort of a blitzkrieg way destroy the enemy's ability to wage war effectively, based on this tremendous staging area in Cambodia, then this probably was his motive.

(I would say parenthetically that I think even though we were successful in destroying the bulk of the staging area in Cambodia, that in due course—without trying to sound pessimistic—this could all be built up again if the Vietnamese, like ourselves, are also going to withdraw. Hope-

fully, because they're going to remain behind us in Vietnam, in Cambodia, they will be able to obviate this buildup again.)

Yes. Yes. In what way do you think the Cambodia decision was related to what happened next on our campus?

When you say "what happened next," are you referring to Governor's Day?

Well, all the things that really happened.

That very active week.

Yes.

I would say that it had a large bearing on the activities of Governor's Day week. I would say, also, the unfortunate killing of the four students at Kent State University had added equal fire to the activity of the week. Certainly, the vast majority of American students that I have come into contact with . . . or let me be even more general: the vast majority of young people, say, twenty-five years old and younger, are extremely frustrated with the war. Now, this is not to say that older people aren't, too, but for the sake of discussion, I'll put the people over twenty-five as being of a more conservative bent, of a more stoic bent, in that they—while not necessarily approving war in Vietnam—are staying mute and hoping for the best as they watch the president and his administration operate.

These younger students, or younger people, feel that our national security is in no way at stake. At least, if they accept the domino theory, they don't see that the national security of the United States is *immediately* at stake, even though Vietnam may fall and possibly after certain other Southeast Asia countries. Therefore, they cannot understand why we insist on shedding so much blood and, I expect, spend so much treasure in a conflict that has questionable security value to us and, while at the same time, we're so tremendously besieged with domestic problems at home.

(I'm not sure if I answered that.) Let's put it this way, that's certainly a major consideration of why there was great unrest at the Cambodian decision.

Yes, yes. What was your reaction to the events in other parts of the country similarly related to the Cambodia decision?

Well, one is immediately aware of the reaction on the campuses, I would say, as a very noticeable group. Like most Americans, I'm pretty much oriented towards the evening television news programs and the major dailies and the principal weeklies. And one was immediately aware that the decision to go into Cambodia had a *devastating* impact on campuses. When I say "a devastating impact," I mean *many* people, closer to the center, away from the radical trend, became vocal and extremely distraught at the presidential decision.

Certainly, there were equal manifestations to the other extreme—if we dare to use the word "extreme"—by, oh, we'll say our very patriotic groups like the Daughters of the American Revolution, perhaps, the American Legion, who, as they saw this dissent and turbulence on the campuses, would go to the other side. The demonstration in New York City one or two weeks ago was a reaction, in which the so-called hard hats—that is to say, the construction workers, blue collar workers—a hundred thousand strong, demonstrated in downtown New York City to show support of the president.

The overall observation as to what was the reaction to the decision to go into Cambodia was a definite polarization, I believe, regardless of one's sympathy on whether we should have ever got there in the first place—that's irrelevant at the moment. But the decision to go into Cambodia seemed to cut people pretty much across the middle. There were those who said, "Let's stick with the present decision. Let's ride this thing through. Let's not be the first generation to see a defeat for the United States people." And there was the other extreme, or the other group, which became considerably larger, I believe, after the

Cambodia decision: “We should never have been in Vietnam, anyway. The fact that we’re escalating into Cambodia just compounds the problem, and we *must* do what we can to put a halt to the situation.”

Yes. Turning now to the Governor’s Day activities here on our campus: what did you think of the arrangements made for the observance of Governor’s Day?

Well, the arrangements were somewhat encompassing, as you know. They included an informal discussion of university affairs in President Miller’s office at ten o’clock, a reception in Jot Travis Union thereafter, and a ceremony which was oriented primarily towards the ROTC at Mackay Stadium at eleven o’clock. In the past, Governor’s Day has had pretty much a military ring to it. That is to say, the average student—who is not in the ROTC or who has no particular knowledge of the purpose of Governor’s Day, for instance—tends to think that Governor’s Day is strictly an ROTC-sponsored show.

We were conscious of this when Colonel Hill and I arrived at the university last October 1969. We said, “Governor’s Day has a very fine ring to it and shouldn’t be confused with ROTC Day.” I think if the governor is going to come to the university once a year, which is all he does do, that it should be a truly university-sponsored affair. And even though that may be the intent, that certainly is not the impression that the average student has with Governor’s Day. So, whereas in the past we pretty much did all the planning for Governor’s Day and did all the programming for Governor’s Day, this year it was done by President Miller and his office, although we were the executive agency that did some of the ground-work for him.

Now, I think, the problem on Governor’s Day—that is to say, the demonstration at the stadium—was a result then because, number one, there was great disapproval and heartache over the decision on Cambodia; there was equally distraught feeling about those that were killed at

Kent State; and there was a general frustration of course that the youth of America—most of whom are not at voting age, we’ll say, on the campuses—were not being heard as a bloc. They saw this obvious manifestation of the establishment on parade, namely the ROTC Cadet Corps on Governor’s Day, and they felt that this was the object to strike at to show their disapproval. There can be no doubt that the ROTC is a symbol of the establishment; it’s a symbol of tradition; it’s a symbol of the status quo; it smacks of reaction. And although we, as the military, are simply the instruments of national policy—that is to say, the military instrument of the government—and do not make the decisions, we nevertheless are the closest thing to President Nixon’s administration on the University of Nevada campus.

Yes. What was your reaction to the demonstration?

I frankly thought it was a rather untidy-looking group. I may be a little bit conservative in my attitudes on dress and appearance. I thought they were certainly physically unattractive as a group; however, I thought their behavior was quite good. That is to say, they walked into the stadium grounds some four or five hundred strong, and I was concerned as to what their action would be—whether they were going to form one line and charge, whether they were going to form a phalanx, or just what. But it turns out they walked around the track of the stadium twice and then filed into the stands. It was quite orderly. There was a minimum of profanity. There was a minimum of screaming during the processional.

I do feel that there was a very active leadership as a hard core that was directing activity there and that *that* hard-core leadership was unfortunately divided between a rather conservative element of professors or administration personnel—I tend to think primarily professors. On the one hand, you had some that were trying to control the group, and then there were other professors—at least, one that I recall quite clearly—who was obviously trying to agitate, if not for

violence, whatever he could achieve just short of violence.

After they paraded into the stands behind the regular audience group, they began to heckle a bit, although I thought President Miller quite eloquently resolved the problem. He stood up, faced about, said, "Ladies and gentlemen, we have given you your opportunity today to voice dissent, and this was done at the Manzanita Bowl. We condescend," or some word to that effect, "to let you come up here and demonstrate at the stadium. You have demonstrated for X number of minutes, and now it is our turn." Or if he didn't identify himself, he said, "It is their turn," meaning of course the Cadet Corps, which was to include a presentation of awards to some outstanding cadets and was to follow with a traditional military passing in review.

Now, President Miller pretty well controlled the situation, I thought, although there was some heckling. What disturbed me, though, as the ceremony dragged on—and it was fairly lengthy—was that a number of the radicals (I will call them) moved out onto the main field just a stone's throw from the Cadet Corps, which was on parade. There had already been a sizable . . . I won't say sizable, but I would say maybe twenty-five or thirty that had originally set themselves out there, while the vast majority had moved near the stands; and through gestures, black power salutes, certain behavior, they seemed to incite others to come out and join them.

What was most noticeable to me was that there was a professor by the name of Adamian who led a group out onto the field. And this is where I really became anxious, because at that point in time the drill team, who had fixed bayonets, were about to parade. And I knew that the commander, while not trying to hurt anybody, was set on performing well. He had trained his people hard. He had a rather impressive audience, including the governor, the adjutant general, the mayor of Reno—a number of distinguished people—and he just wanted to do his performance well. And there was quite a bit of goading. Fortunately, nobody was stuck, nobody was hurt, and it worked out OK.

One very bad taste of the whole affair . . . and what I've said so far really isn't what I would consider a *bad* situation when one accepts the problems in America today. If there had to be a demonstration, I suppose, as demonstrations go, it was a good one. It was a relatively harmless one. But one of our cadets was killed in Vietnam, oh, a year or two ago, I expect. And his parents had dedicated an award, a scholarship, or a prize of five hundred dollars to an outstanding cadet who demonstrated the attributes of citizenship, responsibility, leadership, and the usual things that we covet in the profession of soldiering. And as he was being introduced to present the award to the cadet recipient this year, one of the students, one of the dissenters, chose to take that occasion to play taps, which one could argue was done in good faith. But I gather it sort of wasn't accepted as that, and I thought it was a terrible example of rudeness and bad taste. And certainly there was nobody in that audience, whether it be a cadet or a cadet's parent or a single visitor, who in my opinion enjoyed the prospect of war or a liberty cease war. And in that respect we're on the same wavelength with those in the stands. So it was bad taste in my opinion, because it seemed to isolate us from them in that we maybe didn't feel quite so sensitive to the problems of death in Vietnam, which of course is not true.

Yes. What do you think was the most effective part of the demonstrations and the Governor's Day observance?

You mean, if I were a dissident, and I wanted to put my best foot forward and be effective, what is the best show? I thought the best show was the orderly processional around the track, with minimum profanity, minimum noise. And simply because it was a sizable group, that was impressive. I haven't heard what the count is; I would say five or six hundred. Five or six hundred, I think, is a pretty good number. But they neutralized themselves, and they nullified their good by, one, suggesting that those who disagreed with them—namely, we'll say the ROTC cadets and the audience there—did not share the same goals

of peace and world brotherhood (an erroneous assumption), and number two, by showing extremely bad taste within a civilized society.

And what about the Governor's Day observance? What do you feel was the most effective part of that?

You mean on balance? In other words, including the demonstration and everything?

Yes. Well, the observance as opposed to the demonstration.

I'm not sure I fully understand what you're saying. When you say "observance," you mean

Well, or ceremony

How did the ceremony go?

Yes. Yes. The best part of the ceremony: what you felt was the most effective part of that.

I certainly think acknowledging the outstanding cadets and awarding them publicly makes them happy and their families happy. Any public recognition is a highlight. Secondly, as a military man, I think the ceremony, the parade, is very impressive—a tradition that doesn't necessarily smack of war mongering. It's strictly a parade ground affair. And it's exciting, it's fun, and like all parades on Fourth of July or whatever, it's a part of our tradition. And I think the band music and the passing in review and the basic procedures on the parade field were certainly a highlight, also.

Good. What do you think should have been the reaction of the various groups involved—the ROTC, the demonstrators, and the university administration—to the conflict that developed there at the field?

I think that it would have been best had the university anticipated that this group would move

from Manzanita Bowl to Mackay Stadium. They did not anticipate it, or at least chose not to discuss the matter. So I think it was judicious, certainly practical, for the president and those of us in the Military Science Department who were there to try to stop them—if that were the decision—to let it go on, to let them demonstrate. I don't think we could have turned them back. I think that they felt that they were overwhelming in number, and it was just sensible to let them demonstrate.

It was essential to us that we not provoke an incident. First of all, whenever you have an incident depicted in the press, you always run the risk of incorrect reportage. I didn't want that risk, even though maybe we didn't provoke it. But the fact that they arrived at the stadium and the fact that there would have been a contest would suggest that somebody from the ROTC or who had already been in the stadium would have tried, perhaps, to disrupt or to prevent the demonstration from taking place. And that was publicity that we could not afford, nor did we choose to take. I think the actual evolution of what did transpire on that day was the best possible situation.

I personally am sorry that they would identify the ROTC as the source of their disdain. Whether or not one approves of the war in Vietnam as a single issue does not automatically mean that one disapproves of a military establishment in a country that is identified as a world power. We *are* a world power. The majority of American people, I believe, today—if the Gallup poll were to run this question—would say, "Yes, we do want the United States to be a world power. And we do realize that after all diplomacy has been exhausted, the trump card that is going to back up your diplomatic position, your international affairs, is a military strength—an army, a navy, an air force." As uncivilized as that might sound, this is a fact of life. Where are we going to get these people? Where are we going to get the officers to man our services? We get them from West Point, we can get them from OCS, or we can get them from ROTC. Personally, I believe that the ROTC is the most democratic source; it gives you the best all-around cross-sec-

tion of America; it is the most in-tune group; and these young men that come in and do their two years in the army, navy, and air force, and then go on to the civilian endeavors, are certainly not going to hurt the army. On the contrary, they're going to help it, and it's not going to hurt them, and they're going to satisfy an extremely important function in America in really ensuring a good national defense. So people are mixing apples and oranges incorrectly. You disapprove of the war in Vietnam, true, but I don't think you disapprove of a military. And we need that military, and the best way of getting a good officer corps, in my opinion, is through the ROTC.

Yes. What was your reaction to the violence that followed Governor's Day—the fire bombing?

Well, it was a very memorable occasion.

[laughter]

I know that Colonel Hill, our professor of military science, coincidentally that evening (it was a Wednesday) spent a great deal of time attending a student senate conference at Jot Travis Union and then engaged in a very long and interesting dialog on world affairs and certainly the situation in Cambodia until about three o'clock in the morning. And he was still at Jot Travis at that time when he got the word.

At that time he, with Gunter Hiller—which is a rather interesting pair—went up to Hartman Hall to view the damages. And as it turned out, of course, one office had been pretty well gutted, but it wasn't too serious. To answer your question: what do I think of it? I think it's deplorable. I think it only expands the bipolarization between the more extreme left and an extreme right group. Whenever a group—such as, we'll say, campus radical dissidents who happen to disapprove of war in Vietnam—get involved in something that deals with the destruction of property, they run the risk of alienating many would-be allies and, of course, to alienate even more those that radically or gravely disagree with them, anyway.

There is no proof that the extreme left did this. A radical student might say to me, "I think perhaps somebody from the extreme right did it just to make us look bad." That's a possibility. The point is: whoever did it, it only offends most Americans, and it's not going to advance any cause. Most Americans really and truly like to see change through the democratic process, regardless, I believe, of our violent history as a nation. In 1970 the vast majority want to see change by democratic processes.

What category of participant in these affairs—the students, faculty, or outsiders—do you think was most important in stirring up the violence that occurred?

When you say "violence," are you talking about violence nationally speaking or just here?

No, I mean here.

There really wasn't any violence that I observed, except the fire bombing. And there's no proof that anybody from the university or anybody connected with the university did the fire bombing. I would say, *if* it could be proven that it was done by people associated with this university, I would *speculate* that it would be by students, the more radical, militant students. But, by and large, I did not see any violence. I would say, "Who are the agitators?" might be closer to the mark: "Who were trying to cause some sort of turmoil, some sort of a situation whereby they could get the attention of the maximum number of people?" I mean, that was the goal: "We must get the attention of the president. We must get the attention of the establishment. We must get the attention of those that don't see things our way at the University of Nevada. How can we do it? We don't do it by sending letters through the mail; we don't do it from a teacher's podium. We do it through some sort of an exciting, dramatic demonstration."

I have no real knowledge, nor was I that much of an observer, to detect. I would say, certainly,

there's a good nucleus of students . . . at this campus I would say it's a small nucleus—perhaps ten—who spend a great deal of time, maybe more time than they do on their studies, on agitating towards social reform and towards change of foreign policy, towards radical changes in almost every sphere in America. Then there is a small group, also, of faculty. I haven't seen any administration people, haven't seen any staff people, but I would say faculty. There are two or three that I know who are active in stimulating demonstrations. I don't think any one of them that I know are stimulating revolution or violence. Let me rephrase that. I don't know of any of the faculty that I know who are stimulating violent revolution. I would say, on balance, the strongest leaders are the faculty leaders. Because they are older, because they agree with the vast majority of radical students' thinking, they're looked at as wise sages in the movement. So if I were to say what individual group was most important or most effective, I would say probably that that small nucleus of faculty that support demonstrations and this sort of activity.

Do you think the outsiders are important?

I would say that a good, organized outside group could be devastating. I was told that there were some agitators, or some so-called professional agitators, that were here from University of Berkeley, I think, arriving Thursday or Friday of Governor's Day week. At any rate, they arrived after schools in California had been closed by the governor. They didn't make money, as far as I could tell, because the radical leadership is fairly small here, and the so-called "left-wingers" at the University of Nevada are not nearly so left as we find west of the Sierras. So I think you're not going to find an anarchistic, violence-determined radical in any consequential numbers at the University of Nevada. So even if they were effective, they were effective with a small audience, and there were enough of the so-called moderate types to prevent any effective violent activity.

What actions do you feel were most effective in preventing more violence or in cooling off the situation that developed after the bombing?

Well, the important thing, of course, is not to counteract. Again, we don't know who committed the violence, so we didn't know where to strike out. But let's say we, in the Military Department, knew that two or three students on the university campus perpetrated this act. It would be patently stupid for us to go after them physically or to destroy, we'll say, a structure where they lived as an example. It would be equally bad to get engaged in a diatribe of insulting, abusive, irrational conversation.

The best situation in a case of violence is for somebody who is respected to try to cool things down, as a representative of all factions if possible. This is where a president of a university can be most effective, I believe, if he's well-regarded—President Miller certainly fits that mold here—and try to prevent it from happening again through speaking to all elements: first of all, to those who did it, "Don't do it again"; to those that were the recipients of the violence or dastardly deed, "Don't take revenge." And, of course, if you can identify who did the wrong deeds, who did (we'll say) blow up Hartman Hall or try to blow up Hartman Hall or destroy it in some way—burn it—then they should be brought to justice, and they should be prosecuted vigorously and fairly.

How do you think events on campus affect the university's image, so-called, with outsiders?

I think that the events on campus, the dissension or demonstration-type events on campus—they're basically healthy in themselves, because it shows that somebody disapproves—that he's not letting it smolder within him, that he's expressing himself—and it creates a forum for dialog and exchange of ideas, which keeps people from getting too hot under the collar. It does not have that same soothing effect on the outsider.

The outsider, especially in this community, as far as I can discern, is basically conservative. He's basically traditional. He's very patriotic. And the average Renoite, for instance, perhaps tends to oversimplify, and he sees that a student is protesting the war in Vietnam. Even after the president says, "We're getting out," the student is still protesting the war in Vietnam. The average Renoite says, "Well, this person is a Communist," or "This person is lending comfort to the enemy as a minimum," or what's more, "This person is stupid and ultra-idealistic," and what's more, "He just is a pain in the neck." The same is observed from the outside, we'll say. Besides, I believe the purpose of a university is to get an education, not as a political forum. And any time the political dialog takes precedence over learning prescribed subjects through the class structure and whatever, then the university is not fulfilling its mission.

What can the university do to help in focusing public opinion?

Well, I think one of the best things that the university can do is to encourage local civic groups, social fraternities, any number of collections of people who meet regularly, to invite students of all persuasions, teachers, and administrators to talk to them, talk to their groups, to open up dialogue, so there's a better understanding. I personally think that the average student who is—we'll call him "radical"—is not necessarily a bad American, is not necessarily an anarchist, is not necessarily irresponsible. Many of them, I confess, are. But the alternative to not getting together and exchanging ideas is to form opinions of one another that become so intransigent that over the years mythology may even grow, and you find that both sides are cast in caricature. They're "overs" (over to the left, over to the right) and this can only lead to disaster. So anything the university can do—through press releases, open houses here, trying to get invitations into local homes and offices and conferences—would have, I think, a very, very good effect in at least bridg-

ing the communication gap. And that would be, and I think it is, the principal public relations activity of the university.

Do you think issues of academic freedom are involved in participating in a demonstration?

That's a good question, and I frankly don't feel qualified to answer it. My opinion is that the university should be free to allow all people to express their opinions, to write their opinions, to talk their opinions, to demonstrate. I would take the rather conservative modifier, however, by saying this: that you may not say or write anything that, one, is obscene to the general consensus of the public, whatever that is, but I think it's fairly clear. Second, you may not say or do anything which will prevent *me* from exercising my normal activities on campus: you can't block the street for me, you can't keep me from going to class. And the teacher should be there, because that's one of the primary activities—that's his contract—to be there to teach on scheduled appointments. Third, you should not say or do anything which would, in my opinion, permit the violent overthrow of the government. I think this should be guarded against. Now, beyond that, you're free to do anything you darn well please.

I personally do believe that the purpose of the university is to get educated. Now, granted, that the teacher will learn from the student, and there should be exchange of ideas, primarily the teacher should be a dispenser. That's why the student goes to school. Now, as an extracurricular . . . if they—student, faculty, administrator alike—want to get active at the student bowl or the stadium or somewhere else, if they want to engage in these extracurriculars, that's fine. But when it comes time for them to teach or to be in class or to be at the typewriters or to tend the books in the library or whatever the job is, then they better be there. Otherwise, in my opinion, they're violating the purpose of the university, and they're wasting taxpayers' money, and they're wasting some students' time.

How do you think students and faculty can be effective politically, or should they attempt to influence governmental policy?

I think that a student and a faculty member has just as much right to engage in political discussion and activity within the frameworks of decency and safety and good order as anyone else in America. I believe that there's a great temptation for the students, generally, in coalition with certain faculty members, to become identified as a bloc, because they're all approximate to each other. It's just like in the military—we have battalions. Well, you have what amounts to battalions of students. You have a tremendous group. I do not think that they should make that the primary goal in life, if they choose to remain on the books as a teacher or as a student. But just like we have hobbies in America and avocations, there's no reason why somebody can't be very active in this.

I draw this line: that whatever the avocation or whatever the interest or whatever the passion, say, political affairs, may be, the classroom may never be used as a pulpit—never—unless 100 percent of the students vote that that's what they want to hear. And I doubt if they're ever in that situation. A student goes to class to learn about a certain subject. It's mentioned in the catalog; that's the contract; that's what he expects. If he goes there, and he receives less than a good performance or a good effort by the teacher, then he's being cheated. If that student feels strongly about molding public opinion in certain areas, then he will say, "Ladies and gentlemen, I will be available at Manzanita Bowl at four o'clock this afternoon. I have something very important to say. I think you ought to hear it. I urgently request that you come, without any string attached, of course." And that's something else again. But, definitely, the classroom should not be a forum.

Where do you think the peace movement in this area is headed?

Well, I hope that the peace movement will lead to gradual world peace. I suppose that would

be a good, simple answer. If the peace movement can create peace and tranquility in the world, that's wonderful. I think everybody should work for peace. I think it's a basic fact of life, or a basic goal of life, that we could live in brotherhood with all people of good . . . "Peace on earth, goodwill towards men" is as true today as it ever was. Unfortunately, it's not practiced fully.

My fear in the so-called peace movement as you mean it, namely the pacifists, those that do not want to become involved in any sort of a conflict, is that there will be . . . As long as we are a national power—I think we still are (that's a fact, we are a national power)—and as long as we wish to remain one (that's an assumption), and as long as the communists believe that theirs is the best form of economics and life in the world and would like to convert the world to it, then I believe that it will only make them bolder and maybe move a little bit more rapidly towards the demise of the United States, if they feel there is a large and growing peace movement in America. Regardless of their sophisticated and cosmopolitan approach, the communists would like to convert the world to it, hopefully by peaceful means, but nevertheless they really believe it's good for all men, and that it is inevitable.

What I'm saying, I suppose, is that we all want peace, but we want peace in a practical way. A majority of us, I believe, don't want peace at the expense of being communist or at the expense of having something forced down our throats. We could have peace tomorrow. We could just disarm completely. We want peace, we as Americans, within a system that allows for liberty and freedom and the things that we have in America. And we do not believe today that by a totally pacifistic attitude we can ensure the safety of America.

So I say I think the peace movement, if it gets too big, is potentially a very dangerous thing in America.

You have other comments you'd like to make about this whole situation?

The only general comment that comes to mind is: what is the role of the student in a uni-

versity? At the risk of oversimplifying, I would say that there are four basic groups on the campus: there is the president and his administration; there is the faculty; there is the students; and there is the Board of Regents, who represent presumably the people of the state of Nevada. The Board of Regents and the vast majority of the constituency, in my opinion, do believe that they should—as a majority—dictate pretty much what goes on at the university, as a democratic thing.

They put trust in the administration to execute these programs. Programs are a bit traditional in that we believe in classrooms, and we believe in dispensing knowledge and the usual things that have been associated with universities in the United States. Thirdly, we have a faculty who are hired to impart the knowledge, and, fourthly, we have the student.

If there is to be change in the university—for instance, the course material, manner of presentation, the role of the student in classes—how do you get this change? You get this change by somebody—the student, the faculty, the administrator, or the regents—requesting change, and you work through a usual process to get change. Let's say that a student wishes to have liquor on campus: he works through the normal chain of the organization to effect this change. Let's say the regents veto it. What does the student do? The student complies; or the student breaks the law and does something and takes the chance of getting expelled and going to jail; or does he leave the university? And, frankly, I see nothing in between. I don't want to be quite so cut and dried. They can still demonstrate or do other things and so forth.

I believe that the student must recognize his place. Because he is a majority definitely does not mean he has a majority vote on the university campus. A man who is eighteen or nineteen years old, in my opinion, is not capable. He may think he is, but he's not. And I think once we accept the fact the majority rules on the campus, this will be absolutely disastrous on institutions. Students are a majority, but they are not the deciders. They can try for change, and a regent, a uni-

versity president, would be foolish not to listen to the winds of request, but they cannot be intimidated by it.

And the students should know this. And the students will cause many changes just by grouping together and voicing opinions. That's quite potent. And they can strike, too, if they want to, in my opinion, provided they don't strike when it's time to go to class, or they don't interrupt the process.

That's very good.

LOUIS S. TEST

May 29, 1970

So just for the record, if you'll say your name, your residence, and what your major and class are.

I'm Louie Test, and I'm from Reno, Nevada. I'm majoring in political science, hopefully going into pre-law.

Why do you think you were chosen to be interviewed?

I would imagine it was because I was in the senate during the time that all the crises arose—I guess it'd be the best way to put it. And I think that I have a pretty good vantage point on both sides to see just exactly what was happening.

Yes. What was your reaction to President Nixon's decision to move troops into Cambodia?

When I first heard it, I was kind of skeptical on the whole situation. And then when he had his news interview (I think it was two days later . . . well, it was just before the moratorium) I thought he explained it very well, and militarily I could see the logic behind it, as far as his mov-

ing into Cambodia. And I can see where it would be necessary to clear out the sanctuaries that they do have over in Cambodia to protect (more or less) the American troops when they are leaving Vietnam. So to me it did make sense.

Yes. In what way do you think the Cambodia decision was related to what happened next on our campus?

I think what happened on our campus started back when Dr. [Harry] Edwards gave his speech. I think this was the first time that the students on the left (more or less) actually got involved, and they really wanted to get something done. I think he stimulated them. And then things just built from here, from the USA, with the black-white conferences that they had here until it finally got to the Cambodian incident, and then it gave everybody something to rally around—not only the blacks, but also the left. And they had something to work around, and I think this had a great deal to do with it as kind of a rallying point. And then, of course, Governor's Day followed right after this, which followed the Kent incident. Everything just kind of came together all at once. I think this is one of the big problems that we had.

Yes. What was your reaction to the events in other parts of the country related to the Cambodian incident?

I think that there was a lot of overreaction on the part of a lot of people. But I think this, again, is tied in directly with the Kent incident, and I think people—at least the people on the left—are finally starting to realize that they aren't going to get changes done violently. I think they found out that the large majority of the people in the United States aren't going to stand for it. I think this was seen in the incidents that happened over in Fresno, where the people came in, and they just said, "No, you aren't going to burn down the administration," and where the aggie people over there at Fresno also protected the library.

The demonstration over in New York of a hundred and fifty thousand people: it's showing that the people, the American people, aren't going to put up with violence anymore, and this isn't a means of getting change. I think one of the main things that came out of the Cambodian incident, and came out of the disruptions that came across the nation, was the fact that people on both sides are realizing that they can't go outside the system, because all they're going to do is antagonize more people, and they aren't going to get anything done. So they're going to have to work within the system.

Turning now to the Governor's Day activities here: what did you think of the arrangements for the observances?

Well, being in ROTC, I had a real good opportunity to see the arrangements that were made on the other side, as far as getting everything ready. And there was a lot of preparation put into Governor's Day to make sure that it was a success. There was a lot of changes, as far as having the people interviewed talk to the governor and things along these lines, having this coffee hour, and a few things like this where they got to talk to these people. I think this makes a difference in understanding and communications. So as far as that side, I think it was very well organized.

Now, on the other side, I think they got a late start. And the people that were organizing it had good intentions at the beginning, as far as they wanted an orderly display of their disagreement with the Cambodian incident and Vietnam. Well, once they got out there on the field, I think some of them just got carried away. And the leaders, from what I could see, couldn't control them, the people out on the field. It just almost got to the point to where it was a mob, and there was nobody really in control. I think this was not part of poor planning, but just over-enthusiasm on the part of a lot of people. And I think a lot of people just got too excited too quickly, and, consequently, they couldn't control them. But I think this, again, is a part of quick planning, rather than overall planning, on their part.

So you felt it was necessary for you to participate in part of the observances.

Yes. Yes.

What did you think was the most effective part of the demonstration?

I think one of the most effective was the last day on Friday, when they did have the memorial service. I think everybody at this point had come to the decision that they have to listen to the other person's side, and that they can't just close their minds to things. They have to more or less ride the fence, in a sense, to understand each side of the story. And I think this was demonstrated at the moratorium, because everybody was there. Some people didn't agree with it; some people did. But yet there weren't any disturbances: people weren't talking, people weren't laughing, and things along these lines. And I think this is where everybody more or less came together to a certain extent and respected the other people's rights and the other people's freedoms. And I think this was the most impressive part to me. I was a little bit worried there for a few minutes when I saw the Sundowners and the aggies come down there, but they restrained themselves, and

they let the other people talk, and I thought it was really good. I think this was the most effective.

On Governor's Day, again, what do you think should have been the reaction of the ROTC and the demonstrators and the university administration to what developed there?

Oh, boy, that's a good question. They'd made an agreement with President Miller when they first went down there that he would allow them to march around the track and display their grievance toward the war in Vietnam and Cambodia. And this to me was all right. I mean, they have a right to display their disagreement with the situation, so I didn't mind that. But when they got up in the stands, they started catcalling, and they tried to disrupt the whole ceremony. And to me this is infringing as much on the rights of the people who were trying to put on the programs as anything else. And to me it's almost defeating their purpose as far as freedoms. We've talked about their rights and freedoms—I think they just completely reversed the situation. I think a lot of people that were in the stands didn't agree with this. A lot of people (I'm referring to the demonstrators) didn't agree with this, but there's always that small percentage. No matter what you do, you're going to run into this.

And as far as disciplinary actions, along these lines, it's extremely difficult to single out people, I think, unless you've got witnesses that are there watching the different people and actually more or less sitting there, looking for these people that are trying to disrupt the ceremonies. So disciplinary action I think would be extremely difficult, unless they have eyewitnesses. So I don't think you could really give them disciplinary action. I think the reaction that they got on the campus overall from many of the professors that were up there, many of the administrators that were up there, and a lot of the students that were up there will do as much to show these people, the ones that *were* catcalling and so forth, that they weren't right and that they aren't going to be accepted in the community and in the situation as long as they

keep doing this. So I think as far as what action should be taken, I think this itself: the rejection by the people that they're with is going to be as much of a punishment (if you want to call it) as anything else. So that would be my reaction on that question.

What was your reaction to the violence that followed Governor's Day—the firing of Hartman Hall and the Hobbit Hole?

This really came as a shock to me, because that Wednesday night I was over there after senate, after we'd gotten together, and we'd gone into our groups. I was there until about three o'clock. And it really made me feel bad when I heard about it, because I thought everything was going so well. The people were getting together, they were starting to communicate, they were starting to talk, and then the next thing that happens, you hear that Hartman Hall was bombed. Well, this really shook me up quite a bit. Of course, my first reaction was that it was outsiders, because there were some people there at the senate meeting that weren't from the Reno area. I knew them when I went to high school, and they'd been gone for about a year and a half. And these were the ones, to me, that were doing most of the catcalling, making most of the noise, and trying to disrupt the meeting, while we were trying to have an orderly discussion of what was going on. So, of course, this was my immediate reaction: that it was outsiders.

After this, I sat back, and I thought about it, and I felt very frustrated about, you know, exactly what was done Wednesday. Could this have added to the fire and maybe caused more damage? Maybe we shouldn't have even had the meeting. And I started thinking about it, and the people that did this evidently were not people that were at the meeting, because if they would have been, they would have still been there, for that simple reason. So, to me, it seemed like it must have been outsiders, or if it wasn't outsiders, it must have just been a very small group of students here on campus—maybe ten or fifteen.

As far as finding them, I would think it'd be almost impossible, unless there was an eyewitness again on something like this. So it was kind of a mixed reaction of frustration. On one part, like exactly what did we do? What did we do all Wednesday night? Trying to get these people together, trying to get them to talk and communicate and get their differences out and see if they can find something to agree on. And another part of quick decision and anger towards certain people, when I really didn't know whether they did it or not. So it'd be kind of a mixed reaction.

Yes. How about the Hobbit Hole?

The Hobbit Hole. The thing that made me a little bit mad about the Hobbit Hole was Slattery's remark that he'd come out with, saying that all the cowboys should get together and just walk over there and tear everything down. And to me this showed complete lack of responsibility on his part, because he didn't know what the situation was. He hasn't ever taken the time to come up here and find exactly what is going on on campus. He just made a snap decision, and as usual, the way Slattery is, he just makes a snap comment. And I think it just added more fuel to the fire, which stirred everything up again. I think the people took it *very* well, considering the situation.

I know I had a meeting with the people over in agriculture, as well as engineering and mining, that same day, and most of them hadn't even heard about it. They didn't even realize what had happened. This was about noon. And then I talked to other people like Doug Sherman, and of course they were upset. And it's really just a sad situation. You can't pinpoint anybody; you can't name anybody; and you get to the point where you say, well, who's doing it? And you know it just can't be the students, because, I think, they come up here for an education (most of them) or for a learning process, and they realize that this isn't going to accomplish it—at least the people that I'm in contact with through the ASUN and through the USA and other places that I've been. And they

aren't for violence. They're for change, yes, but it seems the disagreement comes in the type of change—whether it should be through the system, orderly change, taking time, or do they want quick change and get these ideas? If they don't work, then we'll modify them. And I think this seems to be the difference in the conflict between . . . is the action taken to get change or . . . ?

You've sort of answered this, but I think I'll ask it anyway: what category of participant in the various affairs—students or faculty or outsiders—do you feel was most important in fomenting the violence?

Like I mentioned before, I think the outsiders had some to do with getting the people inflamed to the point where they wanted to do something. I can't say whether this is good or bad, because this is the first time that people have shown interest in ASUN government. I think they've seen that ASUN government can operate if it has the backing of the students, and it can get things done if it has the backing of the students. But previous to this time, there wasn't anything really that the students aroused. And consequently, they didn't really care what happened. They went to classes, and that was it.

Well, since everything's kind of come to a head in these past few weeks, they have had something to rally around and something to do. And I think in this respect that it was good. And as far as getting more outsiders in, I think it's good to bring in different ideas. As far as agitators—people come in directly to cause violence—I think this is what we're going to have to limit, and this is what we're going to have to watch. And I think the university police are aware of this now; the students *themselves* are aware of this now.

Well, it was the second day after the senate meeting, they had a session over in Jot Travis, and they singled out these five people that were at the senate meeting. And they put these five people up on the table, up in front of everybody in each side (when I say "each side," I'm referring to the aggies and any long-hairs). They fired

on these five people, asking questions: "What are you doing here? We don't want you here. We want to solve our own problems." And they really put them on the spot. Consequently, the next day, Friday, I understand that three of them were hitchhiking out of town. So I think they more or less eliminated this problem here.

And then I think another problem that helped to inflame it was just the idea that once it got started, it just kept building and kept rolling and rolling and rolling. Consequently, people started getting more involved, and lack of sleep and frustration on the part of many, I think, added to inflame it. I would say it was mostly by the reaction of the community, because the community also overreacted. When they heard about the fire bombing of Hartman Hall and the disruptions at Governor's Day, the community overreacted to the situation up here. And again, they didn't take the time to come up and find out what the facts were, what the situation was. If you read the headlines, you would think that the whole university was burning down. And then, of course, Las Vegas newspapers didn't help too much; they came out with things like "University of Nevada at Reno is a fiery blaze" and things like this, and of course this caused overreaction down there. And I think the comments that [Senators] Lamb and Gibson made were along these same lines, because, again, they didn't take time to find out what the facts were. They read the sensationalism in the newspaper, and that was their overreaction. So I'd say it was from outside more than anything: the sensationalism of the newspaper, outside agitators coming in, and then just everything kind of picking up momentum as it went along.

Yes. Well, what actions do you feel were most effective in preventing more violence?

I think it was just the overall rejection of the students and the faculty and the administration for violence. The great majority just completely denounced it. The *Sagebrush* came out with strong editorials against it; the newspapers downtown came out with strong editorials against it. The leaders of *both* sides were just completely

dumbfounded at what had happened. And I think this was the thing that curtailed the violence—just the reaction of the people on campus.

Yes. How do you think events on campus affect the university's image with outside people?

I think it hurt the university to begin with, and I think the main reason was because the facts weren't really getting out. I think the newspapers, as well as the radio stations and television stations, were trying to build on this. I think they were trying to get a lot of things out of it that weren't in it. In the course of things, the community then got a bad image of the university. I've gone out to several places in the community. I've been to a couple of churches since the incidents, and the people just had a complete lack of knowledge on exactly what had happened. They didn't understand the situation up here; they didn't understand the feelings of the people up here, as far as the war in Vietnam, the escalation into Cambodia. And they weren't really ready to listen. Reno is a conservative town, and I've lived here all my life, and they don't understand the situation. They hear one thing; they see everything on television; and they automatically think the same thing is happening at their university. So they're going to denounce all the long-hairs, they're going to put them in one category, and that's going to be it. I don't think this is right, and I think this is the image that we got immediately after the incident.

But then I think groups have been going out into the community and talking to people. I know Sam Basta has been out there quite a few times to different alumni organizations. I've talked to people in the alumni organization and different people at church areas, and I think it's changing. They're realizing that it isn't as much as the paper blew it up to be. I noticed a lot of the reaction from the people—at least in the church group that we went to—was the fact that the newspapers were trying to sensationalize. And they got a little bit mad at the newspapers for trying to blow it into something that wasn't right. This was the opinion that I got, which I think is good, because

a lot of times the news media just adds to the circumstances rather than helps.

Well, how can the university go about focusing public opinion? You've mentioned this one activity that you've been involved in.

Yes.

Would you . . . ?

Well, I know in senate we have a community relations committee, and in the past it hasn't really been functioning too much. It's been bringing high school kids up to the university to see what goes on in student government, things along these lines. Well, what I'm trying to get started this year and what, well, the senate in general was trying to get started in the ASUN government, is to try and have speakers (students, these are), one on the conservative side and one on the liberal side, go out to the different organizations in the community such as Kiwanis, Sertoma clubs, and things along these lines, and give speeches and ask them questions to get the relationship and the communications going between the community and the school. This is one thing that we're trying to do.

Sam Basta is working very strongly on alumni communications, where he takes different speakers, different people from the university (these are students again) and he goes to the different alumni meetings. We've been to Gardnerville now—twice, in fact. We've been to Carson and places like this, and we get to talking with the alumni. And then over at the Center they're starting their more or less speakers bureau (I guess you would call it), where they're going to the different churches around the community. And during their regular daily sermon, the professor (it consists of a professor and two students) gets up and more or less explains what's going on up at the university. So we're opening up communications here with the alumni, with the churches, and with just the people in general. And I think this is going to be a start as far as opening up communications and getting the right focus on the univer-

sity that's necessary—that it is a place of education and of learning and not a place of dissent and rioting.

Do you feel that issues of academic freedom are involved in participation in demonstrations?

I think they were at the begin . . . no, I'll say they are at the end, not at the beginning, because everybody more or less felt that they had the right, from what I could see, to go out and express their beliefs and their opinions. But the area where it changed is when they tried to force their ideas and their academic freedoms on other people. And I think this is where the line was drawn. I know this is where the line was drawn with the cowboys. They didn't mind the idea of them expressing their ideas and getting their beliefs out, but when they tried to force their ideas onto them, this is where it stopped. This is where they felt that academic freedom had ended. They have a right to express their beliefs, but when they try and force their ideas and their opinions on other people, this is where it stops.

During the moratorium day they took pickets down to the aggie building, and they didn't try to, you know, stop them from going inside the building, but some of the pickets went *inside* the building. And this wasn't done anyplace else on campus, which wasn't exactly the best move on certain people's parts. And the aggies got a little bit upset about this. And I think this is where the academic freedom point came in. It was all right up to a point, but this is where I really heard the question come up—it was on this Friday. It came up on both sides, because this was just about the time then that everybody was starting to get together and starting to communicate—I mean, really communicate, really get down to it. Then the question started coming up of academic freedom: does everybody have a right to express their own beliefs? So I would say it came up then more than before. Then, of course, it evolved more as Adamian and Maher were being charged, as to exactly how much academic freedom a professor should have. And according to the code at the

university, it's a little bit vague exactly what academic freedom is.

Yes. How can students and faculty be effective politically, or should they try to be?

I think they have to be to an extent, because unfortunately, here at the University of Nevada, we *are* run by politics in a lot of respects, because we are controlled by the state legislature and the Board of Regents, which are held directly responsible to the citizens of Nevada. So I think if the people on the university want to have a good system, they have to be a little bit politically involved.

I think that the best way to get involved is to actively participate in campaigns. If they want a person that they think will do a good job in office, then go out and campaign for him and work for him. I think this would be a lot more effective than concentrating their efforts on the school and tearing down the school. Get out into the community and talk to the people in the community. Get their ideas, get their feelings and opinions, and then try and talk to them and tell them how we feel about certain things. I think they'll get their dissent, and they'll . . .

That dissent that they show up here at the university, I think, can be transferred down in the community. And I think this put together will work politically to get these people in that they want in. But the way they're doing it now, they're concentrating their efforts on the people that already know the situation and already know their feelings. And to me, they're just keeping it in one place. They've got to spread it out; they've got to get out in the community and talk to the people in the community. If people in the community don't want to accept them, fine. That's their academic freedom, in a sense, to do what *they* want to do. But yet they're spreading it out more, so maybe these people will start questioning some of the ideas that they do have. And, consequently, I think the whole educational system will be stepped up—not only at the university, but also in the community.

Yes. Where do you think the peace movement is headed in this area?

Hopefully, it's headed in this direction. I think they'll accomplish a lot more. I could see that in the demonstrations on Saturday in Washington. They started breaking up into small groups, and they started going to their legislatures; they started going to their congressmen and their senators to talk to them directly and say, "Now, look, this isn't what we want." To them this isn't the feeling of the majority of the people. I question this. Of course, I'm a little bit conservative. But I think this is the direction they have to take.

I think another thing that they could consider is the fact that people have categorized "long-hairs" into one section, and they aren't going to listen to them. I think if they cut their hair, make a better impression on the people when they first talk to them—if the girls will put on dresses instead of Levi's and comb their hair and get cleaned up—the people will be more ready to listen to them, and I think they'll make a better impression on them, and they'll listen to their ideas. But right now, when they show up in their long hair and cutoffs and things along these lines (long unshaven beards—some of them don't shower, some of them don't shave—things along these lines), the people automatically categorize them. They aren't going to listen to them. So I think it would be better if they'd more or less change their impression, their first impression on people, and they'll listen to them more. But right now they're just unshaven beatniks to an extent, and I think this turns the general public off.

And I think this would be a step, a constructive step, to get their ideas across. But I think they're moving in the right direction as far as trying to get to the public, trying to get to their congressmen and their senators, and working through the system to get changes done, because this is how you get changes done. You don't get it done by rioting and tearing things down.

What other comments would you like to make about the whole situation?

I'm glad it's over with right now. It got a little bit hectic there during finals—not too much studying and not too much sleep and a lot of tension. But I think, like I said before, it's brought everything to a head, and people have finally started to realize that there *are* changes that are needed in the system. I think people are realizing that the way to make changes is through the system. I think blue collar workers—the New York incident, the aggie incident—are more or less showing that they've got to work through the system. They've got to talk to the people, and they've got to get a majority of the people on their side. I think this is where the change is going to come, and I hope that it'll come without violence. I think it will now.

I think the revolutionaries have lost their pull on people since these people were killed at Kent. I think the majority of the dissenters have realized that they aren't going to gain anything through violence—they're only defeating their purpose. And so they're going to have to work through the system. I think this is the thing that's come out of it. It's come to a head now; the people realize it; dissent—violent dissent—isn't going to work. The people aren't going to stand for it. The military isn't going to stand for it, the government isn't going to stand for it, and they're going to have to find some other means of getting their ideas across. So I think this is the important thing that's come out of it. It's a heck of a way to do it, that four people have to lose their life—well, I think it came to five lost lives, in fact—that people have to lose their life before some people actually realize that this way isn't going to work. And this is the only thing that's kind of saddening about the whole situation. But if something good comes out of it, then maybe it was worthwhile.

Yes. Good.

WILLIAM C. THORNTON

June 24, 1970

My name is William C. Thornton. I live in Reno, Nevada. I don't have any official connection with the university. I'm an attorney in private practice in Reno. I graduated from the university in 1958. Since then I have served as president of the University of Nevada Alumni Association for two years. I served on a committee appointed by the president of the university to try to formulate a policy for the use of alcoholic beverages on the campus or by the students. I served on a committee appointed by the president connected with formulating a student bill of rights at the university. And I've maintained a generally high level of interest in the university and its various activities.

Yes. Why do you think you were chosen to be interviewed?

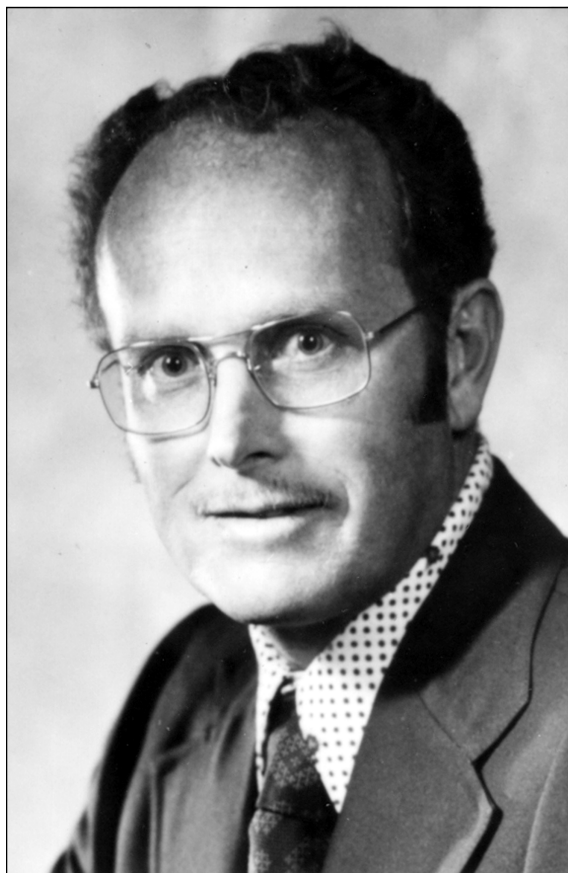
Well, my understanding of the oral history project and such, is that it's deemed to be of possible interest to collect historical data concerning certain events which occur at the university.

What was your reaction to President Nixon's decision to go into Cambodia with troops?

My reaction was basically one of disappointment. I don't know that I was particularly disappointed in *Nixon*; I'm saying I was disappointed in the decision. And my disappointment stems from the fact that it was deemed to be desirable to *do* that. I don't evaluate it with any kind of a moral judgment, right or wrong, and, unfortunately, like almost everyone else, I'm subject to not knowing enough about the actual facts or the military situation to form any kind of a definitive judgment. So just in a general, overall way, I was disappointed that anyone felt that the military situation was such that it was necessary to expand the war.

In what way do you think the Cambodia decision was related to what happened next on the university campus?

Well, I look at it as an action and a reaction: the action was the entry into Cambodia, the reaction was a reaction by groups generally considered to be peacenik youth, persons generally upset about the war. It's difficult to structure a response to something like expanding the war into Cambodia. There are a lot of people in the present society that say that the best way to structure a response is to demonstrate or to do something



William Thornton, 1970s.

that has some kind of physical impact. And so I look at the reaction as a response in the nature of demonstrations and statements opposing the expansion of war. Naturally, when the demonstrations and the responses were deemed by the responsible police officials and such as being a little bit too wild, then they started to clamp the lid on, which created a pressure cooker and had some unfortunate results.

What was your reactions to events in other parts of the country related to the Cambodia decision?

I think that reactions in the other parts of the country, to my way of feeling, were fairly typical of my understanding of the various attitudes of the people who reside in that area—that is, the attitudes of the students and the attitudes in the police. Maybe you could look at Jackson, Mississippi. It seems to me a little more understand-

able that the police there would shoot hundreds of rounds of ammunition into a building, in which the occupants were Negro students, because I feel that in that area, for example, the police power is a little more unfettered, the policemen themselves are not as well trained, the social stigma of shooting at Negro students is not very great, and, therefore, they clamp the lid on a little harder there than maybe some other areas.

Yes. Turning now to the Governor's Day activities at the University of Nevada: what did you think of the arrangements made for observing Governor's Day?

Well, my understanding of the way it was handled seemed to me to be a thoughtful and correct way of handling it. This is based on certain assumptions: that is, my understanding is that in advance of Governor's Day, it was felt by certain persons, including President Miller, that there were a group of students and other people who wanted to make known their opposition to President Nixon's decision. And, therefore, it was looked at to see how their opposition could be made known and whether or not it should or could or possibly would be made known by some kind of an appearance at Governor's Day, and that that was felt not to be too desirable. Therefore, President Miller extended to the opposition the use of facilities at the campus bowl, and they were hopefully to hold their rally in opposition to the Governor's Day in the bowl. I look at it as if they were going to have a peace rally in the bowl, and this would be a correct antithesis to a war rally setting at Mackay Stadium. I've talked to some of the students involved, some of the leaders; I've told them what my thinking was. And they now, looking back at it, say that the reason they went to the stadium was because they didn't feel that a passive peace rally of their own, so to speak, in the bowl would give them the impact that they wanted to have by so-called crashing somebody else's party, namely, Governor's Day.

What was your reaction to the demonstration?

I didn't actually see the demonstration, so I don't know. You know, I have heard about it, and I've had several people tell me about it. And I know that there were people who were physically disruptive, and that sort of thing. If you're going to categorize demonstrations, you can categorize people who go to other parties, so to speak, and maybe they say some things that are not in keeping with the general organization of the effort, or they might bring some signs, or they might get up and do something physically. They got up and did something physically, and they suffered some grief for it. When you start doing things physically, then people get emotionally out of control, and usually there are some bad consequences, which there were. Certain individuals have been singled out as getting too far out of control; some hard feelings have resulted, which will not be easily overcome; and certain polarization and criticisms leveled all over the place.

Yes. Did you feel it was necessary to participate in any of the Governor's Day activities or the demonstration?

No, I didn't at that time. I have participated in various peaceful rallies to make known my position, which is more of a pro-peace position than an antiwar position, if there is any distinction. And one of the problems with an antiwar position right now is that it's interpreted by some as only opposing the Vietnam War, or now known as the Indochina War. And my personal thoughts are that the use of force is not an acceptable means for settling disputes, and that means any kind of disputes—with your wife or your kids or the country. And that means now and forever, not just the local situation, the current war.

What do you think was the most effective part of the demonstration or of the Governor's Day observance?

Well, I don't really understand your question. And I wasn't there, so I probably can't answer it.

Yes. Well, that's OK. What was your reaction to the violence that followed Governor's Day then—the fire bombing?

Well, I didn't get too worried about it. [laughter] My actual mental process that I went through at the time was a sort of wondrous amazement of the fact that the national ROTC did not have in its policy or standing policy whereby they were guarding any of their buildings. And that was about my only reaction. I didn't feel that it was any great new or continued effort to cause a lot of problems. I also felt that they were lucky that that old wooden building didn't burn down. I think if it had that it would've made it a lot tenser situation in the town and the state, and the politicians would have hopped in a lot more. But for the grace of God that they put out the fire in the first few minutes—there weren't any real bad problems involved.

Yes. What category of participant in these various affairs—the students, the faculty, or outsiders—do you feel was most important in fomenting violence on campus?

[long pause] Well, you know, that you're saying "fomenting," I don't really know what "fomenting" means. The community being the way it is, in my opinion, I don't think that we've had too many of the original ideas on how to respond or how to create violence. So there's some background of general feeling in the country and action in other parts of the country. But as far as who brought it about locally, there were certain "radical" students and faculty members who led it, and I'm not sure that it was a studied thing. That is, I feel that they may have gone to the stadium and in other areas where the violence occurred with the idea that there *wouldn't* be violence, but somehow got caught up in the thing, and there was violence, because no one can be that meticulous or precise in their control of exactly how people's emotions are going to come about.

Yes. Do you think outsiders were important?

I don't think they were important, no.

What actions do you feel were most effective in preventing more violence in the situation that followed the fire bombing?

Cool-headedness on some of the people who were around in positions of responsibility, and also the fact that there is, I feel, quite a bit of respect in existence on the University of Nevada campus running in through all lines between faculty and students—between faculty and administration; students and administration, et cetera. So certain key people—President Miller, some of the key faculty people, key student leaders—sat down together. They were able to communicate and pull things together and presented a unified front, not criticizing each other and asking the community to cool it.

Yes. How do you think events on campus affect the university's image with outsiders?

I feel that everyone makes their interpretation of the events based on their particular prejudices and biases of longstanding that exist at the time the events occur and very little new thought. That is, I feel that conservative people look at it and are critical and say that "Things should be the way they were before," and "Kids are out of line," and "Everything's going to hell." The liberal peacenik people think that maybe some of what is going on is right, and that you have to oppose the war, and how are you going to do it? Maybe there are some good, new thoughts being created, and the youth are the ones to do it.

What can the university do to focus public opinion?

On what?

On events on campus that are affecting the image.

Well, I mean, when you say "focus," what do you mean? You mean to focus it or to *direct* it in a way, to direct the focus so that they're presenting a *good* image or just to focus it?

Well, to tell the university's story without distortion. You've said that people interpret events according to their own experience. Is there some way that the university can tell its story so that it won't become distorted?

Well, the way I see it, there's a big problem with the present time in everyone's minds as to what is the role of a university. I think that's a problem for the president of the university, the regents, the students, the faculty, and the off-campus people, generally. The role of the university today is not the role that it was a few years ago, and there are certain of the more liberal, progressive elements promoting a new role that is more involvement. I think it's a very enveloping thing. I think that the issue that should be discussed and can be defended and perhaps explored and examined is: what is the proper role of the university in present-day society?

Do you think issues of academic freedom were involved in participating in a demonstration?

Definitely.

Do you want to expand on that?

Well, the reason I feel they're involved is that it revolves around my rule of thumb or questioning: now, what is the role of the university? Because, you see, what's the role of the university? What's the role of the faculty? The traditional view we're taking, a conservative line of thought, would say the role of the faculty is to teach events (and I'm saying historical events: What's been going on in the past and what significance are they? What is our present body of knowledge?), and that they should deal only with that. When you talk about the present body of knowledge, you're usually taking things from the present and

going backwards. But the problem is that a faculty member finds difficulty in his present students. If you're going to talk about ecology or war or peace or politics or all that, they're beginning to act on present-day events, and there are a lot of reasons for this. But I think you can't say, "Talk about peace," or in political science classes, "Talk about international affairs and foreign relations," and then not have the students want to, you know, interpolate it into present-day affairs and form opinions.

Then we have many politicians now, maybe starting with Kennedy (about that time) who would go to the campus—McCarthy and others. They sought student support. They wanted to get student involvement on these issues. So we have the faculty and the students getting off campus with their ideas, and that presents quite a conflict with people who say, "You should stay on campus up on your ivory tower," and you can't have it both ways. So that's the big problem.

Yes. How can students and faculty be effective politically, or should they be trying to influence governmental policies?

Well, I don't think anybody can turn off their mind. And I think if they study international affairs, ecology, pollution, whatever the current issues are—civil rights—they form a knowledgeable body of people who should have a method for commenting on what their views are. I don't see that we need any new political system or anything. I think the present systems are OK, but they would channel their ideas through those things: work for the candidates they want, speak on issues, and that sort of thing.

Where is the peace movement in this area headed now?

You mean as far as students are concerned and that sort of thing?

Well, in the area. Since some people see this—the Governor's Day activities and so forth, or the

counter-Governor's Day activities—as a part of the peace movement.

No. Well, I don't know exactly where it's headed. Where it's headed depends on, you know, who comes back to school next year and who takes up the reins of leadership with the students and that sort of thing. I don't see any reason why, you know, if Governor's Day is "war day," that they couldn't plan to have "peace day," and they could plan to have a peace rally next May 15 or May 1, and they could aim towards that. They could try to have a well-known speaker come in. They could mobilize student and faculty and community opinion and have a rally, a peace rally at Mackay Stadium or elsewhere that would be twice as big as the governor's rally, if they organized it right and found that there was the support for it. And they could give somebody a medal—the "peace medal." I mean, that's, you know, sort of the other side of the coin. That's what they *could* do, and that's probably what they're going to have to do or do nothing, because they're not going to be able to continue to be party crashers.

Yes.. What other comments would you like to make about this whole situation now?

Well, nothing other than my personal decision to establish a peace prize at the University of Nevada. With my wife and our families, we discussed this, and I am hopeful that this might provide the catalyst for putting the pro-peace people in a positive structure. I mean, this would be the prize that could be awarded at next year's peace rally, if somebody wants to use it that way.

WILLIAM W. VALLINE

June 2, 1970

OK. Why do you think you were chosen to be interviewed?

I don't know, unless it was the award I got for ROTC. I figured that might have been the basis for some selection.

OK. What was your reaction to President Nixon's decision to send troops into Cambodia?

Well, as far as sending troops into Cambodia, I thought he should, mainly because I agree with ending the war over there as soon as possible. And the only way I feel they could do it is to stop the Vietcong or, you know, the communists from striking back across the border. I've talked to men, being in RO, that sat over there in Vietnam and actually watched the communist troops right across the border training. And they can't do anything about it. Well, if you're going to go out to win the war and end it, he might as well go in . . . you know, maybe we'll help end it faster.

Yes.

So when he went in, you know, committing more troops and everything I thought it was the best possible way to bring the war to a quick end over there.

Yes. In what way, do you think, did the Cambodia decision have an effect on what happened next on the campus, or do you think it had any effect on what happened next?

Well, I think between the Cambodia incident (and what's going on over there now) and between Kent University (and what happened at that time), they were both just kind of a catalyst to bring about what happened on our university campus today. The students seem to me to be, you know, real reactionary. They go with whatever the trend is. Everybody's so against the war in Vietnam, anyway, that the school started rioting when President Nixon went in committing more troops after he said he'd pull everybody out. The minute he did that, all the schools all over the nation were up in arms, and I think Nevada just more or less followed the trend. There are certain elements on the campus that had the feeling, you know, that this is the thing to do—just conservative radicals, or whatever you want to call

them. And you could see the opposing group, just like on Governor's Day. The kids don't want the war. They want to get out. And the minute you commit more troops, it was just the reactionary thing with the rest of the United States.

Yes. So you think that there was sort of a following of a trend, rather than being something which...?

Individual?

Yes.

Well, I think there was an individual I believe the individuals that were in it, some were sincere, and yet I know personally that some of the kids that took part in what went on do not even go to the university, are just more or less dropouts in the community, as far as doing anything. They were just up there for one reason: to cause trouble.

And like I say, they were kids from my high school. I knew them personally, and I knew what they were doing. And I know they don't go to school, and I know what they're doing. So, you know, it made me wonder how much the element was really sincere about what was going on.

Right. Right. Could you, without mentioning names, characterize some of these individuals that you considered outsiders or knew that were outsiders? What did they do, usually? What were their characteristics?

Good examples. When the kids were in high school, there was, you know, an outstanding athlete here and there, but they seemed rather immature throughout their high school career, to me, anyway—just general opinion of the different kids—but rather good athletes and so forth. Got to college, didn't keep up the grades, so they quit. They were there maybe a semester and flunked out, is what it amounted to. Right now they're not doing anything. They're not working. I know both are users of drugs. One's been picked up three times, as a matter of fact.

And as far as coming onto the campus, they came when I went to the senate meeting, when the USA (which is United Student Alliance) up there now was supposedly trying to push some measures through and to call off classes and all this stuff. So that the night the senate met—one of the biggest meetings I guess they've had in quite awhile—there was quite a variety of people who showed up to discuss their problems and things. These kids were there at the time just yelling anything to disrupt the meeting, not really bringing out any pertinent points or anything, just more or less to cause trouble. They seemed to be up there just to disturb stuff on campus, yet they're not affiliated with the university in any way. So why are they up there—unless this is the place where the action is. Also, a lot of the high school kids that are still in high school were up there on different things.

So it's not just the students at the university. Matter of fact, it seems to be a minority group that were really active in it. They seemed to have a lot of high school kids and a lot of kids that are not even affiliated with the university.

Yes. So you think that there was a large number of outsiders, perhaps.

From the people that I knew that were outsiders, of course, there were. And I feel it's about fifty-fifty mainly, you know. But there was a good portion that were from outside the campus.

OK. What was your reaction to events in other parts of the country, for instance, Kent State?

Kent State? Well, my main opinion on that was the kids that got shot—a terrible thing—but as far as the guardsmen being used as police units like they are, guardsmen aren't experienced enough, they're not trained soldiers. They're once-a-month soldiers. And you cannot expect people like this . . . they get just as afraid and just as scared as anybody else.

And you get into a situation like this, where you've got 15,000 people or 1,500, you know, against you, and then somebody fires a shot (as

supposedly did happen) and somebody's liable to blow up. And I think that's exactly what happened. It just. . . somebody blew their cool, and somebody paid for it. The kids got hurt, but everybody says they were innocent bystanders. Well, if they were innocent bystanders, what were they doing there? As far as, you know, guns and rocks, bullets and rocks are different things, but you stand there and get rocks thrown at you all day, they begin to hurt, too.

Yes. That's a good point.

So it was an unfortunate thing, but I think it's just like the race riots and everything else that's going on in the country right now: people are getting fed up with what's going on, and you can't control everybody's emotions the way you should. So if they say "peace," fine. You know, a peaceful rally is just fine, but when you start throwing rocks, it's not a peaceful demonstration anymore.

And it erupted in violence, and somebody got hurt. And it's the same all over. Other campuses had peaceful demonstrations, like *ours* on Governor's Day was fairly peaceful, but yet there were a couple of fistfights that broke out, and there were also people that tried to push it over to the violent side. There's always the radical element that wants to go beyond just a peaceful demonstration. The group that was demonstrating had their say on Governor's Day—and they let them do exactly what they wanted to. But yet they weren't satisfied with having their rights. They wanted to infringe upon the other people by, you know, yelling and screaming during the ceremony. They just didn't want to cut it off at that point. So I think the students tend to carry everything a little too far to get their point across.

Peaceful demonstrations I'm all for. I think everybody's got a right to show what they believe in. Mainly a lot of people in this country are over in Vietnam fighting for the right to be able to show what they believe in. And today, there's always the radical element, and I think it's getting a lot worse on our campus now.

Yes. You think it is getting worse?

I know it's getting worse.

In what way? I mean, a larger number of radicals?

A larger number here of radicals, a more organized group, like the Brown Berets. Well, the leader in it now came over to our fraternity house that I belong to, a fraternity on campus.

Really?

He came over to our house selling magazines and things and just sat around. And we rapped for about two hours. You know, he came in the president's room, and we just sat around and rapped for about two hours. And he was telling us different things. They're coming on campus supposedly next year. About thirty of them are working in the community and earn their own way. They're paying their own money to go to school. The theory is that they're going to move onto the campus with the idea of trying a new peaceful movement and obtaining more funds for the minority groups on campus, more teachers, and things of this nature, peacefully.

However, he says if they can't do it that way, they will resort to violence if necessary. The guy that was there is the president of the chapter in the Reno area. He is up for an indictment before the California Grand Jury for rioting on Hunter's Point. He's been shot twice; he served in the federal penitentiary when he was thirteen for inciting to riot. And these guys just aren't kidding. So this is one element that's coming on campus. And as you can see from the fire bombings we had of the Hobbit Hut and the RO Department, things of this nature, the Black Student Union are *strictly* radical from what this other guy was telling us. And the radical element is getting worse on campus. And unless something is done to control it, I think we're going to end up with more serious problems than we've got now.

Well, this group of the Brown Berets, as you call them, are they going to be students on the campus?

Yes. They're applying for loans, and they plan to go to college. And they plan on, this way, being affiliated with the college and trying to work through channels. This guy was a Mexican, and he said if they cannot get what they need, if need be, they will resort to violence.

They expected to be admitted to the university, then?

He says he has the qualifications as a student. He says they can't keep him out, which they legally can't. If he pays his money and meets all the requirements, how are you going to keep a person out of college?

Is he living in Nevada?

Well, he works at Saint Mary's Hospital as a head cook or something. I forget what exactly he did. But he said there's others in the community, you know, that are doing just this; they're just a chapter of the Brown Berets.

How would you characterize, let's say, a radical? What would be your conception of a radical or a conservative?

To me, a radical is a person that will not listen to conservative ideas at all. Well, even, you know, a middle-roader. This is the way it is, and there's no in-between. And the same with the conservative. One is extremely one way, and one is the other way, and neither one of them is willing to listen to the other person as to what he reasonably has to say even.

To me, some of the Negroes on our campus are completely radical, because they will not listen to anything else. No matter what you say, everybody's against them. You can help them, and they still . . . And the same with some of the other minority groups and things like this. Now, to me, the Brown Beret I was talking about is not a radi-

cal. He is extremely left or right (or whatever you want to call him, depending on your view, I guess). But in the sense that he will riot or something when it gets to that point, then I consider him, you know, a radical. But as far as just his views, he was liberal in his views, but yet he was a middle-of-the-roader. He'd listen to the other side; he could see good points and bad points on both. If they're just being so, you know, completely radical, they won't listen to the conservative side, or so completely conservative, they won't listen to the radical side at all.

And radicals to me go out and burn schools, fire bomb—things of this type are radical, you know. They're not only radical, I think they're irrational. They don't gain anything. You can have a peaceful demonstration talk, like some of the Center things that went on this year that I went to, where everybody finally came and talked about things. I think a lot more was accomplished there than the radical idea of going out and, you know, throwing a fire bomb in the Hobbit Hut or the ROTC building. It accomplished absolutely nothing, except making both sides look bad.

Yes. What do you think of the Governor's Day: the arrangements that were made for the observance? Do you think they were appropriate, or could they have been changed somehow?

What do you mean the arrangements? By who? The school or the students?

No, by the Governor's Day activities committee or whoever set up the whole thing.

Well, I don't know. I was in the RO program, and as far as I know, it's coordinated every year through the president of the school, N. Edd Miller, and it's been a traditional thing. So I'm sure everybody knew it was coming. It was, you know, set for a certain day as picked ahead of time. And as far as the planning and everything went, as much as I know, it seemed to be fine, well in advance. But I don't think anybody planned on the demonstrations or the things that actually happened.

You know, I don't think anybody visualized the problems that could have erupted and did erupt in a couple of cases from the planned activities. And as far as the students saying, "Well, we could have had a day off, you know. Governor's Day is planned, and funds are appropriated for this and that, and a day off isn't . . ." I don't know. If everybody knew about it, if they wanted to change it, they should have tried. But nobody even cared until the day it was there, and then they said, "Well, you know, you did this, and you shouldn't have, and what a poor day to have it."

But it was just the way it happened. I think the incidents that happened before Governor's Day, moving into Cambodia and Kent State and a few other things like this, were not foreseen when the date was set, which was last year, as far as I know. So it was just an unfortunate series of events that happened right, you know, just kind of together, and it ran into problems.

Right. You sort of touched on it already, but what was your reaction to the demonstrations on that day?

Oh, well, we knew there was going to be a meeting down at the bowl, you know, of supposedly a peace rally. And then we heard after we got up there that the students were going to come up. And when they did, they marched around the track. I mean, this was fine. The only reason it made me hot: I had to stand there in the sun for a half hour. [laughter]

It wasn't the sun. [laughter] And I don't like being out there any more than the rest of them. But they marched around three times and then sat down. That would have been fine. They got their point across, you know, and this is all fine. I agree with them—if they want to march around, that's their thing. Let them do it, you know.

But when they got in the stands and started mocking the awards that were given out . . .

There were several awards given out for kids that were killed in Vietnam. And when this one was given out, certain people in the stands started yelling, "Yes, make a martyr out of him." And this was for colonel . . . well, I forget his name. His son had been killed in Vietnam, but they started yelling, "Yes, make a martyr out of your son," you know. Supposedly, they're up there demonstrating to stop what's going on in Vietnam, respecting the people who have been killed over there, and this sort of thing. And then just to come out with jeers like that—"Make a martyr out of your dead son"—you know, tease and all that stuff, they carried it too far. They started becoming radical instead of rational.

And then, supposedly, N. Edd Miller is the one that said, "Go ahead." He's the one that let them march around and everything else. Then they won't even respect the man enough to be quiet for him. Or at the beginning of the year, a typical thing . . . they give him that big party, which made the papers all over the United States, sent him on a trip, and all this stuff. And then they turn *right* around and just throw it right back in his face and just show him nothing but disrespect. And to me they're just very confused. It seems like they don't know what they want. Their ideas are just reversed. They do one thing and then just turn around and, you know, nullify it.

Do you think it was the same group that did both? Or do you think some of the ones that were involved were the same?

Well, I tell you, the kids that go to the university were in the N. Edd Miller Day, the same kids that were . . . I am not saying they are radical or conservative, but they're activists on the campus. They get things rolling, more or less. And a lot of them were in N. Edd Miller Day, and they were also in the moratorium day, more or less. But the kids that were from off-campus, the high school kids and things like this, were

not there on N. Edd Miller Day, but yet they were here to cause the trouble.

And this, to me, is the insincere group, the radical group that's just out to cause trouble. You know, it seems we'll have a peaceful demonstration, then they bomb Hartman Hall. Then somebody then bombs the Hobbit Hut. So they nullify themselves: you know, "love, peace, love"—all this baloney—and it just turns around and they do the opposite thing. And the same thing with N. Edd Miller, and the same thing with all the kids that died in Vietnam. They just seem to nullify what they stand for. So they seem very mixed up or confused or don't know what they're after.

Yes. [laughter] I guess it's sort of a silly question to ask you, since you were in the ROTC, and you did receive an award, but did you feel it was necessary to participate in Governor's Day? And were there any of the people in the ROTC that you know of, without mentioning names, that you feel kind of didn't want to participate in the ROTC?

Well, to me, if the program is voluntary as such, it's maybe the better of two evils, is what it amounts to. It's a good way to go, because I've got to serve in the service. As far as I know, I have no physical defect. I believe in my country; I don't mind, you know, putting time into the service. I don't want to go to Vietnam any more than the next guy, but I will if I have to.

And so, to me, if you're in the program, you have to do certain things. Governor's Day was one of the things that was required. And I'm sure there were guys out there that didn't want to be there. Like drill: I don't like drill any better than anybody else, because, you know, you have to study for it just like any other class. You're required to take it, so you go to it and do what you have to do. And I'm sure there are people in other classes that don't want to be there, but they're there because if they don't, they'll get their grade knocked down. And I think RO was the same way. I know there's a liberal element in RO, and there's probably the more conservative element, also. But I know people in RO that are, well, maybe some

of the more liberal people on campus, yet they don't really do the liberal job up in the RO Department that they should. I mean, you know, they're kind of afraid to act that way around the RO Department, because the people in the department are naturally more conservative. And they believe in being in Vietnam and so forth. But I think Colonel Hill, who is the new colonel up there this semester, has done wonders for putting the stature of ROTC *up* on campus.

Tremendously, yes.

He comes to the senate meetings and things like this, and he'll rap with conservative, radicals, or anything. And the thing is, he knows what he's talking about, and he's a hard man to put down. And I think he's impressed a lot of people both ways.

Yes. Yes. I think that's a good point. This is sort of a two-sided question here: what did you feel was the most effective part of the demonstration, and what did you feel was the most effective part of the Governor's Day observance?

The most effective part of the demonstrations was probably the mass of people that they had. And it sure wasn't their conduct. The numbers that they had was more impressive than anything, because it's one of the bigger demonstrations that we've had on campus as such. Most of the others have been, you know, kind of just a few here, a few there, and it never amounted to much. But they did have quite a number this time, and I think that surprised people more than anything.

As far as the Governor's Day ceremony went, I think it was the composure with which the cadets acted, as to the insults and things that they were exposed, as well as the dignitaries that were there. For a man to be giving out an award for his dead son and have somebody say, "Make a martyr out of him," and not just completely blow his cool was, I thought, quite commendable. I think this stood out more than anything else on the part of the cadets, as well as, you know, the other people in the stands.

And for both sides, I think the composure was shown with no fights as such *during* the demonstrations on the field up there. I understand, before they got up there, there were a few things that happened, but other than that it was, you know, fairly well done.

Oh, before they got up there?

Yes. Well, like an ATO and a radical got in a fight. One of the generals had to pull a kid off the front of a car; I guess he more or less just about threw him across the block. And, you know, reaching in the car, taking swings at some of the drivers that were driving the kids, and just laying down in front of the car—this sort of thing. It didn't accomplish anything. It held up the ceremonies, and, you know, they weren't proving anything. They didn't get their point across. That was when they were acting radical. They were, you know, accomplishing nothing, except trying to cause trouble—and succeeded in a few cases.

You don't think they had any particular purpose in mind in doing it, other than just delaying or upsetting it?

Just delaying the ceremonies, which they thought shouldn't have been held. So they thought maybe they'll hold them up as long as possible, but that's all they did. To me, they proved very little other than that they were trying to cause trouble, which most of the ones that were laying down weren't that way, you know. And you've always got the (well, I don't know what you call them) radical element, the few that will cause the trouble and are the leaders.

Right. Yes. What do you think the reaction of the ROTC or the demonstrators (this is another one of those that have several sides to it) or the administration to what happened on that day? What do you think the reaction of all those people should have been?

Should have been, or was?

Should have been. Do you think it was as it should have been, or should it have been different, and if so, how?

Well, I think the administration and the ROTC Department took it very well, as to what went on. The demonstrators took the ceremony all right in stride, but they seemed to take other things kind of not in perspective. You know, they let things get out of hand a couple of times. But as far as the administration's policy as to let them have their thing, that was fine. You know, I think they took the right attitude in not trying to stifle things with the police or anything like this, because it could have ran into a real problem. The RO Department didn't turn the cadets loose and let them, you know, go into this. But everybody kind of tried to maintain their composure, and I think it was commendable on all sides.

OK. What was your reaction to the violence that followed with the bombing of the Hobbit Hole and the ROTC?

I know I thought both of them were ridiculous. I don't know who did either one, you know, and there's speculations, "Oh, the RO guys bombed their own building to make everybody look bad." I don't think this is true. And the same thing, you know, about Hobbit Hole. But to me, the violence accomplished nothing. It burned down a building. You know, that if they burned down the ROTC building, they'd just move over in just one of the other buildings. You know, it's the class you got to go to. Burning the building doesn't symbolize anything. And the same with burning the Hobbit Hole. To me, they were radical movement, irrational. They accomplish absolutely nothing except making headlines in the paper, you know, and stirring up a bunch of trouble.

What was your reaction, when you first heard it, to who might have done either one of them?

Well, there's the thing on the RO wall. I'd heard from, you know, all the meetings that were

going on in the SDS and the USA on campus—everybody's talking about burning the RO Department or just moving in and taking it over and things of this nature. The Black Student Union and things like this were the radical elements on the campus. We're talking about burning the buildings, taking them over, and this sort of thing. So people about halfway expected it, you know, kind of.

But I was really kind of surprised who really burned down Hartman Hall, you know, or tried. It was kind of a shock, because after the peaceful demonstrations, the senate meeting, and everything, I had the feeling that maybe there's a little more understanding in things like this. And I think there was in the general campus, except for the few people that are radical that will try something like this just to cause the trouble. And I think this went both ways. It was probably the ultra-radicals or the ultra-conservatives that burnt down either building.

I don't think it was the majority of the students. There were all sorts of editorials in the city newspaper as well as the school, and everybody deplored the action—even the radical group, you know, as well as the conservative. It was stupid. It was some person that was just an extreme either way. And it was senseless to me.

Yes. Do you think that there was any impetus for these things from the community—I mean, the reaction of the community?

[laughter]

[laughter] No, I don't mean, "did anybody from the community get these things to happen?"

[laughter] What I mean is: what was the reaction of the community? Do you feel that the reaction of the community had anything to do with subsequent reactions on the campus?

I don't think the community really had a reaction—maybe to Kent State, you know. A lot of people thought that was terrible; for a lot of others it was, "Shoot them all," you know, "and maybe it'll stop the rioting on the campuses," and

things like this. But it wasn't until there was actually the demonstration on Governor's Day, at which most people became very upset because of the way the dignitaries were treated themselves. You don't treat people in high offices like this and plan to get anywhere, because, you know, it's like biting the hand that feeds you. They swing the weight, and even if you don't like them, they're there.

You elect them, or you don't elect them, but once they're there, you better respect them, because they got the power to do it. And once this got around the community, I'm sure everybody on campus realized that people in the community were *real* upset. The Alumni Association . . .

Well, there are still repercussions coming on right now, like they're trying to set up that bill of conduct or code of conduct for the teachers and for the newspaper and for the students—whereas on Governor's Day there was no code of conduct. You can't say, "Well, we'll fire this teacher, we'll expel that kid," because there is nothing as to actually what they could or couldn't do. And now they're trying to get a code that says, "If you do this, you're gone." And I think this is just a repercussion of Governor's Day and the way the people felt.

The legislature is talking about cutting off funds and doing this and doing that, because the community took it rather hard at the way the students were acting—which they considered radical and, you know, unreasonable. When you start burning down your own school, what are you doing then?

Yes, that's very true. Yes.

I mean, they shouldn't dig that at all.

How did you think that the demonstrations affected the university's image with outsiders? You've also discussed it a little bit.

Well, a lot of people were disgusted. You know, a lot of people said, "I'm disgusted with my own moderate way of acting," and things like

this. But I think a lot of people don't stop to realize that it was the minority. Like I say, there's minority conservatives, and there's minority radicals. And those two were probably the two that were most active in that day. Like a lot of people considered the RO the conservatives. If you take ROTC, it adds a conservative element. And three-quarters of the school were in classes doing what they were supposed to be doing or not, you know, participating. And I think a lot of people stopped and realized this and said, "Well, it was, you know, radicals just happening all over our campus, and it isn't as bad as others." Yet others were quite distraught with what happened, as can be seen from the repercussions that have taken place since that time. Overall, I think the community is over the shock. I think it was the initial shock that everybody was down on it. But once they sat down and thought about it, they've changed their opinion quite a bit.

Well, what do you think of the idea of cutting off funding?

I think cutting off funds to the university hurts everybody, which is stupid. It's not the majority of the school that's doing this. And I think, if anything, they should run a more effective control through their Board of Regents and through the president of the school. If they have to, get a new president and get somebody that's stronger or weaker, whatever you want to say. I don't know. I can't say N. Edd Miller is bad or he is good at this time, if so. He has points both ways, I imagine. But I think it's up to the Board of Regents and the people that actually control the funds to start looking into these things.

I've heard from a woman that works in the office up there giving out tuition waivers and things that 90 percent of the radicals that were causing the trouble and things are on tuition waivers, government grants, and this sort of thing and are not even paying to go to school. If these are the kids that are saying, "Dismiss classes for a day," it's guys like me that have to go out and work. I've worked since I was in ninth grade and things like this, you know, and partially pay for

my books and stuff. I have to work to join other things and get a car and a few things like this. I realize that my education is more valuable to me. I've had to work to get it, so it means more to me. I don't want to just give up a day of classes, because I've got, you know, other things to do.

These (oh, what do you want to call them?) idealistic ideas are fine—you know, let's hold a memorial day and all this stuff—but I'm not that idealistic. I got more realistic things that I want to take care of before things like this. Sure, I felt bad about kids getting shot, but to me, if they wouldn't have been there, they wouldn't have got shot. So they asked for it; they got it. And it's too bad it happened, but it'll happen at other places if it keeps up.

What actions do you feel were most responsible for keeping the situation less violent than it could have been?

Mainly, I give Miller a lot of credit for the way he handled things. The police were there, but the Reno Police Department did not do anything. They were there in case trouble started, but they let everybody do their own thing and didn't step in. And I think this is what stopped the trouble. If somebody had confronted either group—especially the demonstrators—and said, "You can't do this, or you can't do that," things could have got . . . The RO cadets were so regimented (if you want to put it that way) that they were told, "Before you go out there, you stay in ranks, you don't break." And it was just kind of a joke, you know. We laughed at the guys that just sat around. If they want to march around, that's fine. [laughter] I wouldn't get up and run around the track three times to cause trouble, but if they want to do that . . . So I think the credit goes to the administration, as well as the people involved and Reno Police Department, because everybody really maintained and handled things fairly well.

Yes. What actions do you feel contributed most to what little violence—or let's say not violence, but trouble—there was during the demonstration?

Do you feel that any particular faction was most responsible for this?

For the violence that did occur?

Yes, what little did occur.

Well, now, the little that did occur was either, like I say, extreme radical or extreme conservative. [laughter] One extreme conservative that I know got set up and took a swing at a guy. And that was the only real fight that started. Yet some of the radicals were swinging at cadets that were driving the cars up to Governor's Day when they had them stop in the barricade—you know, shoving their hands through the windows and knocking guys' hats off and pushing them and things like this.

I think both sides would have gotten out of control if things had gone much farther. But as it was, during the demonstration, the university police managed to keep the radicals back far enough from the cadets that were performing so they couldn't get at each other, you know. As long as you're at a distance, you can yell back and forth at each other, but the minute some guy touches you, it gets out of hand. And this happened before the motorcade got to the actual ceremony. But after everybody got up to the ceremony, they were far enough apart that neither group could, you know, really get in and mix it up. So it worked out better that way.

How do you feel about academic freedom, both for professors and for students?

What do you mean by academic freedom?

What in their role as faculty they should be allowed to do, and what should they be allowed to participate in, and the same way with students. What should they, what shouldn't they, participate in?

Well, I don't know. A student should be able to participate in anything he wants to up there. He's paying his money to go to school there. And

as far as being active on campus, if there's something going on this campus that's sanctioned—fine, let him get in. I don't feel anybody should take part in things that are not sanctioned by the campus for the good of the university. Sure, you got a right to do whatever you want, supposedly, but you know, your freedom goes as far as it doesn't infringe upon the next person, supposedly. And the minute it starts infringing upon the next person, I think you got to draw a line. And this is where I think the professors and things like this should be made to stop. Because I know, personally, I've had professors . . .

As a matter of fact, my English teacher was one of the biggest rabble-rousers in the Governor's Day ceremony. I had him when I was in freshman English, and I thought he was an extremely good teacher. He made me think of ideas; he brought out, you know, ideas. And I enjoyed his class very much. He gave very interesting discussions. It was really a discussion period. But later on I heard he got to the point where if you were conservative, you didn't have ideas—you didn't do anything. You either listened to his side, or you didn't get through his class. And this is where, I think, the line should be drawn as far as a code of conduct. They're just trying to set up there now that a teacher is supposed to stimulate ideas and bring out ideas and not penalize anybody for their own ideas. And I think this happens when you start getting the real radical element or the real conservative element. And I know right now for a fact that we have certain teachers up there that are so idealistic that if you're conservative, you can't get through their classes. It's just about that bad.

I had the philosophy teacher up there who is one of the big teachers they're supposedly getting rid of because they don't have enough funds for him. Well, when I had him in his class, we did absolutely nothing. It was another discussion class, is what it was. He let us grade ourselves, so, naturally, almost everybody got A's or B's. It'd be fine if everybody was idealistic enough to say, "Well, this guy really didn't do much, so he deserves a C or D." But it didn't work this way. "Well, he was here most of the time, or he came a

few times, and he contributed an idea here and there.” How can you grade a person, you know? And this sort of thing came up. So, as a result, most everybody got A’s and a few B’s, not very many C’s. And one D, I think, was all that was given. But he just let the class run itself. Sure, it was an easy A. I didn’t mind it. It helped my grade point. I didn’t have to do a dang thing in the class except, you know, prepare an outline to hand in—which was really nothing—on these stories that we’d read. But he showed up about three times during the whole semester to our class, and supposedly with his other class, and he said our group was pretty good, so he didn’t come to it as much.

But to me, I’m there to be taught. And, you know, people say you teach yourself, which is true to a certain extent, but you’ve got to have guidance. And kids get hung up on the same ideas or same topics and things like this, and as a result, we run around in circles a lot. And I got very little out of the class. To me, there should be a line: teachers have to have some line, some requirements. Not only should they meet educational requirements, they should meet standards of teaching that the normal student might impose. The teacher evaluation thing I think is really great, because the students should be considered more by the administration in their hiring and firing of teachers up there. Like, I know in the accounting department, right now because of lack of funds and accreditation, we have to have so many doctors in our college, or we don’t get accredited. They’re getting rid of one of the better teachers in the school because he isn’t a doctor. But yet he is one of the better teachers up there, and they’re keeping a doctor that is just terrible. But you have to have the accreditation. Well, you see, that’s fine, but they ought to start looking around for better teachers, better staff.

And it’s hard to say what a teacher should be allowed to do and what he shouldn’t be allowed to do. I think the line comes, like I say, when he starts infringing upon the rights of students. Otherwise, he should be allowed to do his thing just as much as the students should up there. Just because he’s a teacher, he shouldn’t be penalized. Too bad they can’t use their own judgment and

know when to stop, but they can’t. So I think there should be some guidelines of some type set down for them as well as for students.

Yes. Who do you think should have the say in whether a student or a faculty member is dismissed for, you know, reasons?

I think the Board of Regents, as well as anybody. The students governing themselves . . . Kids tend to be, in some cases, harder on themselves, in some cases more liberal. Right now I think the students on our campus are afraid to do anything. With one case we had this year with a Negro and so forth, I think people were afraid to do anything because they were afraid of the repercussions of what the Black Student Union might do. And I think you need somebody that is maybe not so centralized in the campus to handle these matters, as, you know, when things become violent or things like this.

As far as the faculty goes, I think the students should be able to evaluate their teachers and so forth, and I think these evaluations should be given some weight. But I think, at the same time, the administration and Board of Regents should look into the faculty and be able to decide who is good and who is bad. They do the hiring and firing; you know, it’s the people of the state that pay the taxes, and these people are appointed and elected and so forth. I think it’s their job, more or less, to supervise the faculty as well as the department head.

But I think the teachers should definitely be interviewed a little closer than they are right now. It just goes out: we need a psychology teacher, or we need an accounting teacher. The guy applies, and whoever’s got the most credentials gets it. I think there’s very little personal contact or interview. I don’t know this for a fact, but from the people I’ve seen that have gotten into these departments, it seems to be this way. There doesn’t seem to be, you know, a lot of (what do you say?) the exploration, maybe, into the personal qualifications as well as the academics of the people they’re hiring.

What kind of personal qualifications? I know it's kind of hard to, you know, make a generalization. But what good does a personal interview, say, accomplish on a campus like the Reno campus?

I think personal interviews would serve to keep out the extreme radicals and the extreme conservatives, which I don't think are good for any campus, because students, no matter how strong—one way or the other—are influenced by their teachers. To me, there's no doubt about this. You spend a semester with a person, or a year, and you begin to think, in certain respects, maybe, as they do. You absorb certain of their ideas. You're exposed to other ideas, and, naturally, if a person is strong enough, he can influence you to his line of thinking. I think this is dangerous on the conservative element, as well as the radical element. I think your middle-roaders are the best teachers, because they'll listen to both sides, they'll give their opinions, and they're not just hung up on one idea, where your extreme radical or your extreme conservative is. And I think it's easy to spot one with any brains at all, especially in an interview when you talk to a person about his opinion, because you can just bring up an idea, and if the guy's an extreme conservative or radical, he's not going to change his mind. I think there should be an appeals board or something where students can come in, you know, and appeal things as to where the teachers are, and when they're wrong, or, you know, extremely wrong.

I've known kids that say, "I flunked the class because I just didn't, you know, kiss up to him enough." And I mean, it's extremely wrong. But like you say, it's hard to generalize what would make a good teacher or what would be a good personal interview. It's a hard thing to do when there's no set answer. But I think maybe the personal contact and trying to find out, to look into the guy's extreme background. Some of these teachers I know have been at four or five different campuses in four or five different years—well, there's something wrong with the guy.

He moved around too much, you know. Investigate this sort of thing and have a personal

interview with him. And maybe elect a student body—yes, a board of some kind that could sit in on these interviews and give their opinions of the teachers. This all runs into money and funding and things like this, but I think it might help the university.

Where do you think the peace movement is heading right now in the Reno area?

Well, I think the peace movement's on its way out like a lot of other things that seem to be a fad right now. Everybody was up on the peace movement for awhile; it was the thing to do to go to the demonstrations and things. But in the Reno area, after the big Governor's Day movement, it was a very small turnout the next day when they were going to have everybody cut classes and go to the moratorium and nobody go to classes in memorial of the Kent State students and moving into Cambodia—and all this stuff, you know. Everybody went to classes as normal almost. And I think a lot of the younger kids now are realizing maybe it's not the big thing to do anymore, and as a result, I don't think the real radical or the real conservatives are getting the support that they'd like to have. I think a lot of people go more out of curiosity than to support the rallies as such. And I think they're on their way out.

Yes. How do you think that a teacher or a student can be effective politically, or should they?

Oh, I think everybody should be effective politically. I think the first place to start is to know what you're talking about. So many ideas are shot around nowadays that nobody is really informed about. They're just big "guesstimates," you know: "Oh, I heard . . ." or "Somebody, so-and-so, told me this . . ." And nobody really knows for sure. You give them a concrete fact, and they go, "Oh, really?" just like they didn't know what was going on.

I think people should become well informed about the subject, as well informed as possible. And this does not mean to believe everything you read, because a lot of what you read anymore is

so slanted that you can't believe it, anyway. And become active in your group—political groups, you know. If you're against somebody, get active in an organization, get active in your political group, in a political party of some kind, and get your candidate in, rather than go out and riot and say, "This guy is terrible. He's rotten," and all this stuff. This is fine, you know, but you don't accomplish anything. You're not actually going against the man. You give yourself more of a bad name than you do him half the time. In other words, I think people should work through party channels in expressing their ideas. Be active politically as much as possible. I think it's good, you know.

Yes. Do you have any other comments that you'd like to make?

No, not really. You covered almost all the questions.

[laughter] OK.

DAVID W. WATSON

June 3, 1970

To start off the interview, why don't you give your name, your home town, and your major and class.

I'm Dave Watson. I'm from here in Reno, and I've lived here all my life. My major is pre-med, and I've been accepted at the University of Oregon in Portland, where I'll attend the next four years.

Good. OK. And why do you think you were chosen to be interviewed?

Probably the main reason is that during the Governor's Day ceremonies I was given an award by the Nevada State Medical Association as a pre-medical student in ROTC.

And what was your own personal reaction to President Nixon's decision to move troops into Cambodia?

I think that this was perfectly in line with what he had said. His plan was to remove the troops from the Vietnam area as soon as possible. And I think that he has proven his point in that the rea-

son for going into Cambodia was to seize arms and food and so forth, and this is what he's done so far. I feel that the movement into Cambodia has shown that there were great stores and sanctuaries in this area, and this was his described purpose. I think that as long as he follows this, my reactions are favorable.

Yes. OK. In what way do you think the Cambodia decision was related to what happened next on the University of Nevada, Reno, campus?

Well, I think that many people interpreted this as extending the war into all of Indochina. But as far as I'm concerned, the war has existed in Indochina, but up until this time it's been sort of a free run for the North Vietnamese and the Vietcong. Until this time this was a sanctuary where they could go, and there was no retaliation. But I think that the reaction was a feeling that, "Here we are. We're getting further, or more and more, involved in Vietnam."

Yes. Yes. And what was your reaction to events in other parts of the country related to the Cambodian decision—the tragedy at Kent State and Jackson and so forth?

Well, I think that many of these, such as the incident at Kent State, from my own personal feeling, it's rather hard to blame directly President Nixon's decision to go into Cambodia for the events that happened there. However, I think this was sort of (you might say) the straw that broke the camel's back. It made people feel that this was the time to do something before we went any further. But I don't think we can really judge the things that happened there, pro or con, as having their effect upon the war itself.

I think the plan is pretty well put forward. We can't change what the president has decided to do, but I do feel that of these students who were shot at Kent State, some of these people—maybe all four of them—were only bystanders. I don't feel that those people involved are people that are directly for one side or the other. I think it's just like the senate meeting on this campus the Wednesday after Governor's Day. There was a few people that were for the peace movement and a few people that were . . . well, the cowboys and the Sundowners. And the rest of the people were pretty much in the middle. And I think that maybe this Cambodian incident has more or less helped to polarize people. But other than that it hasn't really changed many people's feelings, other than maybe pushing them a little bit one way or the other.

Yes. Regarding the Governor's Day activity on this campus, what did you think of the arrangements made for the observances?

Well, I mean, this is traditional. This has happened here for forty-some years. This is an observance in accordance with the ROTC program, which, as we know, has been set up at this university, because it's a land grant college, and this goes along with the laws whereby it was set up to be a land grant college, that there would be this program to go along with it. And so this is just an observance that was set up. I think that as far as the observance, it was set up as it should go forth. There was proper security there and so forth—I mean, maybe even more so, knowing that the demonstration was going to take place. I noticed

more police officers than any year before. This is the fourth year that I've been there.

But other than that, I think it was just a normal function. Anything out of the ordinary I would say it was not. Just as a football game, I mean, there's arrangements made for these, and we play certain schools every year. This was just another function, just as graduation will be another function.

Well, and what was your reaction to the demonstration that erupted?

The first part of it I had nothing against. And, in fact, this to me is a freedom that everyone should have. If they felt they should demonstrate, this is fine. And as far as coming in, marching around, singing the songs as they did—"Give Peace a Chance" and so forth—I think this was fine, and the point was well taken. But I think where the demonstrators overlooked the point was when the ceremonies, as they were supposed to go on, started to begin, and they began to heckle. At the same time, I think, that this was really defeating the thing for which they really fought, and this was the freedom to express the way that you felt.

I think that President Miller had agreed—and it was very obvious that he had agreed with them—that they could have their demonstration during the time that was really reserved for the ROTC. I mean, it's just like the gymnasium. If it's reserved for a basketball game, and these people would have come in, I'm pretty sure under the law that they could be arrested for this. But President Miller agreed: "Fine, you have your demonstration. Get your point across, and then let the ceremonies go forth." And from what I understand, most of the leaders of this peace movement agreed that this would be the way that it would be. They would express their point through their demonstration, and then this would be their sort of fair shake at it.

But it went a little further than this. And I think this is where these people hurt themselves. I think if you took a poll of the cadets that were standing out there, 95 percent of them are for

peace. But, I mean, where do we draw the line? Do we wait until it's too late? I mean, myself, I'm a rather conservative person, and I feel that there are certain stands that we have to take in the world, or we're going to end up, you know, right here on our front doorstep very quick.

Yes. What do you think was the most effective part of either the demonstration or observances?

I would say the thing that stood out most in my mind was the fact that even though these demonstrators were heckling and so forth, most of the people who were participating—including the dignitaries who were there to give awards or who were there as matter of a military function—none of them really lost their cool, including the cadets. As was noticed, not one cadet moved from there. And I think that this was the thing that showed the difference between the two. I mean, even though they were being heckled and so forth, the cadets kept their cool and showed their discipline, while the people who were in this demonstration really showed no one direction. I mean, they were sort of mixed in what they were trying to prove. Some of them were saying, "Well, we'll stop here," and others saying, "Oh, this isn't enough." But this was the thing that really stood out in my mind.

What should have been the reaction?

You mean of the military?

Well, you can take it from the ROTC point of view, if you want to, or . . .

Well, I think the ROTC and the military, in general, and the police reacted in the best way they could at this time to prevent any further violence. If the students who were demonstrating for peace would have had their demonstration and then sat in the stands or left—either one—but at the same time let the ceremony go on as it was to go on, then I think they would have made their point.

Yes. OK. Do you have any more to say on that subject?

Well, nothing more than the fact that, to me, ROTC Myself, I will probably never be in a combat situation. I plan on going in the military to do an internship and then to do a year's residence. And for me it offers several advantages, and I think this is the way that most of the fellows that are in ROTC look upon it. It's making the best of a bad deal. I mean, we're all stuck with the job. I mean, President Johnson got us well committed; we're going to be there for a while one way or another. We can't pull out tomorrow. I mean, economically or even physically, it's an impossibility. But I think most of us that are in ROTC look at it this way: that we're making the best out of a bad job.

And if you have to go, why not go where you're going to have a little seniority and make about four times as much pay? Why not?

OK. Then what was your reaction to the violence that followed Governor's Day—the bombings of first the ROTC building and then the Hobbit Hole?

Well, from the information that I have and through my friends, from what I can understand, the bombing on the Hobbit Hole was done completely outside of the groups that were being directly harassed. In other words, it wasn't the ROTC retaliating for something that they felt the peace movement did, because most of the ROTC fellows felt that this was not people in the peace movement, but probably people that are a little more radical than that, say, maybe the SDS, the Weathermen of the SDS, or something like that. That it was somebody from the outside trying to stir up a little violence, as is the usual case. And I think the retaliation was more or less the same thing; it was somebody who was really an outsider as to the events which had taken place.

Yes. Well, that kind of answers this next one. We've been asking what category of participant—stu-

dent, faculty, or outsider—was the most effective in fomenting this violence. And you've spoken to that. You want to add anything?

No. I just feel that this is usually the case that (as I expressed before) in these peace rallies, I would say maybe 10 to 15 percent—no more than that—are really hard-core people that are for this. The rest of the people are observers that are somewhere between being that and being a complete hawk. And I don't think there's very many people that are really complete hawks. If they are, they feel that it's only out of necessity to protect what we have.

Yes. Well, then, what actions do you feel were most effective in preventing more violence or in cooling off the situation that developed after these bombings?

Well, I think one of the things was the conduct of those who are in positions of leadership in the military itself. Myself, I know personally that, let's see, Colonel Hill and Major Springer and Captain Gartenberg and some other members of the cadre up at the ROTC came to the senate meetings that Wednesday night and also came to the service Friday afternoon that was held for the students that were killed at Kent State. And I think this was one thing to show that, you know, these people have feelings, too, that they don't feel that the answer is war, but that we're in it, and we might as well do our job and get out as quick as we can.

Yes. OK. How do you think events on campus affect the university's image with outsiders?

Well, I think generally that outsiders overreact to these incidents. I think an excellent example was Senator Lamb's opinion. I think that this was ridiculous, this big threat: that if there are any more of these movements or so forth on campus, this could be a direct threat to the funds which will be given to the university. I think any man that makes this statement . . . all he's trying to do is to make a little show for the public. And in my

opinion he ought to be glad of the events which have taken their course here on this campus. I think that they have helped this campus become more of an active campus than it was before, because I've come to some of the senate meetings before, when there would be maybe thirty or forty people other than the senators themselves. And after this incident took place, that place was so crowded, you couldn't even get in. I think that these people ought to wake up and see that things like this, if they're kept in a controlled manner, help to stimulate the student on campus to be something other than just a machine for learning, as so many times he's really taught to be.

Yes. That leads into this next question beautifully. What function should the university have in focusing public opinion?

Well, I think that the university's function, as far as focusing public opinion, is to educate those people who go to school to be active in social events on campus and in functions on campus outside those that are directly related to the classroom. And so, to so many people, this is the only function they have. Sometimes this is their own choosing, but sometimes it's a matter that they work on the side, and they don't have a chance to participate in these things. But so many times it's just the opposite. The student is really never invited or never has given that spark that gives them some kind of influence to invite them into activities, other than just studying or socializing at parties and such, and never really directly related to the politics or the running of the campus that is given to the students. And I feel that on this campus the students probably have a greater say than on the majority of campuses in the United States.

And do you feel that the issues of academic freedom are involved in participation in demonstrations?

Academic freedom as far as it relates to outside of the classroom and the feelings of the individual towards his society, but I think here again

we have to consider the point of the faculty. I think this is fine that they do take an active part, but sometimes I think that they could be leaders in one direction, and sometimes they aren't. And I make this reference to Mr. Adamian and others who were in this movement, in the peace movement, in the parade itself. I think they could have curbed some of the things that happened—I really do—such as what took place on the football field itself during the drill. If they were really coordinating this to be a demonstration for a certain purpose, they would have known that the drill was to take place on the field. And, in fact, some of it was changed at the last part of the drill there. The Sierra Guardsmen with their bayonets would have marched right through that group of people had it not been changed.

It must have been strained.

So, I mean, if these people were really leading these people in a direction to avoid violence, if their purpose was peace, and this was the way they wanted to demonstrate for it, then they would have really tried to avoid this direct contact, which would have meant violence had it happened.

And somebody had to back down. In this case it was Mr. Blink, who was leading the Sierra Guard. He just marched them the other way, but this could have been a little nasty.

To get back to effective politics, how do you think that students can be effective politically? Should they attempt to influence political or government policies?

Well, most government policies are spelled out from the top down. They tell us the way that it should be, and we're supposed to conform. And as we see in our society, the only way that many people feel that we'll have this change is through these demonstrations, et cetera. I feel that maybe our energies could be a little better spent if we were to push more for political organizations on campus, activity in these, whether this be good or bad in some respects. I think that perhaps

maybe the Young Republicans and the Young Democrats and even the American Independent Party should take advantage of the situation and have meetings and functions that would get some of these people interested in politics.

I feel that there is almost like a ten-year gap from the time that you leave the home which you're in until the time that you graduate from college and are established in a business position. You really take no active part in politics as a whole, as an average student. Of course, there are some people who automatically become interested in politics through their major in college or through other means—maybe through a friend or because their father is directly holding some legislative or government position. But, otherwise, most people do not have a direct contact with politics, as our American frame of government is. And I feel that if more people were introduced to this, that maybe we could start at the bottom of the party itself or of certain groups to institute changes, rather than to try to do them through this radical, on-the-spot sort of thing.

I think these radical demonstrations, as they have been, are only tending to polarize people in one direction or the other. Now, we have the (what should we call it?) the introduction of the hard hats now. This is going to be sort of the other way. And it just shows that society is polarizing. And like Governor Wallace said, this term that the newspaper reporters and so forth, the journalists, have come up with, this "white backlash" in the civil rights, I think we're seeing this in other fields. Even with this peace movement and things like this, not only is the backlash getting a little stronger, but it's tending to start to divide people one way or the other. Where most of the people . . . just like the old rule: we're the silent majority, we sit in the middle and usually don't really commit ourselves unless we really have to. And it's getting down to the point that people are really having to commit themselves one way or the other. You can't stand in the middle anymore.

OK. Have you noticed where the peace movement in this area is headed?

To me, the peace movement is an expression of some people who for various reasons want peace, and they want it now. I think that I could safely say 90 percent of the people in this country want peace, and they want it as soon as possible. But I think that many of them realize, such as our commitment in Vietnam, we can't just pull out today. We got in there maybe under wrong pretenses. Who's to say? But we're there now. And the point is, let's get out as soon as we can and make it as worthwhile as possible.

We've definitely found out we're not there to fight to win—not to win a physical war with American arms and American men. And if our purpose is, as President Johnson said, to preserve the freedom of the South Vietnamese, well, let's give them their chance and get out. Let's do the best that we can for the time being, and then see if this is what the people really want.

I think we've given them as much of a chance as possible, and this was our purpose for being there. Now it's up to the people to determine their own course in history. We can't really say that; I mean, they've been trodden under by another power. I think we've done as much as we can to help these people, and let the course of events be what they may.

Are there any other comments you'd like to make?

Not really, other than that I think that it's helped to awaken many of the students on this campus. The only thing that bothers me about these demonstrations and so forth is the fact that many times these demonstrations which take place on college campuses involve many people who are not part of the college community itself. In the group of demonstrators I noticed many of my friends were dropouts, number one, some of them who were still high school kids in that group, and people like this.

I mean, good and well that they want to demonstrate, but as far as coming up here and demonstrating against a college function, which they really had no part of at that time, this is just sort of bringing the outside in. "Let's make our num-

bers look real good even if they aren't really understanding what's going on." And this is a point that a lot of my friends talked about after it was over, that they noticed this, too. Even pro and con, they noticed that a lot of the kids in there were not really kids of this campus. In fact, some of the kids were just kids who were passing through town and had nothing better to do, so they'll join in the demonstration.

But the thing that I was glad to see that came out of it was that it did wake up some of the students on campus to the fact that if they want a real voice in what goes on in campus politics, they're going to have to speak up and to make known to those people who represent them—namely, the senate of the university—that they're going to have to make a manifestation in some way to these people their own feelings, whether it be a majority of them, or whether only a few of them have the same consensus over some issue. If they do express it, then their representative on campus knows.

And up until now the so-called peace movement more or less had their way, because they were the only group that would come and pressure the senate when it met. And this I was really glad to see, that some of the other students . . . I mean, let's say, maybe 150 to 200 of these peace demonstrator-type people were running that senate, really having their way in a lot of things. And here the other 6,000 students on campus were just silently sitting back, and everything was just fine—until it comes to a point where they *have* to take one side or another. Then, many of them take the other side, because they're aroused a little bit. I mean, most of the people were still in the middle, maybe a little bit to the side opposite of the peace people, but then you got this little radical element of, well, sort of the cowboys and the Sundowners, which were really at the other end. I mean, they were ready to do battle with them.

And this was really the thing that some of the people on this campus prevented, one being Lou Test. He personally went over and spoke to the aggies and calmed them down a little bit and just pointed out to them that this really isn't go-

ing to solve anything. This is what the people on the outside want: a little violence in here, with, you know, a little newspaper commentary on it and so forth, but it really doesn't serve the purpose of what this was for.

And the only other thing that really bothered me about the whole thing that took place over Governor's Day was the fact that many of the people that were in this peace movement—that were directly related in the senate or were senate members themselves—were really pushing for this: that we should have classes out on Friday in remembrance of the four people that were killed at Kent State. But on the same hand it was those same people and that same group that sat up in the stands and played taps while Mr. and Mrs. Wishham came out to give an award that they were giving in honor of their son, who was an ROTC graduate who had been killed in Vietnam in combat.

To me this is very contradictory. It leaves me in the position that I want peace; I'd like to see us out of Vietnam. And I'd like to see us in a position where, through our own use of the position of strength that we have in the world, we can prevent ourselves from getting in positions like this—but at the same time that we can keep peace by keeping power. This is the only thing that we can do now. I mean, the Russians and the eastern bloc have made it very clear that this is the only thing we can do—keeping our power out—then this is really the only thing that we have. We can threaten, if we have to put it in those terms. This is really what we usually do. Usually we nicely say that this is the way it is, and if someone goes different, then we use a tactic to push them a little bit our way.

But this is the thing that really bothered me: that these four people at Kent State are so significant, but yet for the one person who is really closer to them and who maybe some of them knew, they can almost humiliate his parents. And this is the one thing that really bothered me more than anything out of the whole display of this thing for peace. They were talking about all these people that have been killed in Vietnam and how

important they were. You know, they'd given their lives, and these people in these peace movements had, also. And this is the thing that really bothered me.

Myself, I'd have hated to have been in the spot that one of those National Guardsmen had been in at Kent State. I mean, we don't really know the circumstances that surrounded that. Ballistics have shown that one out of the ten bullets that was fired was not an army bullet. So whether that was the first shot or the last shot fired or where it came, we don't know. But as far as the real situation, what position would we have been in if we'd been one of those National Guardsmen? They were there; they were ordered to do a specific job; they were given ammunition. The people that are responsible for their actions are the people who are commanding them, that gave them this ammunition. But at the same time they were put in a very hard position to make a decision. And at that time maybe they wouldn't have acted or reacted as they did if the position had been a little bit different, but here they were.

I don't really know what took place. I mean, the press gives three or four different pictures. From what I understand, bottles were being thrown at them, bricks were being thrown at them. There was a large group of people gathered around. From the violence that's taken place on campuses in this country, very likely one of those bottles may have been a Molotov cocktail and killed thirty or forty of the guardsmen. What position would I have been in if I would have been in the guard, and with the guardsmen, I'd hate to say.

Oh, but they were apparently doing a job that they didn't like doing any better than maybe the people that are fighting in Vietnam. But they were doing it because someone had to do it; otherwise, maybe the whole campus at Kent State would have been burned down, as we've seen buildings on other campuses burned. So it leaves us in an unfortunate position.

The only thing that I would hope for is to see movements on campuses that were directed in more of a constructive position. I mean, we saw

this big thing over Earth Day, but to my knowledge, I saw no one on this campus or read of no one on any other campus taking and going out and, say, gathering garbage along the side of the road or doing things like this to help maybe clean up our environment, however little it may have been. I mean, just out of a fact, we know that there's a cubic yard of garbage distributed along every mile of highway every year in this country. And maybe just three or four hundred students, covering maybe ten or fifteen miles of road, could have cleaned up a lot of garbage. But, instead, they turn around and do things like burying a brand-new car, which to me proves exactly nothing, other than they just wasted four thousand dollars. But things like this . . .

If these energies could be put in a little bit more of a constructive direction, to do something that would benefit people, even if it was to go into the ghettos and maybe help someone there that they knew or someone's family, I think things that would be constructive like this would be far better than going out and demonstrating, as is usually the case. And all it does mainly is entice people to watch the demonstrations. Usually, they're not part of the demonstrations. And as far as I can tell, it's just sort of another activity with a few people leading it that gets a big crowd. Like these rock concerts—it's the same thing. There's a few people there entertaining, and everybody goes there for a different reason: some people for drugs, some people to listen to the music, and some people just to get away from the rest of society.

And the peace movement has sort of taken on this connotation to me, because it really, to me, puts forth no one real distinct goal, and no one person is really leading it in any one direction. And it seems to just be a mass of things which people are striving for, but which a lot of people feel that they would rather not be involved with, because they feel that, personally, they can seek these things by themselves in a far better way.

BRIAN WHALEN

May 26, 1970

My home is 1850 Royal Drive, Reno, Nevada. I'm the plant engineer at the University of Nevada.

Why do you think you were chosen to be interviewed?

Perhaps, because I'm the plant engineer.
[laughter]

What was your reaction to President Nixon's decision to move troops into Cambodia?

Oh, I wasn't surprised. I thought that if it would help the war, why, it was a good decision—because I don't see any sense in letting people sit back in sanctuaries and take shots at you, although I expected it might cause some stir here, or in the United States from the . . . call it the liberal group, if you want.

In what way do you think that this Cambodia decision was related to what happened next on the UNR campus?

I don't know if the Cambodian thing was too much related. From the time of the year—the springtime—with ROTC day coming up, I think that with the protestors coming along, they were going to protest something anyway. And I think this just gave them a real good thing to get a lot of other people involved in their protest.

Yes. What was your reaction to the events in other parts of the country related to the Cambodian decision: Kent State and other campuses.

Well, like everyone else I was real unhappy about the Kent State thing, where people did get killed. I think that when you have a situation so far along you've got to call the national guard, you're going to have something bad happen, one way or another.

Regarding the Governor's Day activities here on campus: what did you think of the arrangements made for the observances?

Well, they had the stadium reserved for the ROTC people. They had Manzanita Bowl reserved for the other people, as they did last year,



Brian Whalen, 1979.

and everything seemed to work out fine. I fully anticipated that the demonstrators wouldn't stay in that area. We had information through the university police that they weren't going to stay in that area. And I think this pretty well follows. About three years ago, they had their little protest in front of the stands. . . in front of the stadium outside the gates, where they marched around and had their picket line—and that was fine. Last year, they had a protest at the same time as ROTC, to prove they could draw more people. And I think it just naturally follows that these types of things are going to go one step further each time. And I think this demonstration was their one step further.

What was your reaction to the demonstration?

[laughter] First, I was disappointed that they—the demonstrator group—didn't stay in the bowl area. Second, when they stopped the motorcade in front of the union and caused a ruckus, I thought perhaps that was going to be the end of

it. I hoped it would. Then, when they got to the stadium . . . I was a little bit late getting to the stadium for things. I had to take care of down here. When I got there, I really couldn't believe it. In fact, I was so upset I wrote a letter to the governor apologizing for the actions of the demonstrator group toward him and the platform group and the ROTC people. And you can get a copy of that (I don't have a copy here) and then a copy of the governor's reply, if you want. He sent a nice letter back, stating I didn't have to apologize because he realized this wasn't the university's function; it was a group of demonstrator types, numbering about 300. He didn't feel the others should be judged on this. And he wasn't going to judge them because of this.

But in my letter, I told him that I'd been in this state since 1932. Of course, I was quite young then, [laughter] and I'd been on the university campus as a professional faculty-staff member since 1958, and this was the most disgraceful thing I had ever witnessed on this campus. And those are my sentiments regarding this thing. I think everybody has a right to dissent, but I think as soon as you step over somebody else's line—where you interfere with their right to put on their program—then I think you're out of line. I think these people are out of line.

Yes. And you didn't feel that it was necessary, yourself, to participate in any of the demonstrations or activities?

No. I've talked to several people since who've felt that a demonstration and marching around the track one time—things like that—were fine, but they felt they really got out of line in their catcalling, raising the peace sign instead of saluting the flag, and “seig heil”-ing the general up there, instead of just letting him be introduced. I think probably the most disgraceful thing I've ever witnessed was the playing of taps by a demonstrator when the Wisham family was giving the award in memory of their son who was killed in Vietnam. I think this is just absolutely terrible. And I've written to the people who are investi-

gating the demonstration from the university standpoint and asked that this particular student be investigated, because he's been identified. (Just like I think you have a right to come around and ask any questions you want, I have a right to answer any I want, but I don't think it's right for anybody to come in here and say, "She can't interview you.")

And I think it got out of hand up there. You talk to the people who were setting it all up, and they felt they could control them. They could make one pass of the track, then they'd sit in the stands and let the thing go on. They didn't realize there was going to be this catcalling. They didn't realize they'd be giving the governor the finger as they went by, in their group. This is completely out of . . . this gets into a mob situation, instead of a demonstrator situation. And that's where that one got.

Yes. What do you think should have been the reaction of the ROTC and the demonstrators and the university administrators to this conflict that developed?

I don't know whether the reaction could be any better than it was. The ROTC people really contained themselves quite well, for the insults that were being given to them. For the administration, at that point, to do anything more than they did, I think, would have been a mistake. It would have caused a worse situation than they actually had. I think perhaps a policy of not letting the protest demonstrators inside the stadium (do all they want outside, like three years ago when there was a restriction)—if they had done that, maybe it would have solved it, maybe it wouldn't. It's all hindsight.

Actually, I was very disappointed in the demonstrating group, because I think they had something very real to demonstrate, and a lot of them felt very strongly and very sincere about. I think the way it got out of hand sort of ruined it for the people who were sincere, which is unfortunate.

What was your reaction to the violence that followed Governor's Day: the firing of

Hartman Hall and the bombing of the Hobbit Hole?

Oh, I'm involved with the university police, and we were expecting Hartman Hall or Clark Administration or Morrill Hall to get firebombed by somebody. And they may never find out who it is, but I think that if they ever do, you'll find out it wasn't students from this campus. I think you can trace it all over this country: that your general big problems are a group of hardcore troublemakers who come in to take advantage of these situations. Now, whether they're from off campus or out of town, I think is immaterial. I think it's the fact that they're coming in, and they're taking advantage of an emotional situation to run their own ends, or get their own means. And I think you'll find, if it ever comes out, that this was done by some outsiders, and then to keep the flames fanned they threw one over here—somebody did. They'll find out, I'm sure, somebody who did it, probably, but I feel there's no place for it anywhere. I don't think it's students from this campus, per se, doing that kind of thing, or from any other campus, unless they get emotionally charged in the situation.

Well what category of participant—student, faculty, or outsider—do you feel was most effective in fomenting this violence? You have talked about . . .

Oh, I think the outsider. I think the situation was there where the kids would have gone up and marched through on the track, and they may have said some things, but I think if we hadn't had the outsiders in . . . And I can identify three of the outsiders who were at the student rap session the next afternoon after this, where the student USA group (the United Student Alliance) was discussing how well their demonstration came off. I think some of the university students—that I can identify—felt that they had really made a point. They had disrupted things, perhaps more than they wanted to; however, they felt they had a foot in the door. The super-agitator types were up there harping about Hartman Hall still stand-

ing and the administration building still standing. These were non-campus people who were saying these things.

What actions do you feel were most effective in preventing more violence, or in cooling off the situation that developed in the long run?

I think right at the time, the action of not having the police jump in probably stopped anything worse than did happen, because basically what happened was vulgar language and insults and disrespect, but there wasn't any physical violence, so to speak. (Although one guy by the union was clonked on the head, I guess. But anytime you get a crowd that big somebody's going to get clonked anyway.) But I think just the fact that they didn't panic from the administration end, and they didn't panic from the ROTC end, and they tried to show that there are people around with common sense and dignity: that's what stopped it from getting worse then.

I think what stopped it getting worse immediately thereafter was the fact that the university took necessary precautions to attempt to stop things. And with the Hartman Hall firebombing (in a wooden building that could burn in fifteen minutes clear to the ground), the police action by the increased surveillance of that area limited it to minor damage, say \$500 or \$600. If that had burned to the ground, I think the townspeople reaction and the conservative student reaction would have really have been great. I think your legislative reaction, your regent reaction, would have been something totally different than it was. But the fact that the precaution was taken ahead of time, anticipating this, did manage to save that one. I think the increased patrols which were going on all week by the city of Reno and by our police both caught that fire over there in time. I think that really helped cool things off.

How do you think that the events on campus affect the university's image outside?

I think they affected them greatly. I don't think these events helped the image at all.

Well what function should the university have in focusing public opinion?

I think the university should probably prove that there are places where you can discuss things, but you don't necessarily have to ram them down somebody's throat. If they want to have two sides or three sides and have it discussed, that's fine. I think that they should be primarily educating people, which the university's always stated. Secondly, they are in research, I think. And thirdly, they are in community service. If they can prove that that's what they're doing, and not let these things get out of hand, the leadership of the students and the leadership of the faculty has got to be such that when the outsiders come in they recognize this, and they don't allow them in.

Yes. Do you feel that issues of academic freedom are involved in participation in these demonstrations?

I don't think the issues of academic freedom are involved at all here, because I think academic freedom is something totally different. I think maybe if the university would get off their butts (if I can use the word) and define what academic freedom is Academic freedom, in my opinion, is the freedom of expression in the classroom. It's not the freedom to do anything you want, anytime you want, just because you're a member of the university community. I think all of your basic laws of society still govern you, but if you want to teach in your classroom in a certain way, and if you want to lay out what, say, the communist theory is, you should be free to do that, if you're teaching political science or if you're teaching sociology. If you're teaching biology, I don't think you have any business whatsoever discussing things like that. If you're supposed to be teaching civil engineering, if it has nothing to do with your area, you shouldn't be discussing it.

I think your realm of academic freedom is what you're allowed to discuss in your discipline, in your classroom. It's not what you spout off to the newspapers downtown, outside the classroom. And that's where I think most university people

have to be very careful. If you're being identified as a member of the university community, then you have to be careful what you say, and you couldn't speak as freely, say, as a bricklayer who wouldn't be identified as a spokesman, so to speak. But I think the academic freedom issue should be clearly defined, and I don't think it was involved here.

How can students and faculty be effective politically, or should they attempt to influence governmental policies?

Oh, I think they can be very effective politically. And I think they can really influence governmental policy. I think, first, you should go through the existing mechanisms that we have. And there are many. I dare say, of the 300 people in the demonstration, I doubt that a one has ever written a congressman or an assemblyman. And this is one way we've got. If you only get one letter, that's one; if you get 300, they stand up and take notice. I think they're finding this out all over the country. And I think this excuse that it takes too long . . . I'm not all for that excuse. A lot of things take time. They talk about patience: if my father had the patience they've got, I'd have never survived. [laughter]

[laughter] Where do you think the peace movement is headed in this country?

The peace movement? I think actually because of this demonstration in this community, your peace movement has lost a little steam. But I think the peace movement is very real, and I think that the peace movement is going to go ahead. I think it's going to go ahead nationally, too. I think that's what everybody who really . . . you can't get anybody to disagree with you that we don't want peace. It's just how you're going to get it and when. On one side you've got the people who don't think you can do anything about it; on the other side you've got the people who want to pull out of Vietnam and Cambodia tomorrow. Period. Everybody. I think logistically

it's physically impossible to pull out totally tomorrow, but I think we're going to get out of there.

What other comments do you want to make about any of this?

Oh, well, I don't think any other comments. I think I've made enough now. But, I think the image of the university has been hurt by this situation. I think that probably in the future the university will be a little bit better prepared to see what's going on and pick out the troublemakers and probably take action against the troublemakers at the proper time, which would help the situation. I think they'll probably be a little bit more receptive to discussing these things in forum-type, and I think you'll find perhaps your conservative people on this campus—and there are a good number of them, in my opinion—will probably attend more of these type of discussion things, so it isn't all a one-sided discussion, which I think in the past perhaps sometime it has been.

MARY ELLEN GLASS, RUTH HILTS,
AND MARIAN RENDALL

June 24, 1970

Mary Ellen Glass [G]: So the purpose of this tape is to tell anyone who wants to use the materials that we gathered on the Governor's Day activities what went into the program, how it evolved, and what we think we got out of it. First of all, I could probably say how we happened to get into this in the first place. It's been very interesting to me to read the materials from other oral history projects where they describe having interviewed demonstrators and protestors and dissidents of one sort and another, some who have described (at least in meetings—I can't seem to put my hand on any written sources) having been out in the middle of a demonstration or a disturbance of some kind with their portable tape recorder, saying, "What's going on here?" which is quite interesting, I think, and something that we might consider doing sometime.

But somehow I hadn't thought of doing anything about the Governor's Day activities until Mr. Carpenter walked into my office one day and said, "Well, do you have all this last week on tape?"

And I said, no, I didn't.

And he said, "Oh," and went away.

Well, pretty soon—I'm a little slow—it seemed to make some sense that we ought to be doing this. So I drew up a proposal letter and took it in to show to him. The letter was essentially, I guess, what we ended up doing, but it was quite a bit more specific than what we ended up sending. It was quite a bit more specific on the critical nature of the events of the past several days.

Well, he agreed that it might be a good idea, but he wanted me to discuss it with some other people, including the director of information, who had been close to the events. And so I made an appointment with the director of information and showed it to him. While I was there, President Miller dropped in, and they discussed it with me, and both approved the thing, in essence.

There was always, in the background, the problem of evidence in the legal sense, and this was something that disturbed me, and it disturbed everyone that I had sought approval from up to then. So I brought back to Mr. Carpenter my concern, and he said that he thought maybe we should just forget the whole thing until the investigation and everything had gone away.

I subsequently had to go to a meeting with Mr. Morehouse and Mr. Armstrong in Judge



Mary Ellen Glass, c. 1978.

Hyde's office, and, again, this subject came up of what we ought to be doing about Governor's Day. And at that time Mr. Morehouse and Mr. Armstrong expressed some disappointment that we weren't going to go ahead with this immediately while the iron was hot and so forth, and we sought some comments from Judge Hyde. So Judge Hyde advised us some on the legal aspects and suggested some other research on legal aspects. Mr. Morehouse then discussed the problem again with Mr. Carpenter, who said that he would approve the project if we got direct approval from President Miller.

Well, we then redrew the letter to indicate that we were seeking views, opinions, and observations, rather than "accounts of an event." And this was then approved by Mr. Morehouse and President Miller. I can't recall whether Judge Hyde saw that letter or not.

But then the next steps, which were kind of interwoven, were to make a list of the people that we wanted to see, that we knew had been involved, or that someone else knew had been involved in one capacity or another, and to draw up a list of questions: seeking views, opinions, observations.

Ruth Hilts [H]: Or reactions.

G: Yes, and reactions—all of this sort of thing. Nothing to indicate evidence, again, because we certainly didn't want to be involved in prejudicing any investigations or leave ourselves open for any kind of legal action.

While we were still in the process of drawing up this list of names, we were advised by Mr. Carpenter, Barbara Thornton, Reverend Dodson, and the columnists of the *Sagebrush*, I guess, for general knowledge on whom we ought to be seeing.

Marian Rendall was in my office one day to help me draw up the list of questions, and between us we did draw up questions, asking for observations and opinions and reaction. The only question that we didn't put on the list at that time was the one on academic freedom, which I have found very interesting. Then the list of questions was approved with minor changes by Mr. Morehouse. I didn't submit the list of questions to Mr. Carpenter, my immediate supervisor, because he was one of the people to be interviewed, and I thought it would be more appropriate not to.

So that's the background, just a general outline of how the procedure was set out. I might say, too, that among all the people that I consulted and my own feelings on the situation (and I think I've been confirmed in this since), there was a consensus that the university had come to a turning point in its history. And maybe we're wrong. You can't always tell when you come to a turning point. But I am really inclined to think that it was, in more ways than one, a turning point, and I wouldn't say either for better or for worse

at this point, but definitely a change in the direction that the university has been taking.

So, with that as background, I think it might be useful if those of us who have been involved in the interviewing would discuss, in general (without naming any names and without discussing the contents of the interviews), what you think you brought to the interviews and what you think the Oral History Project and University Archives have gained from it.

Marian Rendall [R]: Well, I noticed, for one thing—and perhaps it might have been my inexperience as an interviewer—but the people I talked to seemed a bit reluctant to talk. At first, I thought maybe it was the fact that they weren't sure of what would happen to these tapes afterward. But a lot of them just seemed reluctant to put their ideas down in such a permanent way. Whether it was something which could have been incriminating, as none of them seemed to be, but whether it was something of that kind that was bothering them or not, I couldn't tell. But there was always sort of a wariness to the approach, an underlying reluctance to talk, for at least several of them.

G: Yes.

H: Did you indoctrinate them, orient them in any way before the interview began?

R: Oh, yes.

H: I ask this only because I was afraid of this sort of reaction, and to overcome this reticence, I tried to give them a little background on why the interviews were being held, what was to be done with the tape, the restriction they could place on the use if they wished, and then I would hand them the questions. And I'd say, "Maybe you'd like to just acquaint yourself with the sort of thing we're going to go through. You get your thoughts in order." And so they'd read the questions, and then, of the nine interviews that I did, only two people were reticent and expressed doubts.

R: Yes. One of my interviewees was so reluctant, in fact, that I took him in to talk to Mrs. Glass about the whole thing, to set him more at ease about why he was selected and how he happened to be selected, this kind of thing. And then for one of them, I interpreted it at the time as wariness, but after the interview was over, I decided maybe he was reluctant to talk because he didn't really know why he was selected, that he didn't feel that he had anything of particular importance to say. And so maybe he was holding back because he did not feel that he had anything particular to say. I thought that I had given a fairly elaborate introduction to all of them about how the tapes were going to be used and the value of this thing—the historical project—to the history of the university and the community.

G: Well, I seldom handed anyone the questions, although if they seemed particularly worried about the content of the project, I would say, "Well, of course, you may look at the questions if you want. I mean, we're seeking your opinion."

H: Well, that's the attitude that I had when I handed them the questions. I didn't want them to be fearful that they were going to be drilled. [laughter] So we just kind of conversed about the questions once they were acquainted.

G: Yes. Well, do you feel that you used any particular technique in getting people to respond more fully?

H: I tried deliberately to catch the eyes and keep them. And I hope I didn't say, "Mm-hm," too often, because I got so excited about what they were saying, I would agree with them, nod my head, and I'm afraid it came out, "Mm-hm." [laughter] But at any rate, this seemed to elicit a friendly response, and except for the two that I mentioned that were reticent, I felt that there was almost a very, very friendly, open response to the questions. They may have been more than they originally intended to, merely because I was open

mouthed and nodded my head, urging them with my eyes to come on! [laughter]

R: Right. One in particular that I can think of became considerably more open after I had made some comment about a particularly good point he had made. And this wasn't an attempt to butter him up on my part at all. In fact, some of them made very good points, things that I hadn't thought of, and then the naturally reaction would be, "That's a great point," and, "Go ahead and say some more." But for the most part, I think that they were as open as they could be. And I think most of the ones that I interviewed told all that they happened to know or, you know, felt that they could say about the whole incident.

I felt that they were open, but yet there was that kind of feeling I had that they were either reluctant about how valuable the project was going to be and how much they were going to be able to bring to the project themselves, or they were wary about what was going to happen to it. I don't know which. And I got that impression.

Part of it was just self-confidence. It's kind of difficult to go into a room and have somebody turn the tape on. You never are able to be as articulate as you wish you were afterwards, I think. And this was bothering them—how good they came across on tape, compared to how they would be able to express themselves otherwise.

H: In that respect, I admired the people that I talked to, the nine that I did interview. I never met any of them before. We were complete strangers, and I wondered just how articulate they could be under these circumstances. I was surprised at the warmth and the ease with which most of them spoke.

R: In most cases—in all of the cases of my interviewees—I had not seen them before, and I probably will not see them afterwards. And then it just was limited to that short amount of time. It's amazing how well they responded, considering that we had not talked to them before. I think all of my interviews just lasted for one meeting.

Did any of you have ones that lasted more than one meeting?

H: No. No, I didn't. Anywhere from forty-five minutes to an hour was the extent, the standard.

G: Yes, I think my longest one ran two hours, and I think probably the shortest was, oh, twenty-five or thirty minutes. I think in both extremes that was adequate.

But one of the things that we tried very hard to do (and I think we succeeded quite well) was to get as broad a spectrum of opinion as we possibly could. So the names were chosen on the basis of activities: ROTC, Sundowners, known conservatives, some of the known leaders, and, well, I don't want to say radicals, but that's close.

H: The leaders of several factions, such as the black students in the peace movement.

R: Right. The activists—the ones that were most active on that day.

G: Yes. And this includes both students and professors. I think that we succeeded. I'm not sure that we did, but I think we succeeded in interviewing the principals in all the activities—I mean, the peace demonstration, the ROTC parade, and the faculty people on both sides.

H: Some of whom were there, and others who had been influential beforehand.

R: The names were chosen, weren't they, as a result of the school newspaper? And what other methods were used?

G: Well, we asked people who had been active. I asked Mr. Carpenter for some names. I asked Reverend Dodson for some names and, yes, in the school newspaper. So, as I say, I think we succeeded.

And I want to say something about the response, too, just in terms of statistics. I think our response has now run between 70 and 80 per-

cent. We're not going to interview very many after this. But as far as just the response, I mean, just actual physical coming in, I think we should be able to claim some validity for the survey.

R: Yes. Were there any that were not on this list that requested to be interviewed?

G: Oh, yes. There was one, and I thought this was interesting, too. Well, we asked a number of departments—not as departments, but individuals in departments—to come in, and one of these departments, of course, had to be the military. So letters were sent to Colonel Hill, Captain Gartenberg, and Sergeant Major Barka, all in the department. One day we had a phone call from Major Springer, to whom we had not addressed a request, saying that he had seen the letter to Colonel Hill and he would like to come in to be interviewed, which he did. And he gave a very good, representative interview, I felt.

Subsequently, the secretary in the office, trying to sort of tie up some loose ends, called the Military Department and asked if Sergeant Major Barka would come in. That was the first one on the list, and B comes before H. And the response was, no, the Military Department had been spoken for with Major Springer's interview. So we have to assume that the Military Department had some kind of a meeting of the minds and felt that Major Springer was adequate to represent them, since that's what we were told. I'm sorry, personally, that the others didn't come in. Captain Gartenberg came in, but we reached him not through the department, but at his home, since he's also a graduate student.

H: This was the only department on campus that had a representative of the department, in other words.

G: Yes.

H: The other ones came in representing only themselves.

G: Yes, that's right. So if we reached a number of people in, say, political science or art or English or so forth, it was because they came in individually. And I thought that that was interesting, although, as I say, I was personally disappointed, because I was hoping that we'd get personal expression, rather than departmental expressions, from these people.

H: Since you did most of the interviewing, did you come to any feeling of consensus, or did you find that there was a great lack of it?

G: Well, there is more or less of a consensus, although it . . . Well, I should preface that, I guess, by saying that we did try to get, again, as many views and opinions from as many points as we possibly could. So, obviously, you're not going to have a full consensus. That was the purpose of the project: it was not to have a consensus. But I would say that if there is any, from the number of times people said to me, "I deplore violence, but . . .," or, "I deplore violence, and . . .," there is no agreement from left to right that there was any violence on the campus.

There are people on the right who think that what happened up at the stadium was violence. There are people on the left who think that the burning of the ROTC building was not violence. In fact, it was just sort of a botched job. And I think that that's interesting. All of the people from the university displayed some kind of a . . . well, I don't want to say "awe," either, but I would say the majority of the people from the university displayed some kind of an affection, almost, a kind of a patriotic feeling for the university and kind of regretted that the university's reputation . . .

H: Or image.

G: . . . or image—we've been saying "image," but "image" is a kind of a nasty word—but our reputation had been tarnished at all. There were a few who didn't admit that it had or wouldn't admit that it mattered, which is interesting.

[laughter] But a great many expressed a disappointment over that.

R: The ones that I interviewed, regardless of whether they can be considered right or left, were more of the idea, though, that finally something has happened at the university, and whether or not they agreed with what had happened, they were in a way pleased to see that there was some feeling of awareness that they had not seen registered before, that they had hoped would be registered—maybe not in this way—but to know that things were really alive, that this campus might be a sort of a microcosm in comparison with what was going on in the outside world, that maybe this area had been too isolated for a long time. And I got this kind of idea, whether they agreed with what had happened or not.

H: I noticed that, too—the expression that “something finally happened to the University of Nevada.” I never quite agreed that we were isolated, as the youngsters and some professors are willing to think we are, or as aware of political implication about what’s going on. But they kept saying, “Oh, well, finally if it’s happened at the University of *Nevada*.” And it’s this tone of voice. “Well, it couldn’t possibly happen here, but it has.” A kind of subtle pride that something has happened here. And they didn’t want their university destroyed in any way.

R: And they may have been very opposed to what has happened, but it was just the idea . . .

H: That the students are alive. They are functioning politically, and well, I got tired of saying it, frankly, because I didn’t think we were all that dead here. [laughter] You had a question that elicited surprising answers.

G: Yes. Well, there were two questions that I found particularly interesting in the responses—well, no, more than that. But the question, “Why do you think you were chosen to be interviewed for this project?” elicited really very interesting responses, because everyone, of course, is ego-

involved, and I guess there is some kind of a prestige factor in being invited to come in and tape record for posterity.

I recall only one—and I can’t remember who it was (even whether it was a student or a faculty member)—who said, “I really don’t know. I thought perhaps you would tell me.” And, of course, I knew so few of the people that had been invited to come in, and his name had been suggested, or, at least, I presume it had been suggested. Maybe someone meant someone else by a different name. When we finished the interview, I didn’t know, either. [laughter]

H: What delighted me about these people was that they came. And what was the percentage of response?

G: About 80 percent.

H: About 80 percent. Some came, protesting that they thought this was an inquisition from hell. Some said that they didn’t know the value of it, and, perhaps, some were a little frightened. They didn’t know why they’d been chosen. But they *came*. [laughter]

G: Yes. Well, that’s what I say. I think their ego was involved.

H: Perhaps.

R: And curiosity.

G: Yes. And there was only that one. And I’m still puzzled about that one. [laughter]

Another one of the questions, “How do you think the Cambodia decision was related to what happened next on our campus?” seemed to get a response among some people to tell me what did happen next, as far as they were concerned. In a number of cases, this led them into all kinds of free associations. And finally down to, oh, about question number twelve, they had answered them, the question number twelve being something about the university’s image on the outside.

H: Yes. The original question was only number six, so they'd gone through about half the list with their free associating.

G: Yes. So that was very interesting to me, because it indicated that perhaps we'd been logical in drawing the questions and in ordering them.

Another one of the questions that just fascinated me in the response was the one on academic freedom. The question reads: "Do you think issues of academic freedom are involved in participating in a demonstration?" For some reason, among both students and faculty members, this began a discussion or a monologue on part of the interviewing of what a university is for, what the person's involved in doing and his discipline, what he thinks classroom activities should be, what his particular field means to the education of the whole western world, and definitions of academic freedom that ran all the way from right to left, and some really valuable, philosophical positions that someone in the future might find very interesting to explore further. These responses to the academic freedom thing also led people to say that there was no right on the campus to have any demonstrations at all, that the only thing a university was about was to have people go to class and learn whatever they were to learn in the classroom situation, and it was up to the professor to purvey knowledge.

H: That was one extreme.

G: That's one extreme. The other extreme was that anything that happens on the campus is involved in my academic freedom. A demonstration is perhaps only a field trip in political science or sociology—or whatever this person might have been talking about. And I found that very interesting, along with these philosophical positions on what a university is all about. To find people wanting to discuss their conception of what a university is, all the way from kind of a technical school to the community of scholars in the almost medieval sense, that fascinated me.

H: I got almost the same range of response to that, now that you've mentioned the different points that were made. Also, I interviewed one alumna whose response to that question was rather interesting, because she had been a student here during the 1950s—one that was another debate over academic freedom. [laughter] Could I mention one question?

G: Do. I think we should.

H: I found very few positive answers to number sixteen, "Where is the peace movement headed?" Supposedly, this whole Governor's Day demonstration was in support of the peace movement. Only one person even indicated that he thought there might be some movement afoot or that it was headed anywhere, and this young man purportedly the head of it. [laughter] Nobody seemed to know if there was an organization, if they had any particular goal, or if the goal was even accomplished.

R: But that's very true. That's kind of the impression I got, too, that maybe this had not only been the highest point in the peace movement here, but it might be also the end of the peace movement here. It didn't seem to me that they gave much hope for anything that was going to happen. Oh, there was the idea, "Well, maybe this is the beginning of something," but you never got the idea that they really had any hope that something was going to come out of this—that it was going to be forgotten.

Maybe it was the time of the year, too—you know, at the end of the school year, and then there was going to be a summer, which usually is a cooling-off period on any campus. And they felt that by the time they tried to pick up the thing, beginning in the fall, that there wouldn't be anything left, possibly. Or if there were, there's so much that could happen, they felt, politically, that between the springtime and fall, too, it's hard to judge what really is going to happen with the peace movement. But I felt that the reactions were kind of negative.

H: That's what I felt. And it surprised me so, because supposedly this whole thing exploded over

G: Over peace.

H: Yes. [laughter] And yet the movement itself seemed to be ill-defined, and what the motivation was is beyond me. Many people, or professors, perhaps, felt that this all happened because of the time of year. It's springtime. The young students are feeling their oats, and it's just before finals. I didn't want to hear that sort of thing, because, supposedly, this was a demonstration on a very, very serious subject. And the youngsters were expressing their deep feelings.

R: Well, also, I was a little disappointed in mine, not with the interviewees, but I felt that their positions were a lot closer together than I thought that they ever would be. I supposedly interviewed some from the right and some from the left, but I felt that they were, you know, basically the same. There were a few different ideas, but basically the same, and I was a little disappointed. I was supposed to interview Dan McKinney, who I believe was the president of the Black Students Union. We contacted him twice, and both times he was unable to come. I had hoped maybe through that interview I would have heard a slightly different position, maybe something representative of black students on the campus that would be different from the white students that I interviewed, but, unfortunately, he wasn't able to come.

G: Well, he just plain didn't show up. He made two appointments and just didn't come.

R: Right.

G: I think he's the only one that we weren't able to reschedule. If someone did break an appointment, we were able to reschedule them, so the people who have accepted have been interviewed.

But this business, this question on the peace movement, I think you're right. People expressed

to me pessimism or doubt or even some question of whether there either was or had been or would ever be any real movement beyond just spontaneous gettings-together.

H: Yes. There were several responses to that that indicated that perhaps they would work through the usual political channels, trying to get candidates that might be more receptive to those students' idea of what our government should be striving for. Peace candidates. They've mentioned this sort of thing. Rather than having demonstrations, they might work through political channels. This was a rare response, I would say.

G: Yes. Well, having been involved in the peace movement myself, I think that it's just absolutely remarkable that the various people who have been involved are apparently not in communication with each other, because when the Northern Nevada Peace Center was at least trying to be active, we were sending out hundreds of newsletters and having no massive response at all, hardly any response of any sort. A number of the people that I have interviewed never heard of the Northern Nevada Peace Center, and yet they think they're right in the middle of a peace movement. So I'd say that it's probably fragmented—I mean, if it exists at all. And that's very interesting, since, as we say, it supposedly erupted over that.

H: Yes. Did you want to mention the restrictions that were possible for the interviewees and the responses to that?

G: Oh, yes, I do, because we offered everyone restrictions. As I said earlier, we didn't want to prejudice anything having to do with the investigation. I feel it would be very, very bad for the university and the library and the Oral History Project to be in a position of having gathered any prejudicial material or making any prejudicial material available. So we did offer a restriction, and these restrictions have run all the way from no restriction at all to one who said that if I would send him the questions, he would make his tape privately; he would send it to a third party; the

third party in five years would send it to the university. That one, I think, is very interesting.

Other people have asked for a year or two years. One asked for a lifetime restriction. And I've felt that we should agree to any restriction that people ask for, since, if we offer any, we should agree to any. And I'm going to do my best to see that they are observed and that no one is given any access to these, and that no one should have any access until after the investigations are over, anyway. That's the lowest possible restriction on any. And I think that we owe that to the university.

R: These interviews are going to be cataloged in the public catalog. Will they be under the name of the person interviewed?

G: I don't know how the archivist intends to catalog them. The tapes, untranscribed, are being put in boxes with just an alphabetical listing on the outside. Now, I do know that the archivist has a file of copies of letters, because we have co-signed all of the correspondence, and that has taken place over the invitations to interview and the thank-you notes and confirmation of restrictions after.

But I really feel that that part of it isn't really my problem, except that if anyone asks me to break a restriction, I would say no. I really feel that we owe this to people, and we owe it to the university, too, not to be involved in any kind of activity that might prejudice anyone, place them under the investigation, or anything else. A number of people have been very worried, but I'm also just delighted to note that there are so few restrictions. There really are *very few*. Considering that we've done more than fifty interviews, I don't think that 20 percent of them are under any kind of restriction after the investigation is over.

H: I did ten, and only one put a restriction on it of any kind, and that was merely a restriction that if anyone wanted to quote from his words, that he should have written permission from him.

That was the only restriction. That was one in ten. All of the others said no restriction.

G: Yes. Well, I'm glad, personally, that we haven't had to restrict them any more than that, because I do feel that research material should be as open as possible. And if you're gathering research material, it should be available to researchers. That's the only reason you do this. [laughter]

H: The only reason for it.

G: Yes. And so I hope that researchers will find something interesting here as a historical event, as a sociological phenomenon, as a psychological phenomenon. I don't think we had anybody from the Psychology Department, just because they haven't been too involved, but I do feel that psychologists might find very interesting the comments of people who participated in the demonstrations and what they got out of it or what they put into it. And, well, I think that the political scientist will undoubtedly find here a case study. The people in the English Department, who have been closely involved for a number of reasons, should find some linguistic study and some novel material, some dramatic material, perhaps.

R: And sociology. I was thinking that one of the questions I enjoyed most to hear the answer to was how people on the university campus felt about relationships between community and campus. This has always been a disputed thing around here, you know: how the community feels about the campus, and whether or not the feeling on campus is anything like the way the community feels. I think a sociologist could do an interesting study of the Reno area, comparing the way people on the campus feel with the way the community feels.

G: Yes. Well, we didn't interview a lot of people from the community. There didn't seem to be any particular reason to, but sometime it could well be interesting to do more of these. I'm hoping that this project will be kind of a pattern for some-

thing else. I hope we have no more teapot-sized tempests to disrupt our normal activities. [laughter] But if we do, I hope that we'll do this again. I think that we may have been too ambitious in the number of people that we interviewed, because, well, I really don't know how many interviews I did now. They have all run together. I might have done as many as forty.

H: Oh, I think you might have.

G: But after a while, the responses began to sound the same. Whether they are or not, they began to sound the same.

H: Maybe it doesn't really matter, because each individual tape stands on its own.

G: Well, yes, each individual tape is a unique thing, but to me they have all begun to sound the same, until I wonder if we should have attempted to do sixty or seventy. That's all. I would, another time, perhaps, try to choose people that are completely representative. I don't know whether you can do that.

H: No, I don't, either.

G: Or do something more of a random sample, because this was not a random sample. People were chosen because of their involvement—except for the one person who was about as random as you could get! [laughter]

R: Yes. I think it turns out in a way to be fairly random, because I know of one that was chosen because he represented a particular department. And I found that his views, personally, probably did not represent the way the department felt, although he could give how he felt the department was on the issue. So I think that they turned out fairly random, even though they were from different departments. They were from particular departments, or they were activists or ROTC or something of that sort.

H: If anything, mine reaffirmed my faith in the individual. I didn't find any people who were particularly—oh, what would you say?—march types. [laughter] The ROTC boy felt as strongly about peace—or more so—than the boy who spoke of being a demonstrator. I just found a concern for the university, a concern for our country in a time of war, a concern for young people and their place in the world no matter what faction they were supposed to be representing.

R: That's really true. Most of them were very sympathetic and attempted, I think, in their responses to be objective and fair. Very fair.

H: Yes. The other person's point of view while espousing their own.

G: Yes. I found very few who were hostile on the other side—a few, but very few.

R: This is one thing about a live interview where I wonder if it makes it quite as valid as if they spoke on the tape by themselves in the privacy of their own home, because they might be slightly more objective if they knew they were talking to someone. They wouldn't want to sound completely radical on one side or the other. They might tone down their responses somewhat, because it seemed to me that maybe they could have given a little bit more of their personal opinion. They could have been a little bit less objective. And I felt that they were very fair and very objective, and maybe it was because it was a live interview. I don't know.

H: Yes. That's an interesting comment. Trying to convince the interviewer of their humanity, it becomes more objective. [laughter]

R: I, myself, think everybody does that. You want to say, "Well, you know, this is the way I feel," but then you don't want to look like a complete radical in front of somebody else. Whereas, if you were just putting this down on tape in your own home, you might tend to be a little bit less reserved.

H: That's an interesting point, yes.

G: Well, maybe another time we could work on that kind of a project—let everybody take a tape recorder home and just have at it. [laughter]

R: After a bad night's sleep, get rid of their aggression and tape record.

G: Well, I think some of them did get rid of their aggression with the interview. At least, I felt at times as though I were being used as an emotional punching bag. Of course, this has been my function in the Oral History Project for a long time. Some people just see the tape recorder go, and they see someone sitting there passively nodding and smiling and agreeing with everything that they will say. And one of my techniques is *never* to dispute. So with a sympathetic ear and a sympathetic face nodding and smiling before you, you just are tempted to use this as an emotional purgative of some sort.

R: I felt from time to time, too, that I sensed the people were glad to be able to get their ideas down, because it's kind of frustrating to think about all of these things and maybe discuss them with friends, but you never are able to get them down so that somebody can listen to them. And I had the feeling several times, almost a sense of relief that they were able to say something and that it was actually going to be used, their ideas were going to be heard.

H: So it took a certain amount of time to get all these interviews taken care of. Tempers had cooled down, some second thoughts had been formulated, and one person said to me, "It's a good thing you didn't get me the day after. I was still screaming and jumping up and down!" At this point, this person had examined his thoughts, and he was a little more objective.

R: For a work for historical scholarship, usually people don't act on their first impulses. They usually wait and think about it. I think almost everybody does. And so I think as far as histori-

cal scholarship, probably the people's second thoughts are the ones which will be most valuable to the feeling of the university, rather than those in those first emotional days.

G: Yes. Well, we asked for second thoughts on the question on Governor's Day: "What do you think *should* have happened?"

R: Yes, that's what I mean, that I think probably this is of more value, because we *did* wait a couple of months or a few weeks to ask these questions, than if we interviewed people live while the demonstrations were occurring.

H: They had time to think about what did happen and what their response to it was.

G: Well, I wish that we could have seen your interviewee while he was still jumping up and down and screaming, because first thoughts are valid, too. And after things have cooled down and people forget, one person said to me, "I want to give you a minute-by-minute account of what I was doing."

R: It would have been nice to get both, wouldn't it? The immediate reaction and then a month or so later.

G: Yes. Well, maybe we'll have to do a follow-up with some of them some day.

R: It would be particularly interesting to catch some of them ten years from now and find out how they felt about what happened and if it did affect them and their lives, because for many of these people, it really made them feel affected in what they do.

G: Yes. Trying to explain for people, as well as for the institution. I'm sure that this is true with some of the people that I interviewed, that some of them were deeply affected for one reason or another. And it very well could be that way. It'd be interesting to see what they're doing in a while.

Well, just for the sake of a researcher, perhaps, we shouldn't just pretend to have been their receptacle of information, although I do feel that, as far as I'm concerned, the questions were administered fairly and impartially and sympathetically with everyone that I saw. I should say that I'm a sympathizer with the peace movement. I've been against the war ever since it began, ever since I knew anything about it. I have participated in rallies and supported the Northern Nevada Peace Center with both money and effort. But I did not feel that it was necessary to participate in any kind of demonstration or even go to the rallies in the bowl on Governor's Day.

R: I participated in all the activities of that day and in the demonstration, although in a limited way. I felt that a lot of the demonstrations were irrelevant, and not only that, but incorrect—an incorrect way for people to express themselves. And I did not participate in that particular phase of the demonstration. But I am also a sympathizer with the peace movement, and I try, at least, by participating in demonstrations, to understand the side of the demonstrators, as well as understand the reactions of the non-demonstrators.

H: And I find it hard to say what I am. I'm an interested and a sympathetic observer. I didn't attend the Governor's Day ceremony and, therefore, didn't see the demonstration. All I knew of it was what I read in the *Sagebrush* and the local papers, and I was withholding judgment completely, trying to understand and sympathize with each individual interviewee's point of view.

G: That's interesting. I think that we probably presented as much of a spectrum, as far as interviewers, as we could, under the circumstances. Now, does anyone have anything you'd like to say in summary? [laughter] Shaking heads! [laughter] Well, then we'll just say that we have tried to do something useful for researchers in the history of the university. And if we have, then we're glad.

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